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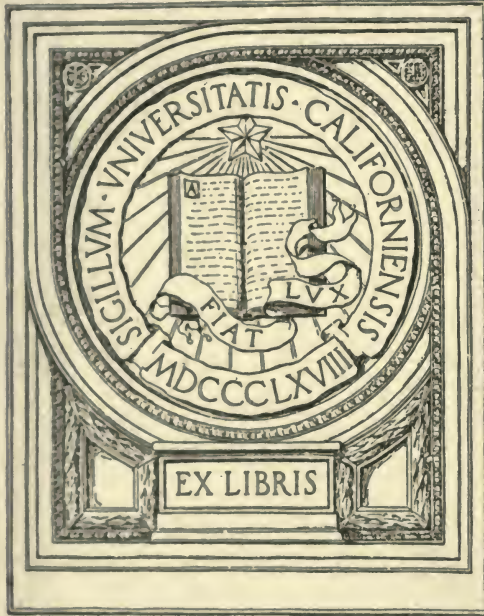
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PREFACE

UNTIL the beginning of the nineteenth century time had dealt kindly with our great Capital, at least from the point of view of a lover of the past. In the confines of the City there were still many houses of timbered or half-timbered construction, which had evidently existed before the Great Fire, and the plain but well-proportioned buildings which came into being shortly after that catastrophe were so common that they hardly attracted notice. Merchants dwelt where their business was carried on, and worshipped hard by, in the City churches where their fathers had worshipped before them; and, if they went on a journey, they started from one of those quaint galleried inns of which a solitary survivor yet remains in the Borough High Street. The west end of London terminated at Hyde Park Corner;

Tothill Fields were fields indeed ; houses had begun to spread in the direction of Paddington, but farther east Tavistock Square and the Foundling Hospital marked the northern limitations. On a plan dated 1802 Mile End appears to be in the country, and most of the present South London was market garden or marsh.

Even during the writer's childhood the City was still old fashioned ; Kensington—the “old Court Suburb”—had somewhat the appearance of a country town, while that part of Chelsea which bordered on the Thames was a straggling river-side hamlet. But in this time of rapid change, a generation makes all the difference. Growth and destruction have gone hand in hand, and soon perhaps it will be as difficult to find an old house within the four-mile radius as to light upon an unrestored church—or to flush a snipe in Eaton Square.

x The writer, for many years, has employed his spare time in examining those older portions of London which have now been to a great extent “improved” away ; he has visited them again and again, making notes on the spot, with brush and

pencil, of picturesque buildings, threatened with destruction. He has also hunted up old documents relating to them, and has carefully checked any statements on the subject by previous writers. The result of what has been to him a labour of love may perhaps have interest, even value, for the public. This must be his excuse for adding to the already long list of publications on old London.

The buildings alluded to in this work are widely scattered: they must be looked upon as a selection only of what we are losing, for in no single volume is there space, and no man alone can have had time and energy, to deal with a tithe of the interesting structures, from Mile End to Hammer-smith, which either still drag on a precarious existence or have not long passed away. The letterpress is divided into chapters, beginning with the east and south east, progress being made by easy stages to the west, so that what has been written takes more or less the form of an itinerary, but the requirements of the subject make it impossible to follow absolutely any fixed plan. Southwark, which forms the subject of the opening chapter, was studied by Mr. Norman long ago in

conjunction with the late Dr. Rendle. The result first appeared in a volume on the inns of that early settled district, which was issued in a limited edition, and has long been out of print. On the old houses in the City and west end he wrote and illustrated two articles for the *English Illustrated Magazine*, when it was so admirably conducted under the ownership of Messrs. Macmillan, and a third during the reign of Messrs. Ingram. On other City subjects, which here occupy his attention, he has written in the publications of the Society of Antiquaries, and of the Surrey Archæological Society, also for the *Burlington Magazine*, and the *Home Counties Magazine*, known in its earlier days as *Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries*.

To Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, C.I.E., and others who have been, or are, connected with the Board of Education, he tenders his hearty thanks for permission to reproduce the water-colour drawings by him which for the present at least have found a home in the Bethnal Green Museum, and for their kindly help in other respects. He is also grateful to the authorities of the Art Gallery, Guildhall, to the Hon. W. F. D. Smith, M.P., to Miss Jones,

to Mr. J. J. Hamilton, to Mr. E. Norman, and to Mr. J. Ritchie, for allowing water-colours in their possession to be reproduced.

In his views the writer has made truthful record the first consideration, combining this, to the best of his ability, with pictorial effect. If it be objected that houses of entertainment have had too much attraction for him, he would point out that those which he knew best were of rare beauty and interest; besides, it was their outward appearance, not the interiors, with which he was oftenest familiar. Of the seventy-five illustrations here given, about sixty represent buildings which have entirely disappeared, a notable number while this book was in progress, and only some half-dozen of the subjects remain altogether unchanged.

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LONDON VANISHED AND VANISHING

CHAPTER I

SOUTHWARK

Southwark is a ward of London without the walls, on the south side thereof, as is Portsoken on the east, and Farringdon extra on the west.—J. Stow (1598).

THAT part of Southwark which extends from the river to the Church of St. George the Martyr, although no doubt it was once mostly covered by water at high tide, like the rest of the low-lying land immediately to the south of the Thames, was early reclaimed and occupied by the Romans, to whom the importance of holding this approach to London must at once have become evident. Many discoveries have been made of Roman remains on each side of the High Street. Already when they were deposited, perhaps long before, the river must have been embanked to some extent

on this side, and there was doubtless a causeway leading over the partially reclaimed land in the direction of the south-east coast, from a ferry which we may assume to have been replaced by a bridge during the Roman occupation, for, although no Roman foundations have come to light, the discovery of thousands of coins, dating from the time of Augustus to that of Honorius, and of many objects of Roman art, in the bed of the river along the site of the old London Bridge, almost puts the matter beyond a doubt. Some writers, on the strength of a statement by Ptolemy the geographer that London was in the region of the Cantii, have assumed that Southwark was the town originally settled, but, apart from other considerations, this, from the nature of the ground, is highly improbable.

In mediæval times the road through Southwark had an importance peculiarly its own, not only as the chief thoroughfare for purposes of business and pleasure between London, the south-eastern counties, and the Continent, but because during many generations it was worn by pilgrims traveling to and from the shrine of the most popular of English saints—the “holy, blissful martyr,” Thomas à Becket. Again, for whatever purpose a

journey might be undertaken, it must undoubtedly have been convenient to make a start from outside the City walls. Thus, when the great religious establishments and lay owners of important houses no longer bore the chief burden of hospitality, and public inns had become common, what is now usually called the Borough High Street was occupied by them in number out of all proportion to ordinary shops and dwellings. John Stow, the early historian of London, in his *Survey* (1598), implies as much. Beginning at the Marshalsea Prison, which was only about a quarter of a mile from the Thames, on the east side of the Borough High Street, he says: "From thence towards London Bridge on the same side be many fair inns for the receipt of travellers, by these signs, the Spurre, Christopher, Bull, Queen's Head, Tabard, George, Hart, King's Head, etc." He wrote, it is true, in Protestant times, but these houses, standing close together, had then been long established, and most of them continued to exist as coaching and carriers' inns until by the advent of railways the whole conditions of life were gradually changed.

Of the inns appearing in the above list, five at least have something of historic interest. We will begin with the Tabard, which was one of the

earliest public hostelries in this country, and also one of the most famous, owing to the fact that Chaucer has selected it as the starting-point of his pilgrims in the *Canterbury Tales*. In these words he introduces the subject :—

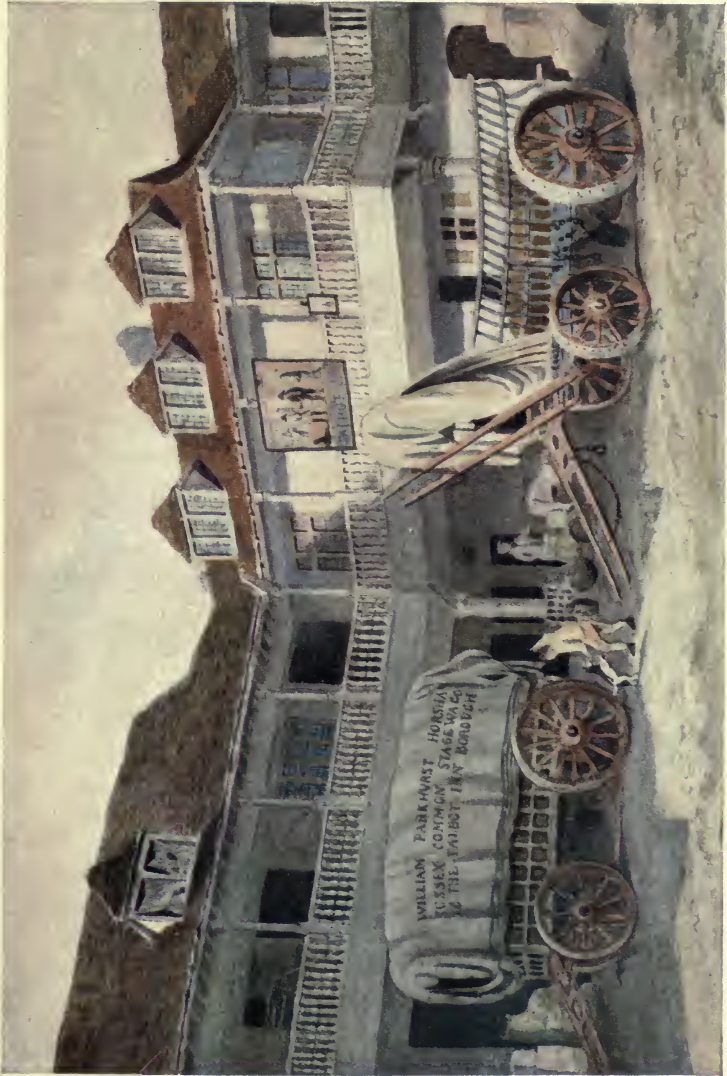
Byfel that in that sesoun on a day,
 In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay,
 Ready to wenden on my pilgrimage
 To Caunterbury with ful devout corage,
 At night was come into that hostelrie
 Wel nyne and twenty in a compainye
 Of sondry folk, by aventure i-falle
 In felaweschipe and pilgrymys were thei alle,
 That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde ;
 The chambres and the stables weren wyde,
 And wel we weren esed atte beste.

Chaucer even gives us the name of the jovial landlord, Henry Bailly, a real personage, who represented Southwark in the Parliament held at Westminster, A.D. 1376. The Tabard is again mentioned by Chaucer as follows :—

In Southwerk, at this gentil hostelrye,
 That highte the Tabard, fasté by the Belle—

the latter being a house on the opposite side of the road, the site now covered by Maidstone Buildings.

Coming to the actual facts connected with the Tabard, it may be mentioned that as early as



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the year 1304 the Abbot and Convent of Hyde, near Winchester, purchased here from William de Lategareshall two houses held of the Archbishop of Canterbury. On this site the abbot built for himself a town dwelling, and at the same time, it is believed, a hostelry for the convenience of travellers. In 1307 he obtained licence from the Bishop of Winchester to build a chapel at or by the inn. In a later deed occur the following words: "The Abbott's lodgeinge was wyninge to the backside of the inn called the Tabarde, and had a garden attached." Stow describes it as "a fair house for him and his train when he came to that city to Parliament." It should be borne in mind that at this period, and for centuries afterwards, the roads of London and its suburbs being sometimes almost impassable, the Thames supplied the most convenient means of communication between places by its banks. Hence it came about that the great ecclesiastics almost always had their town dwellings not far from the river, and that Southwark was peculiarly favoured by them, for besides the Palace of the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester House, there were the hostelries of the Abbots of Hyde, Battle, Waverley, and St. Augustine, and of the Prior of Lewes, all near together, and

within easy access of the "silent highway." Lay people of the highest rank also made their homes in Southwark from time to time, before fashion moved west.

An early notice of the Tabard Inn occurs in one of the Rolls of Parliament, dated 1381, where, in a list of people who had been connected with Jack Cade's rebellion, one finds the name of "John Brewersman" staying at the "Tabbard." "Jockey of Norfolk," who died at Bosworth, fighting in the vanguard for Richard III., was a frequenter of Southwark when still Sir John Howard, and knew our inn well. He called there, April 18, 1469, and doubtless on other occasions, as we learn from a volume on the Manners and Household Expenses of England, published by the Roxburghe Club.

A lease of the Tabard before the dissolution has lately been found and printed with notes by the writer. Its chief interest lies in the enumeration of the rooms and their fixtures, given in the schedule, which may not unlikely represent the house much as it was in Chaucer's time. The rooms have names, such as the "Rose parlar," the "Clyff parlar," the "Crowne chamber," the "Keye chamber," and the "Corne chamber," reminding one of similar names used by Elizabethan dramatists. Thus in Shake-

spere's 1 *King Henry IV*. Act ii. Scene 4, mention is made of the "Half Moon" and the "Pomegranate" at the Boar's Head Tavern, Eastcheap. In the *London Chaunticleres*, 1659, the tapster of an inn thus describes his morning's work: "I have cut two dozen of toste, broacht a new barrell of ale, washt all the cups and flaggons, made a fire i' th' George, drained all the beer out of th' Half Moon the company left o' th' floore last night, wip'd down all the tables, and have swept every room."

At the Dissolution the Tabard, with other possessions of Abbot Salcote or Capon, was surrendered and granted by the King to Thomas and John Master. The sign of the Tabard (a sleeveless coat, like that worn by heralds) was used until about the end of the sixteenth century, when it was little by little changed to Talbot, perhaps through fancy or carelessness. According to Aubrey, "the ignorant landlord or tenant, instead of the ancient sign of the Tabard," put up "the Talbot, a species of dog." Be this as it may, in certain Chancery proceedings of June 27, 1599, both names are used. About this time there were large additions to the building. Speght says in his second edition of Chaucer (1602): "Whereas through time it

has been much decayed, it is now by Master J. Preston, with the Abbot's house thereto adjoined, newly repaired, and with convenient rooms much increased for the receipt of many guests." In 1637 John Taylor, sometimes called "the water-poet," in his enumeration of Southwark inns, tells us that "carriers from Crambrooke and Benenden in Kent, and from Lewis, Petworth, Uckfield, and Cuckfield, in Sussex, doe lodge at the Tabbard or Talbot"; thus showing that the old name still lingered. In 1676, ten years after the great London fire, occurred a great Southwark fire, when something like five hundred houses perished; it began between this inn and the George, and we are expressly told that "the Talbot, with its back-houses and stables, etc., was burnt to the ground." It was, however, rebuilt more or less on the old plan, and continued to be a picturesque and interesting example of seventeenth-century architecture until 1875; in that and the following year the whole, with its extensive yards and stabling, was swept away. Hop merchants' offices and a modern "Old Tabard" occupy the site. Our illustration was copied by the writer many years ago from a water-colour drawing by George Shepherd (1810), which belonged at the time to a hop



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merchant, the late Mr. Evans, who occupied rooms at the George Inn Yard, where he resided.

The inn which we will now attempt to describe was situated a short distance to the north of the Tabard, also on the east side of the Borough High Street, and from the purely historical point of view it even exceeded in interest that famous hostelry. All the Southwark inns, like those on the opposite side of the Thames, which were plentiful in the City and along the chief thoroughfares leading to it, had been built more or less on a similar plan. An old-fashioned house usually faced the street, with an archway beneath, the gate of which was closed at night. Passing through this archway one entered a yard, round which ran the galleries containing bedrooms, where the guests were lodged. In this outer yard, as we know from historical evidence, theatrical pieces were occasionally played, but no Southwark inn is connected by name with such performance, except during the annual fair, in comparatively modern times. Beyond the first enclosure was a larger yard, with offices, ample stabling, and usually various tenements.

The White Hart was perhaps the largest Southwark inn, and appears to have dated from

the latter part of the fourteenth century, the sign being a badge of Richard II., derived from his mother, Joan of Kent. In the summer of 1450 it was Jack Cade's headquarters while he was striving to gain possession of London. Hall, in his *Chronicle*, thus speaks of him: "The capitayn being advertized of the kynge's absence came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the White Hart, prohibiting to all men murder, rape, or robbery; by which colour he allured to him the hartes of the common people." However, it must have been by his order, if not in his presence, that "at the Whyt harte in Southwarke, one Hawaydyne of sent Martyns was beheaded," as we are told in the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*. Sir John Fastolf, who, although he must have furnished a name to Shakespeare's Falstaff, had nothing else in common with him, owned an important dwelling-house and much property in Southwark. At the same inn, during this outbreak, Sir John's servant, Payn, was grievously maltreated, being saved from instant assassination by Robert Poynings, a man of note, who had thrown in his lot with the rebels, and was Jack Cade's carver and sword-bearer. Payn's property, however, was pillaged, his wife and children were



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threatened, and she left with "no more gode but her kyrtyll and her smook." Besides, he was thrust into the forefront of a fight then raging on London Bridge, where he was "woundyd and hurt nere hand to death." Cade's success was of short duration, his followers wavered; he said, or might have said, in the words attributed to him by Shakespeare (*2 Henry VI.* Act iv. Scene 8), "Hath my sword therefore broken through London gates, that you should leave me at the White Hart in Southwark?" The outbreak collapsed, and our inn is not heard of for some generations.

In 1529 a message was sent to Thomas Cromwell, the notorious minister of Henry VIII., by some one asking for an interview at the White Hart. Twenty years afterwards Sheffield iron was stored here, and sold at £8:12s. a ton. In 1637 it is noted as a famous house of call for carriers to and from various towns in Kent and Surrey. About this time churchwardens used to visit the various inns of the borough and report those where drinking went on during divine service; the White Hart, the George, the King's Head, the Queen's Head, and others were in their black list. John Taylor, the "water-poet," who must have known the White Hart well, as he lived in

Southwark for some years, strings together the following rhymes about it—the result, perhaps, of personal experience :—

Although these Harts doe never run away,
They'll tire a man to hunt them every day ;
The Game and Chase is good for Recreation,
But dangerous to mak't an occupation.

In 1669 the back of the inn was burnt down, and in repairing the damage the landlord, Geary, “to his undoing” spent £700. On May 26, 1676, occurred the terrible fire already alluded to ; the White Hart was quite destroyed ; but it was rebuilt shortly afterwards on the old foundations, at a cost of £2400, Geary again providing the money with the aid of his friends. The owner, John Collett, gives him a sixty-one years' lease, with an annual rent of £55. In 1720 Strype describes it as very large and of a considerable trade, being esteemed one of the best inns in Southwark, and it so continued until the early years of the present century. Charles Dickens, in the tenth chapter of *Pickwick*, has given us the following graphic description of the house when something of its old prosperity still clung to it :—

“In the Borough especially, there still remain some half-dozen old inns which have preserved



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their external features unchanged, and which have escaped alike the rage for public improvement and the encroachments of private speculation. Great, rambling, queer old places they are, with galleries, and passages, and staircases, wide enough and antiquated enough to furnish material for a hundred ghost stories. It was in the yard of one of these inns—of no less celebrated a one than the White Hart—that a man was busily employed in brushing the dirt off a pair of boots, early on the morning succeeding the events narrated in the last chapter. The yard presented none of that bustle and activity which are the usual characteristics of a large coach inn. Three or four lumbering wagons, each with a pile of goods beneath its ample canopy, about the height of a second-floor window of an ordinary house, were stowed away beneath a lofty roof, which extended over one end of the yard; and another, which was probably to commence its journey that morning, was drawn out into the open space. A double tier of bedroom galleries, with old clumsy balustrades, ran round two sides of the straggling area, and a double row of bells to correspond, sheltered from the weather by a little sloping roof, hung over the door looking to the bar and coffee-room. Two or three gigs and chaise-carts

were wheeled up under different little sheds and penthouses, and the occasional heavy tread of a cart-horse, or rattling of a chain at the end of the yard, announced to anybody who cared about the matter, that the stable lay in that direction. When we add that a few boys in smock frocks were lying asleep on heavy packages; woolpacks, and other articles that were scattered about on heaps of straw, we have described as fully as need be the general appearance of the yard of the White Hart Inn, High Street, Borough, on the particular morning in question."

It is needless to add that the man cleaning boots was Sam Weller, and it was the fact of his interview here with Mr. Pickwick which led to his entering the service of that gentleman.

In 1865-66 the south side of the building was replaced by a modern tavern, which appears to the right of our illustration of the outer yard. Some years previously the yard had been disfigured by a penthouse or lean-to, also shown in this drawing, it was used for the business of a bacon-drier. The old galleries on the north and east sides were let out in tenements, and the presence of their inmates gave life and movement to the scene. In the inner yard stood some quaint old houses, also



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crowded with lodgers. From hence, looking back, one often saw the smoke of the bacon-curer's furnaces picturesquely curling out of the windows of the main building. Here, too, every afternoon, might be seen a solitary omnibus which plied to Clapham, the last descendant of the old coaches. The accompanying illustrations of this inn were painted in 1884. In the early autumn of that year these various lodgers had notice to quit; but the remains of the old White Hart Inn were not pulled down until July 1889. Since then hop factor's offices have been built on the site, the yard being very much curtailed. The modern tavern on the south side still remains, but was closed when the writer last saw it in July 1904.

Between the Tabard and the White Hart was the George, another of the "fair inns" noted by Stow in 1598. The exact date of its erection has not been found out, but it is mentioned as the St. George in 1554—"St. George that swung the Dragon, and sits on horseback at mine hostess' door." By 1558, however, the "Saint" is omitted, for Humfrey Colet, who had been Member of Parliament for Southwark, mentions in his will that he owns the George, "now in the tenure of Nicholas Martin, Hosteler." In 1634 a return was

made that the George Inn, or tenements within its precinct, had been built of brick and timber in 1622. The landlord was reported in 1634, and doubtless on various other occasions, because he allowed drinking to go on at the time of divine service. Soon after the middle of the seventeenth century, in a book called *Musarum Deliciæ*, or the *Muses' Recreation*, compiled by Sir John Mennes (admiral and chief comptroller of the navy) and Dr. James Smith, appeared some lines "upon a surfeit caught by drinking bad sack at the George Tavern in Southwark," of which the following is a sample:—

The Devill would abhorre such posset-drinke,
 Bacchus, I'm sure, detests it, 'tis too bad
 For Hereticks; a Friar would be mad
 To blesse such vile unconsecrable stuffe,
 And Brownists would conclude it good enough
 For such a sacrifice.

Perhaps the landlord mended his ways; in any case, the rent was shortly afterwards £150 a year, a large sum for those days. Two seventeenth-century trade tokens of the house exist. One of them reads thus:—

Obverse.—ANTHONY · BLAKE · TAPSTER · YE GEORGE ·
 INN · SOUTHWARKE

Reverse.—(No legend.) Three tobacco pipes and
 four pots.



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In 1670 the George was partly burnt, and it was totally destroyed in the Southwark fire of 1676.

A story has been told of the sixth Lord Digby, who succeeded to the peerage in 1752, which is perhaps worth repeating here. It is said that at Christmas and Easter he appeared very grave, and though usually well dressed was then in the habit of putting on a shabby blue coat. This excited the curiosity of Mr. Fox, his uncle, who had him watched, when it was discovered that twice a year, or oftener, he was in the habit of going to the Marshalsea Prison and freeing prisoners there. The next time the almsgiving coat appeared a friend boldly asked him why he wore it. By way of reply Lord Digby took the gentleman to the George Inn, where seated at dinner were thirty people, whom his Lordship had just released from the neighbouring Marshalsea by payment of their debts in full.

In 1825 the George is reported in guide-book language as "a good commercial inn—whence several coaches and many waggons depart laden with the merchandise of the metropolis, in return for which they bring back from various parts of Kent, etc., that staple article of the country, the hop, to which we are indebted for the good quality of the London porter."

After being for a time in the hands of Guy's Hospital it was sold about thirty years ago to the Great Northern Railway Company. Only a fragment of it, but a picturesque one, remains, that part which appears to the right of our illustration. The rest of the building was pulled down in 1889 or shortly afterwards. The interior of the coffee-room on the ground floor still retains its old-fashioned look. On the opposite side of the yard was a dining-room, where, until the time of its destruction, a few friends used to meet under the title of the Four-o'clock Club, though latterly they dined at half-past six or seven. Mr. J. Ashby-Sterry, who has written so charmingly on old London, and on most things connected with Dickens, is convinced that the George and not the White Hart was really the place where Mr. Pickwick first met the incomparable Sam. In the *Bystander* (1901) he gives his reasons, and doubtless the description might apply to either fabric. The writer would add that he once asked the late Charles Dickens junior his opinion on this point; his reply was that he had never heard anything from his father to support the suggestion.

Next to the Tabard, on the south side, was the Queen's Head, another of the inns mentioned by



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Stow. This was on the site of an interesting house called the Crowned or Cross Keys, that belonged to the Poynings family, of which Jack Cade's adherent Robert was a member. In 1452 a payment of 6s. 8d. is recorded for the burial of a retainer of Poynings at St. Margaret's Church, which, until after the Dissolution, stood in the street almost immediately opposite. Robert Poynings had been pardoned, and afterwards married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Paston, but was killed within a little more than two years of his marriage in the second battle of St. Albans. On December 15, 1468, his widow writes from Southwark, probably from this house, to her nephew, about the various properties in which through her late husband she is interested, among them the manors of Chelsfield and North Cray.

In 1518 and afterwards the Poynings let the Crowned Keys for 40s. the half-year. In 1529 it is a sort of armoury or store-place for the King's harness. There are various records of German armourers working for the King in Southwark about this time. In 1558 Richard Westray, ale brewer, bequeaths to his wife, Joane, his "message called the Cross Kayes, with the brewhouse, garden, and stable, as it is now newly builded by his son

Thomas," which apparently he had bought of Thomas Lovell. The change of title from Cross Keys to Queen's Head probably took place about 1635-37, when, by the way, the house was frequented by carriers from Portsmouth, Rye, Godstone, Lamberhurst, and other places. Its owner for that short time was John Harvard or Harvyne, son of a Southwark butcher carrying on business in the High Street. He had graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and in the latter year sailed for America, where he died in September 1638, leaving by will half his estate, together with his library of 320 volumes, to a proposed college, which came into being shortly afterwards, and is now known as Harvard Collége, Cambridge, Massachusetts, of which he is looked upon as the principal founder. He had inherited the Queen's Head Inn from his mother, who was twice married after the death of his father, Robert Harvard. Her third husband was Richard Yearwood or Yarwood, Member of Parliament for Southwark.

The Queen's Head appears to have escaped the great Southwark fire of 1676, perhaps owing to the fact that by way of precaution a tenement was blown up with gunpowder at the gateway.



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In 1691 it is thus mentioned in that scarce tract called "The Last Search after Claret in Southwark, or a Visitation of the Vintners in the Mint":—

To the Queen's-head we hastened, and found the House ring,
By Broom-men a singing old Simon the King;
Besides at the bar we perceived a poor Trooper
Was cursing his master and calling him Cooper.

A writer in 1855 says: "The Queen's Head has not changed much, the premises are very spacious—the north part, where the galleries still remain, is now used by a hop merchant." These galleries were latterly in part let out as tenements—the beginning of the end. For many years, from 1848 onwards, the landlord of the inn was Robert Willsher, a cousin of the famous Kentish bowler of that name. In 1868 a team of Australian aboriginal cricketers came over to England, and made their headquarters here; one of them nicknamed "King Cole" died of consumption in Guy's Hospital. These aborigines must not be confused with the splendid teams that visit us nowadays. They were black fellows from the province of Victoria, trained by C. Laurence, an Englishman. They played very fairly, and also gave exhibitions of boomerang throwing, etc. One of them, as we

seem to remember, formerly held the record for throwing the cricket ball.

In 1886 the Queen's Head was closed for a time, when an ugly slate roof was substituted for the tiled one. It was finally shut up in May 1895, and on the 27th of that month the writer visited it, when he found that the whole of the plaster on the back and front had been removed, and a network of solid oak timbering was exposed to view, which appeared to be quite sound. He made his way to the first floor, where there seems to have been originally a long room, the walls of which were plastered with unburnt clay mixed with straw and spread on oak laths. It dated possibly from the time of Richard Westray, and contained a carved oak mantelpiece of the early seventeenth century. The galleried portion of the inn, also of considerable age, although much dilapidated still survived in June 1900. The inner, yard where formerly stood a rather picturesque wooden house, was then being built over. The portion nearest to Guy's Hospital is now included within its boundary. The rest of the property is described as the "Great Central Railway Queen's Head Depot." Our views represent the inn as it was in 1883 and 1884. The former illustration shows the cupola

of Guy's Hospital at no great distance. Its founder, Thomas Guy, was a native of Southwark; his father, who was a lighterman and coalmonger, about 1644 resided at Pritchard's Alley, Fair Street, Horsleydown, where the future philanthropist was born.

The last of the Southwark inns illustrated by us is the King's Head, which is one of those mentioned by Stow, and stood nearer to London Bridge than any of the others. The back of it is seen to our right in the view from the inner yard of the White Hart, the yards of these two houses being adjacent. The Romans have left their mark here, as they have done in many parts of Southwark. In 1879 Mr. R. E. Way found, during an excavation close to the gateway, fragments of Samian and other pottery, iridescent oyster shells, portions of sandals, coins of Claudius, a metal cup, and a straight sword some twenty-six inches long. These most interesting relics were at a depth of ten to twelve feet below the surface.

In the fifteenth century Sir John Howard, already referred to in our account of the Tabard, seems to have visited most of the Southwark inns. On November 30, 1496, he paid "for wyne at the Kynges Hed in Sothewerke iii^d"; but it could

scarcely have been here, because this was one of the inns changing their names about the time of the Reformation, or as the result of the altered conditions which that event produced. It has been seen how, as late as the seventeenth century, the Cross Keys secularised its sign, adopting doubtless the head of Queen Elizabeth. In making this change the owner or landlord followed an example set him about a century before at the inn now in question. Among other ecclesiastics who lodged in Southwark not the least important was the Abbot of Waverley, near Farnham, the earliest house of the Cistercian order in England, founded in 1128, by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester. In 1534 the Abbot, still apparently at his town dwelling near the river, wrote arranging an interview "at the Pope's Head in Southwark." This was the very year of the separation of the Church of England from Papal headship. About eight years afterwards our inn is marked in a Record Office map as the "Kynges Hed." In some deeds very kindly lent to the writer many years ago by Mr. G. Eliot Hodgkin, F.S.A., the famous collector, whose family for some generations possessed the property, many interesting points appear. The first, which is in



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the curious law Latin of the time, is dated 1559, and shows John Gresham, who had been Mayor of London in 1547, and John White, Mayor in 1563, agreeing to pay a certain sum of money to Thomas Cure, the saddler, M.P. and benefactor of Southwark, for the inn "formerly known as the Popes hed, now as le Kynges hed, abutting on the highway called Longe Southwarke."

In 1588 the property passes to the Humbles, a well-known Southwark family. In the will, dated December 1604, of Anthony Fawkes of Southwark, citizen and clothworker, is the following clause:—"To my son Richard Fawkes and his heirs my dwelling house, called the Kynge Heade, with all the brewing vessels pertaining to the brewhouse—suffering my now wife, Jane, to dwell there during her widowhood." Whether this was the same house is a question, for in 1647 our inn belonged to Humble, first Lord Ward, ancestor of the present Earl of Dudley. One of the tenants at this time was described as "William le pewterer," a proof that, as in the case of most of the larger inns, there were tenements within the precinct in which trades were carried on. Provision is made that the various tenants shall have access to the pump and other conveniences at all reasonable

times. Soon afterwards a farthing trade token was issued from here with the following inscription:—

Obverse.—AT · THE · KINGS · HEAD · IN = Bust of
Henry VIII.

Reverse.—SOVTHWARKE · GROCER = W. P.

The King's Head was one of the inns burnt down in the great fire of 1676. The rent had been £66 a year; after that calamity it was settled that the tenant, Mary Duffield, should build a good substantial inn with the requisite offices; in consideration of her doing this, the rent was reduced from £66 to £38, and the lease extended to forty-eight years. In 1720 our inn is reported as "well built, handsome, and enjoying a good trade"; so Mary Duffield, forty years before, had done her work well. The late Mr. John Timbs, in his *Curiosities of London* (1875), tells us that within his recollection the sign was a well-painted half-length of Henry VIII. Until the year 1879 the house and yard were still almost intact, but it was then very much curtailed, a new public-house being built near the street entrance. Time will have his way: the last remains of the east side were pulled down at the beginning of 1885. Our

illustration was done nearly two years earlier, the house being then occupied by a widow and her family, who owned among them two hansom cabs ; and so, from great ecclesiastics and gentlemen of the olden time, we descend to the humble hard-working cabman. It may be observed that the balustrades in the gallery are of peculiar type, the design being rather Chinese in appearance. The balustrades of the old Bull and Mouth Inn, St. Martin's-le-Grand, were somewhat similar. It seems likely that these were put up after Sir William Chambers, the architect (not yet knighted), had studied Chinese buildings and published the results of his observations. This was in the year 1757, and his book certainly influenced the designs of the period.

Southwark, besides being famous for its inns, had other associations of a less cheerful kind. It was emphatically a place of prisons. In the Bishop of Winchester's manor or liberty, known as the Clink, was situated a prison of that name where not only, as Stow puts it, "such as should babble, frey, or break the peace," but debtors and those of all religious denominations who resisted the law for conscience' sake were "straitly" confined. In a limited area on the east side of the High Street,

and therefore close to the inns which we have just described, were four notable gaols, and afterwards, partly as substitutes when time had done its decaying work, four more at least. In the olden days all these gaols might be seen almost at one glance, the Compter, Marshalsea, King's Bench, and White Lion; later and more widely dispersed, the Bridewell, the New Gaol, the House of Correction, the second King's Bench, and the second Marshalsea.

East, in the High Street, near St. George's Church, stood from about 1560 the White Lion Prison, which was used to confine offenders of all sorts. In the latter part of the seventeenth century it became unsafe for the detention of prisoners, but the old place, presumably patched up, appears to have been turned into a House of Correction. Finally, on this site, in 1811, was built the later Marshalsea, which Dickens immortalises in the story of Little Dorrit, and of which there are still slight remains. Approaching through Angel Place (named after a former Angel Tavern), one sees a grim wall on the right, with a few barred windows. Of the rest of the building it is difficult to catch a glimpse; perhaps something might be discerned from a piece of disused burial-ground, now cut off from St. George's Church by the new road of the

London County Council. It may be noted that, when this road was being made, a number of terracotta architectural fragments came to light, which in all probability had helped to decorate the splendid mansion of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who married Mary, sister of Henry VIII. and widow of Louis XII. of France, and was grandfather of the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey. He built this mansion to the west of the High Street and near St. George's Church about the year 1516, or a little after, and here in 1522, when Charles V. visited England, he received both the King and Emperor, and they dined and hunted with him. It afterwards passed into the possession of the King, and became a mint for coins. In Queen Mary's time it was pulled down, and under the name of the Mint this precinct was notorious as a sanctuary for insolvent debtors, and a place of refuge for lawless persons of all descriptions, not effectually suppressed until the reign of George I. It should be added that the original Marshalsea Prison was some distance farther north, on the east side of the High Street, exactly opposite Maypole Alley.

Between the earlier and later Marshalsea was the King's Bench, of ancient origin, for to this gaol Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry

V., was committed by Judge Gascoigne for striking or insulting him on the bench. In course of time it became largely, though not altogether, a prison for debtors. In May 1653, during the Commonwealth, when it was called the Upper Bench Prison, there were 399 prisoners within the building and the rules, whose united debts amounted to over £900,000. The rules were certain—or apparently rather uncertain—boundaries, within which, but outside the prison, privileged debtors could reside. De Foe remarks of them: “The rules of the King’s Bench are more extensive than those of the Fleet, having all St. George’s Fields to walk in; but the Prison House is not near so good”; and Shadwell, in his play called *Epsom Wells* (1676), makes Bevil say: “But by your leave, Raines, though marriage be a prison, yet you may make the rules as those of the King’s Bench, that extend to the East Indies.” The chief officer was called “the Marshal of the Marshalsea of the King’s Bench,” and he derived most of his income from payments by prisoners for the privilege of the “liberty of the rules.” This prison was removed in 1755-1758 to what was then a part of St. George’s Fields, at the junction of Blackman Street with Newington Causeway, where later the Borough

Road joined those streets. It was burnt in the Gordon riots, but was soon afterwards rebuilt. By an Act of William IV. it ceased to be a separate gaol, the Fleet and Marshalsea being united with it, and later it was known as the Queen's Prison. Arrest for debt having been abolished by an Act of 32 and 33 Vict. c. 62, it was closed for a time, and was afterwards used as a military prison, but not being found convenient for this purpose it was finally destroyed in 1879, the site being now occupied by workmen's dwellings. It was in the King's Bench that Dickens's Mr. Micawber is supposed to have dwelt, pending the arrangement of his financial difficulties; and in *Nicholas Nickleby* the hero visits Madeline Bray, when she is residing with her father in one of "a row of mean and not over cleanly houses, situated within the rules." The passage to the earlier King's Bench Prison lay a little south of the existing Half Moon Inn, the painted sign of which appears in Hogarth's picture of Southwark Fair. A sculptured sign is still to be seen there having on it the date 1690. In Rocque's map of 1746 a considerable open space covered with trees is shown at the back of the prison. By the end of the century it had become Layton's Yard. Although much curtailed

a part of this still exists, being called, with the passage approaching it, Layton's Buildings. Some of the houses are old-fashioned, and it still has rather a rural appearance, as may be seen from our accompanying illustration.

Near the later King's Bench or Queen's Prison, in Horsemonger Lane, now Union Road, Newington Causeway, was another comparatively modern prison called Horsemonger Lane Gaol. It was built between 1791 and 1798, as a county gaol or Surrey, the walls enclosing about three and a half acres, and Leigh Hunt was confined there during two years for a libel on the Prince Regent. During his imprisonment here Keats addressed a sonnet to him, and he was visited by Lord Byron and Tom Moore. Outside this gaol public executions took place, and Dickens, who witnessed the execution of the Mannings in November 1849, has left us a painful description of the scene. Most of this site of untold misery is now occupied by a public playground, a great boon to the neighbourhood; but why is it thought necessary to disfigure the whole area with ugly asphalt pavement?

Almost if not quite as interesting as the Borough High Street, although later settled, was



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that part of Southwark lying along the river to the west of Winchester House, which is usually called the Bankside. Its more eastern portion has already been referred to as the Clink Liberty, and adjoining it on the west was the Manor or Liberty of Paris Garden, which is held to correspond with what in the twelfth century was the hide of land called Widflete, which Robert Marmion, son of a follower of William the Conqueror, gave to Bermondsey Priory in 1113. It was originally in the once large parish of St. Margaret, Southwark, and now forms the parish of Christchurch, containing rather less than a hundred acres of land, which extends back on each side of the present Blackfriars Road. The river forms the northern limit, with Blackfriars Bridge a little to the east of its centre; to the west is the parish of Lambeth; the parish of St. George-the-Martyr being more or less the southern, and St. Saviour's the eastern boundary. It was a swampy, low-lying place, and in early times the land limitations were partly if not wholly defined by streams or broad ditches, one of which on the western side had an outlet to the river by the Broadwall, where there was an ancient embankment, while near the north-east corner the "Pudding Mill stream" passed close to the site of what is

now called Falcon Wharf. This must originally have connected the old Widflete Mill pond with the Thames; but in course of time it degenerated into a sewer, no longer in existence. All this land, belonging to the Priory, afterwards the Abbey, of Bermondsey, was held successively by the Knights Templars and others, later by the Knights Hospitallers, but the superior rights of the Abbey do not appear to have been affected. Coming into the hands of the Crown shortly before the Dissolution, it formed part of the dowry of Jane Seymour. Queen Elizabeth exchanged it with her cousin, Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon, who in 1580 alienated the copyhold portion of the manor to trustees and conveyed the lordship and freehold manor to Thomas Cure, Queen's saddler, to whom we have referred in our account of the King's Head Inn, and whose quaint epitaph is still to be seen in St. Saviour's Church. The name of the manor seems to have been derived from one Robert de Paris, who possessed a house there, which must have become undesirable as a residence, for close at hand it was by proclamation ordained, in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard II., that the butchers of London should have a convenient place for their offal and garbage,

in order that the City might not be annoyed thereby.

To turn to the aspects of the district in the sixteenth century, Fleetwood, Recorder of London, in a letter to Lord Burleigh, July 13, 1578, speaks of it as "dark and much shadowed with trees, that one man cannot see another unless they have lynceos oculos or els cattes eys. There be certain virgulta or eightes of willows set by the Thames near that place, they grow now exceeding thick and are a notable covert for confederates to shrowd in"—a shady place in more senses than one. In the famous view of London attributed to Agas there are houses in Paris Garden near the Thames, and leading to it is a landing stage with boats thereat. In the roadway from Lambeth, and near these stairs, a cross is depicted. Standing back is a large detached building, probably the Manor House. The rest is open ground—woodland, and pasture, with numerous ditches. To the east of Paris Garden, near the Bankside, are amphitheatres called respectively "The Bolle Bayting" and "The Beare Bayting," having ponds near them. In a plan of 1627, due east of the Manor House appears "The Olde Play House."

The fact that these places of entertainment are

here shown, reminds one of the theatrical performances and rough sports, such as bull and bear baiting, with which the Bankside was so much associated during many years. These latter, which even monarchs patronised, were usually said to take place in Paris Garden, but although probably such performances occurred there in earlier times, it is proved that the more or less permanent amphitheatres in which animals were baited during the latter part of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century were really in the adjoining Clink Liberty, which pertained, as we have said, to the Bishops of Winchester, where also, strange to say, the legalised stew-houses had existed from the time of Henry II., with one short interval, until 1546. Stow tells us that they "had signs on their fronts towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walls, as a Boar's Head, the Cross Keys, the Gun, the Crane, the Cardinal's Hat, the Bell, the Swan, etc." A reminiscence of one of them exists in Cardinal Cap Alley, so named, a narrow passage running south from the Bankside. In the eighteenth year of the reign of James I., Taylor "the water-poet," then grown old, as a witness in Exchequer depositions declared that "the game of bear bayting" had within his recollection been kept in four several

places, all clearly east of Paris Garden. One of them, the New Bear Garden, otherwise the Hope, built in 1613, on the plan of a regular theatre, with movable tressels fit to bear a stage, was also used for plays, just as the theatres were now and then used for other performances. Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was played at the Hope the year after it was opened. Farley, in 1621, among other entertainments, speaks of—

A Morris dance, a puppet play,
Mad Tom to sing a roundelay,
A woman dancing on a rope,
Bull baiting also—at the Hope.

During the Commonwealth these bull and bear rings were suppressed; but they again came into fashion, and we know that Pepys and Evelyn both witnessed the sports there, and each has left a characteristic account of them. There is an advertisement of "the Hope on the Bankside, being his Majesty's Bear Garden," as late as the year 1682.

Besides the places of entertainment thus briefly alluded to, three regular playhouses were also built in this neighbourhood, because on account of puritanical leanings the municipal authorities objected to their establishment within the confines of the City, and they attracted to the Bankside

players of the highest rank. The most famous, of course, is the Globe, first built by Richard Burbage and his brother in 1599, burnt down in 1613, and rebuilt immediately afterwards; the name of which is known throughout the civilised world from Shakespeare's intimate connection with it. Here played the company of which he was a member. It is a fact which perhaps has not been before pointed out, that, previous to the year 1603, when its members were promoted to the rank of King's players, this company had been under the patronage of the first and second Lords Hunsdon, who were in succession Lords Chamberlain, so that the connection of the former with this district was a twofold one. He had, however, parted with the Manor of Paris Garden long before he became patron of the company. We may call to mind that Shakespeare was living "near the Bear Garden" in 1596—so says his contemporary Edward Alleyn, who on February 19, 1592, had opened a theatre, called the Rose, hard by, which is thought to have been the earliest scene of Shakespeare's successes, both as actor and dramatist.

Both these playhouses were in the Clink Liberty. The Paris Garden Theatre was the Swan—the "Olde Play House" of the 1627 plan. It seems

to have been built soon after 1594 by Francis Langley, Lord of the Freehold Manor of Paris Garden. We are told of various performances at this house, among the rest that Ben Jonson here played the character of Zulziman; but its chief interest to modern students of the old theatres lies in the fact that, in or about the year 1596, a German visitor named Johannes de Witt wrote a description of it, accompanied by a spirited sketch of the interior, which has several times been reproduced, the whole having been published at Bremen in 1888. In the Accounts of the Overseers of the Poor of Paris Garden from 1608 onwards, printed for the first time with notes and an introduction by the writer, the Swan is four or five times referred to by name. In 1610-11 this playhouse contributed £4:6:8 for the poor. The last reference, that of 1620-21, shows that the sum of £3:19:4 was then received of the Swan players. In a tract of 1632, where mention is made of the Globe, the Hope, and the Swan, we are told that the last, "beeing in times past as famous as any of the others, was now fallen to decay, and like a dying Swanne, hanging downe her head, seemed to sing her own dirge." We may suppose, therefore, that the place had then seen its best days and was rapidly coming to an end. The

sites of these old playhouses and bull and bear rings can be more or less accurately traced. Barclay's great Anchor Brewery, extending over thirteen acres, has absorbed the site of the Globe, and, apart from this great memory, is on its own account almost classic ground, because at the Thrales' house attached to it Dr. Johnson spent much of his happiest time in the congenial society of them and of their intimates, and at the brewery, after Mr. Thrale's untimely death, Johnson, when zealously working as executor at the sale of the business, gave that characteristic answer to one who asked its value: "We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice."

North-west of the brewery, between the Bankside and Park Street, formerly Maid Lane, is Rose Alley, which marks the site of the theatre of that name. A little farther west is an alley called Bear Gardens, near the north end of which appears to have stood what was known as the Old Bear Garden, taken down in 1613, while the site of the Hope or New Bear Garden is near the south end, where it opens out into a tiny square. The other two bear-baiting places which Taylor remembered were both farther west, one of them

being at Mason Stairs on the Bankside, and the second near Maid Lane at the corner of the Pike Garden, and these appear to correspond with the rings for "bolle bayting" and for "beare bayting" marked in the ancient plan attributed to Agas.

On the extreme confines of the Clink Liberty, where it touches Paris Garden, and a short distance east of the site of the Swan Theatre, an inn called the Falcon was standing until the first decade of the nineteenth century, which, if we may accept a not unlikely tradition, was once the haunt of Shakespeare and his fellows; an illustration of it may be seen in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, dated 1805. The site is now occupied by Falcon Wharf and Dock. Adjoining it on the west is a brick building in the occupation of the Hydraulic Power Company. This is now modernised and apparently of little architectural interest, but after carefully comparing various plans and views the writer has come to the conclusion that it is the very house declared in Concanen and Morgan's history of St. Saviour's parish (1795) to have been built by Sir Christopher Wren, for Mr. Jones, master of the Falcon Iron Foundry, which occupied the space between this and the river. They add that he cast the railings for St. Paul's Cathedral. On a

drawing in the Gardner collection, dated 1789, which obviously represents this house, is the following statement in writing by W. Capon the artist :—

“From a balcony at the top of the house Sir Christopher used to watch the work at St. Paul’s as it proceeded ; it was his constant custom to do so in the morning—I was so informed by a very old gentleman belonging to the foundry.” The railings of St. Paul’s are generally said to have been cast at Lamberhurst, on the borders of Kent and Sussex, and to be among the last known specimens of Sussex iron ; but in the original account books of the building of St. Paul’s Cathedral there is an entry of the payment of over £11,200 to “Richard Jones, smith, for the Large Iron Fence round the Church,” besides £25 :18s. to John Slyford “for carriage, etc., of Mr. Jones’s Iron Worke from the Water side to the Church.” Perhaps the railings were cast at Lamberhurst for the Falcon Foundry and fitted there.

A short distance south, opening upon that part of Holland Street which was formerly called Green Walk, are some rather picturesque almshouses founded by one Charles Hopton in 1752 for the benefit of people of reduced circumstances and good character belonging to the parish of Christ-

church. Here, in an iron-bound chest, are preserved the title-deeds of the copyhold portion of the Manor of Paris Garden, in which the writer may perhaps be allowed to take special interest, as his family has for some generations been connected with it. The steward has in his keeping an ebony rod tipped with silver, having on it "Edward Knight, Baylif, 1697," and a later date. This rod is still used at the surrendering of property, the steward holding one end, and the surrendering and the incoming tenant in turn the other. Much of the property, however, is now enfranchised.

On looking at old plans of the Bankside one is struck by the number of stairs giving access to the river, an indication of the fact that in the time of the theatres and of other more questionable centres of attraction the paying public was mostly conveyed thereto by boat. Thus Southwark watermen were plentiful, and drove a roaring trade. The man among them best known to later generations was John Taylor, already several times referred to, who championed their cause, and at the same time advertised himself in amusing, if artless, rhyme. The river being to him a source of livelihood, he naturally praised it with his whole heart :—

But noble Thames, whilst I can hold my pen,
 I will divulge thy glory unto men :
 Thou in the morning, when my coin is scant,
 Before the evening dost supply my want.

His great grievance was the advent of coaches, which interfered with his business. In a prose tract, published in 1623, he says: "I do not inveigh against any coaches that belong to persons of worth and quality, but only against the caterpillar swarm of hirelings. They have undone my poor trade whereof I am a member ; and though I look for no reformation, yet I expect the benefit of an old proverb, 'Give the losers leave to speak.'" In a pamphlet called *An Arrant Thief*, he indicates the approximate date of the introduction of these vehicles which so raised his ire :—

When Queen Elizabeth came to the crown,
 A coach in England then was scarcely known ;
 Then 'twas as rare to see one as to spy
 A tradesman that had never told a lie.

In spite of Taylor's gloomy forebodings, the river almost throughout the seventeenth century must have been in its glory as a thoroughfare.

Before quitting the subject of Southwark watermen, the writer is tempted to transcribe the following epitaph which is engraved on a large slab now

placed upright against the east wall of the Lady Chapel of St. Saviour's, having been dug up from under the floor during the restoration of 1832 :—
“ Nicholas Norman, Waterman, late Servante to the King's Maiestie, and Elizabeth his wife, were here buried, hee the 25 of May, 1629, and shee the 15 of Januarye followeinge, who lived 16 years together in the holie state of matrimonie, and do here rest in hope of a ioyfull resurrection.”

Whole districts of Southwark must, in this volume at least, remain unchronicled—Bermondsey, for instance—the seat of the great Cluniac Abbey of St. Saviour, and Horsleydown, portrayed in a famous picture by Joris Hoefnagel, now belonging to the Marquis of Salisbury. Something can still be found there that is of interest alike to the artist and the antiquary, but more attractive subjects call us to the opposite side of the river. As, full of thoughts about the old Southwark theatres, we pass the great church now called St. Saviour's, a splendid relic of the Augustinian Priory of St. Mary Overy, we may call to mind that the friends and fellow-dramatists, Beaumont and Fletcher, dwelt together on the Bankside near the Globe, and that the latter, having died of the plague, was buried in St. Saviour's; that Philip

Massinger, also Fletcher's intimate, lived and died near the same place, and was buried as a "stranger," that is a non-parishioner, in the St. Saviour's burial-ground, which was called the Bull Head Churchyard ; and that Shakespeare's brother Edmond, "a player," was buried in St. Saviour's Church on December 31, 1607, "with a forenoone knell of the great bell."

CHAPTER II

THE CITY AND EAST END

Oh ! London won't be London long,
For 'twill be all pulled down,
And I shall sing a funeral song
O'er that time-honoured town.

W. MAGINN.

Our way now lies over London Bridge, and while crossing the river into the City the opportunity should not be lost of glancing at a few of Wren's beautiful steeples, one of the finest being here the most conspicuous, namely, that of St. Magnus which, be it remembered, stood more or less in a line with *old* London Bridge. The pathway for foot-passengers which formed part of the road leading straight to the bridge passed through the existing open passage under the tower.

What we now call the City once comprised the whole of London, and it is a remarkable fact that the site of the Roman walls, of which traces still

exist, continue to this day to be the limitations of what is, strictly speaking, the City, though districts "without" the walls have from time to time been added. The Great Fire of London swept away five-sixths of the older City, and time and the jerry-builder have almost completed the removal of the rest. But the Fire occurred many generations ago, and the structures erected within fifty years of that event have now a respectable antiquity. The three kinds of building to which, perhaps, the student of old London would first direct his steps in the City are the churches dating from before the Great Fire, St. Paul's Cathedral and the parish churches designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and thirdly, the Guildhall, together with some twenty halls of the City Companies, the rest of these being modern. Externally the Guildhall shows few traces of antiquity, but the interior of the fifteenth-century porch has considerable merit, and the large crypt is a remarkably interesting specimen of mediæval architecture. With the exception, however, of some of Wren's churches destroyed within the last few years, and of others which, we fear, are in danger of destruction, these buildings fortunately do not come under the title of "vanished" or "vanishing." Thus it

happens that the writer has turned his attention most to the study of old houses which, on account of their picturesqueness, sometimes of their historic interest, appeared worthy of record. He has, however, included views of churches, and of other relics, ranging from a piece of the Roman wall to buildings as late as the eighteenth century, which have been destroyed within the last few years.

In the early days of English history Royalty itself and powerful nobles had dwellings in or near the City, and various place-names still surviving attest the fact. By Charles II.'s time, however, most of the great people had moved west, leaving the business part of the town to the merchants and traders, from whose ranks so many of the present aristocracy may trace their origin. Of the appearance of London before the Great Fire we can form a very good idea from views and descriptions, and from the few houses which until lately have survived. As a rule, they had their gables towards the street, and were of timber or half-timbered construction, many of the fronts being beautifully carved or decorated with fine plaster work. Stow records the existence of stone houses, but as if it were something uncommon. Doubtless brickwork was also used as a building

material; Lincoln's Inn gateway, still happily in good condition in spite of reports to the contrary, dates from the year 1518, and, outside the area with which we are now dealing, the gateways of St. James's Palace and Lambeth Palace are also early examples of brickwork. After the Great Fire, brick became the almost exclusive building material for houses; and that eminently practical genius, Wren, while building St. Paul's and his great series of City churches, although not allowed to carry out his scheme for reconstructing the streets, also clearly set the fashion in domestic architecture. He was in truth the father of the style now called by the name of Queen Anne, though it began before her reign and, with gradual modifications, continued long afterwards. Most of the City houses to which reference will here be made are more or less in that style, but there are a few examples of earlier work.

In the home of the city merchant, as rebuilt after the Fire, there was no attempt to vie with the sumptuous palaces which rose in the land during the early days of the Renaissance, but it had the supreme merit of being thoroughly suitable for its purpose. Outside there was little display, though cut brick, a charming material, often

helped the effect. The chief ornament was concentrated on that part which would be most seen, namely the doorway. Within, the offices were as a rule on the ground floor. A well-proportioned staircase, with turned and often twisted balusters, led to the chief reception rooms, and here the architect, or builder, worked with a loving care—the mantelpiece, the panelling, the cornice, the mahogany doors, the carved architraves and overdoors were each in its way beautiful, and each formed part of a harmonious whole. We will now try to introduce to our readers a few of the older City mansions, and incidentally we will tell something about those who dwelt in them. On consideration we find that the subject does not entirely lend itself to any rigid arrangement; the reader will therefore perhaps pardon us if, both as regards time and place, we group our facts together in the way that most easily suggests itself, without attempting to be quite methodical.

On the west side of Bishopsgate Street Without, some years ago, the Great Eastern Railway Company cleared away a space nearly a quarter of a mile in length which involved the removal, at the end of 1890, of what remained of Sir Paul Pindar's house, a beautiful work of art, and a

unique fragment of a great merchant's residence at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The oak front, with its matchless carved work, is now to be seen in the South Kensington Museum. The finely decorated plaster ceiling from a room on the first floor was at the same time removed to South Kensington, where there is another fine ceiling said to be similar in style, which was acquired some thirteen years previously, when the house next to Sir Paul Pindar's, on the left side of our illustration, was taken down. The room which contained the ceiling first mentioned was also decorated with good oak panelling, and originally with a grotesque but handsome chimney-piece, having on it the date 1600, removed early in the nineteenth century, when the room was made what the occupants called "a little comfortable." Doubtless the original mansion included the adjoining house and a good deal more besides. There must have been gardens at the back, and a building decorated with plaster work, usually called "the Lodge," which once stood in Half Moon Street, was said by tradition to have been occupied by the gardener.

Sir Paul Pindar was not only a merchant but a diplomatist. His early manhood was spent in



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Italy. He afterwards held a post at Aleppo, and in 1611, on the recommendation of the Turkey Company, was sent by James I. as ambassador to Constantinople, where he resided, with intervals spent in England, for nine years. Pindar brought from the east some wonderful jewels; a diamond belonging to him, valued in 1824 at £35,000, was lent to James I. to wear on state occasions, and was afterwards bought by Charles I. for a smaller sum, payment being deferred. He advanced enormous sums to that monarch and others, in consequence, after his death, which occurred on August 22, 1650, his affairs were found to be so much entangled that his executor and cashier, William Toomes, after vainly trying to unravel them committed suicide. Sir Paul was a parishioner of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and presented communion plate to that church, which has been either sold or melted. In St. Botolph's account books are entries recording various gifts of venison by him on the occasion of feasts, which did not, however, save him from being fined for eating meat on fish days by the ungrateful parish authorities. He was buried in St. Botolph's Church, and his monument there, which used to be on the north side of the chancel but is now relegated

to some obscure corner, describes him as "faithful in negotiations foreign and domestick ; eminent for piety, charity, loyalty, and prudence ; an inhabitant 26 years, and a bountiful benefactor to this parish."

Some distance north of the site of Sir Paul Pindar's house, on the opposite side of the way, there was, not very long ago, a group of four houses, numbered 81 to 85 Bishopsgate Street Without, which, although vulgarised and defaced, were evidently very old. They resembled each other more or less, and No. 82 still remains. It is of wood, the gabled top story standing slightly back, and having a door in front which opens on to a kind of gallery, formed by the space thus gained and by a projecting cornice. The Rev. Thomas Hugo, who examined the houses in Bishopsgate Street over forty years ago, was told that within the memory of man the date 1590 had been visible on one of the group. Their wooden fronts, however, have markings in imitation of stonework, called technically wooden rustications, which seem to suggest a later date. Similar work was to be seen on the wooden houses in Fore Street at the entrance to St. Giles, Cripplegate, which with the tower of that church have given us a picturesque subject for an illustration. Beneath



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one of these houses is shown the old entrance to the churchyard, the stones of which are at present lying on the ground, but will, it is said, be re-erected. The spandrels of the round-headed arch are, or were, filled in with carvings of an hour-glass, a scythe, a death's head, and other emblems of mortality. Above were the names of the churchwardens at the time of its erection, and the date 1660. This gate was built in the previous year out of the fines received for the renewal of the leases of the parish property. The four wooden shops, with their projecting windows, were rather older, being finished in 1656. They were built by the same authorities on a strip of the burial ground from a similar fund, the rents to be applied to charitable purposes in the parish. Next to these shops was the "Quest House," a small part of which is shown near the left side of our drawing. Here the "Inquest Jury" used to sit. This was a body of men whose chief duties were to look after the internal affairs of the Ward. They were elected on St. Thomas's Day in the same manner as the Common Councilmen, their numbers varying from sixteen to twenty. This jury, after gradually losing most of its powers, was abolished about the year 1857. The curious plate

belonging to it passed soon afterwards into the hands of the vestry, which in later years held its meetings here. The actual building, of brick stuccoed, with "Gothic" windows and doorways, was no older than the year 1811. There had, however, been a previous Quest House on the same site, thought by Mr. Malcolm to have been "nearly as ancient as Edward the Sixth's time." Like its successor, it was built against part of the north side of the church, blocking out the light. In 1900 the leases of the four shops ran out, and the City Corporation having purchased the property, both shops and Quest House were shortly afterwards destroyed. Thus one of the quaintest views in old London ceased to be.

The Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, is believed to have been founded as early as the end of the eleventh century, to supply the needs of those who had lately settled in the then new suburb just without the city wall, a bastion of which is still to be seen in the disused burial ground at the back. The church was rebuilt late in the fourteenth century, again to a great extent after a fire in 1545, and in the Cripplegate fire of November 1897 it had a very narrow escape, several holes being burnt in the roof. The destruction of the

Quest House exposed to view a staircase-turret, a doorway, and various north windows of the church in a dilapidated condition; they have now been "restored." The upper part of the tower, as shown in our illustration, was built of brick in 1683-84, and surmounted by a cupola. With no pretence of being Gothic, it has, to the writer's eyes at least, a very picturesque effect; a proposal made in 1890-91 to rebuild it in Kentish ragstone was fortunately frustrated. This tower contains a fine peal of twelve bells; a chiming machine connected with them is said to have been made in 1795 by George Harman of High Wycombe, whose regular trade was that of a cooper. Six of the bells have rhyming inscriptions, of which the following is a fair example:—

Ye ringers all that prize your health and happiness,
Be sober, merry, wise, and you'll the same possess.

The church contains many interesting monuments, none of very great antiquity; the oldest being that to Thomas Busby, a benefactor of the parish, who died in 1575. Among them is a touching epitaph to Margaret Lucy, who died in 1634, a descendant of Shakespeare's Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote. John Foxe, the martyrologist, some-

time vicar of this parish, and John Speed, cartographer and historian, are also here commemorated. John Milton and his father were buried in the same grave "in the upper end of the chancel at the right hand." Its place is indicated by a stone thus inscribed:—"Near this spot was buried John Milton, author of *Paradise Lost*. Born 1608, died 1674." The grave was disturbed in 1790. Shortly afterwards Samuel Whitbread, the brewer, put up a bust and tablet to Milton's memory, the work of the elder Bacon. In 1862 these were placed on a lofty monument which was then erected in the south aisle to the west of the monument of Speed. Oliver Cromwell was married in this church to Elizabeth Bourchier, August 22, 1620. The registers also contain entries relating to the Egertons, Earls of Bridgewater, the site of whose house is marked by Bridgewater Square, which is in this parish. It was before the head of this family at Ludlow Castle, his official residence as President of the Council of Wales, that Milton's masque of *Comus* was performed in 1634, Lawes being composer of the music. A statue of the poet was placed in November on a conspicuous site near the church, the ground having been bought back from the City Corporation.

We will now retrace our steps to the district through which Bishopsgate Street passes, where, from the fact that the Great Fire did not in this direction extend so far north, many picturesque houses long lingered. Among the rest, fifty years ago, like the Borough High Street, it was lined with quaint old inns, of which the Bull, the Four Swans, and the Green Dragon were the most conspicuous. The remains of a mansion far older and more famous than that of Sir Paul Pindar are close to this street on the east side, being part of Crosby Place, built by Sir John Crosby, who obtained from the adjoining convent of St. Helen a lease of the ground in 1466. The portions remaining are the great hall, with a fine open timber roof and a beautiful oriel window, a room on the ground floor now called the "throne room," and a "withdrawing" or "council room" above, having a richly-carved ceiling. There are also considerable brick cellars. These valuable relics are in no danger of destruction; they have been drawn repeatedly, and are so smartened up to meet the requirements of the purpose to which they are now put, namely, that of a modern restaurant, that they do not at present lend themselves readily to illustration. Here, however, we may comfortably refresh the inner

man after a pilgrimage among the time-honoured shrines in the neighbourhood, and while doing so we may conjure up past scenes before our mental vision. The history of the place is of unique interest. Sir John Crosby, a famous citizen, served the office of Sheriff in 1470, and early in the following year, when the bastard Falconbridge assaulted the city, he distinguished himself by his valour in helping to repel the attack. When Edward IV. returned to London, in May 1471, Crosby accompanied the Mayor and other prominent men who met the King between Shoreditch and Islington, and here he received the honour of knighthood. In the two following years he was employed by Edward in confidential missions, but did not long survive to enjoy his prosperity and his sumptuous mansion. Dying in 1475, he was buried in the neighbouring church of St. Helen, where between the chancel and the chapel of the Holy Ghost is an altar tomb, having on it fine recumbent figures of him and of Agnes, his first wife. Round his neck is a collar decorated with roses and suns alternating—the latter a badge used by Edward IV. after the victory of Mortimer's Cross, when a parhelion or mock sun made its appearance.

In 1483 Crosby Place was occupied by

Richard III. when Protector, probably as a tenant of Crosby's executors, and it is twice mentioned in Shakespeare's Play of *Richard III.* Shakespeare himself may have lived close by in 1598, shifting his quarters from the neighbourhood of the Bank-side; at least some one of his name was a resident in St. Helen's parish, being assessed by the collectors of a subsidy, in the sum of 13s. 4d., upon goods valued at £5, but it is not certain that this was the dramatist. Among inmates of the house, Sir Thomas More was there as owner about 1518; he afterwards sold the property to his friend Antonio Bonvici or Bonvisi, merchant of Lucca, who at one time leased it to the husband of Margaret Roper, More's favourite daughter. In 1566 the mansion was bought by Alderman William Bond, a famous "merchant adventurer," who added to it a lofty turret. About this time, and later, foreign ambassadors were occasionally lodged here; and here, in 1594, Sir John Spencer, a man of great wealth, kept his mayoralty, having bought the property, made great reparation, and added "a most large warehouse to the east." He also bought Canonbury Place, Islington, once the manorial house of the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and probably built the tower of it,

which is still standing. Like Crosby and Bond, he was buried in St. Helen's Church, where, against the wall to the west of the south porch, his splendid monument is now placed. It has recumbent figures of Sir John and his wife, and at their feet is the figure of their daughter kneeling. She married Lord Compton, later first Earl of Northampton, having, as the story goes, eloped from Canonbury by his contrivance in a baker's basket. That she was quite able to hold her own is proved by a letter, still extant, which was written by her, some years after Sir John's death, to her "Lord and Master." She therein tells him what she personally needed in the way of money, beginning with £1600 a year paid quarterly, £600 a year for charity, £8000 for jewels, in addition to £6000, and there is a further list of many costly requirements.

Besides those mentioned above, various other distinguished people have been associated with Crosby Place, the southern part of which is said to have been injured by the Great Fire, and was almost destroyed by another six years afterwards, the hall, however, luckily escaping. It was after this that the present Crosby Square came into existence. The subsequent vicissitudes of the hall are well known, and the successful efforts made

between 1831 and 1836 to preserve it. In the latter year it was re-opened; the present front facing Bishopsgate Street forms no part of the original building. Before quitting the subject it may be remarked that Crosby Place must have stood on the site of a Roman villa, for here two Roman tessellated pavements were found in 1871 and 1873. The house, with its offices and gardens, covered a good deal of ground.

To what extent Crosby Place was damaged by the successive fires of the latter half of the seventeenth century is not exactly known, but it is an interesting fact that at No. 25 Bishopsgate Street Within, a few yards south of the entrance leading to Crosby Square, a house of earlier date was standing until 1892-93 which had been known for years as Crosby Hall Chambers. The front towards the street had no marks of antiquity except two festoons of flowers, much blocked up by paint, between the first floor windows. The north side appeared to be externally more or less in its original state. Its base was composed of rustic work, the wall being relieved by pilasters. There was also a room on the first floor looking out on this passage, which had a fragment of decorative plaster work, and a beautiful

carved chimney-piece, dated 1633, of which a cast is now at the South Kensington Museum. The original is incorporated in the building now occupying the site of Crosby Hall Chambers. In the spring of 1899 the demolition of a house in Bishopsgate Street immediately to the south of the modern frontage of Crosby Hall, displayed to view two Gothic arches, which the writer did not have an opportunity of inspecting. Reference to them may be found in *Notes and Queries* for May 13 and for June 3 of that year; they were probably connected with the crypt of the great mansion.

In Crosby Square, on the south side, two or three handsome old houses remain. One of them has been recased with brick, but has retained its carved doorway. Another has a fine staircase, but its chief distinction is a charming garden at the back, with its fig-trees, its thorns, and pretty fountain—a veritable oasis in this wilderness of bricks and mortar. Fortunately it is in the hands of those who appreciate it; may it long be a source of pleasure and refreshment to them. Dr. Nathan Adler, chief rabbi, lived here for some years, from 1847 onwards: the garden and basin are marked distinctly in Strype's map of 1720.

From Crosby Square a passage leads to Great

St. Helen's, which some years ago was remarkably picturesque. At a corner, opposite the pretty south porch of the church, by some attributed to Inigo Jones, which has on it the date 1633, stood a quaint old house constructed of wood and plaster, with projecting upper stories and massive timbering, which had been in existence long before the Great Fire, and at the time of our sketch was probably, except Crosby Hall, the oldest domestic building in the City; the inside, however, had been modernised. Tradition boldly asserts that Anne Boleyn's father, Sir Thomas, afterwards Viscount Rochford and Earl of Wiltshire, lived here. It is an undoubted fact that a kinsman of his name was intimately associated with St. Helen's, for "on the 24th of December, 26 Henry VIII., 1534, the Prioress and Convent appointed Sir William Bolleyne, Knt., to be steward of their lands and tenements in London and elsewhere, the duties to be performed either by himself or a sufficient deputy during the life of the said James, at a stipend of forty shillings a year payable at Christmas. If in arrear for six weeks the said James might enter and distrain." This was most likely Sir Thomas Boleyn's elder brother. The house, No. 10, had been much

shaken by the removal of Nos. 8 and 9 adjoining. It was propped up for some time, and destroyed in the course of 1894.

The house alluded to in the last paragraph, and known latterly as Nos. 8 and 9 Great St. Helen's, although less ancient than No. 10, deserves something more than a passing allusion. It is on the south side of that part of Great St. Helen's which faces the church and churchyard, both Great St. Helen's and St. Helen's Place having been once included in the precinct of the Convent of St. Helen. A parish church existed here before the foundation of the Priory in the early thirteenth century. When that event took place, a nun's choir was built alongside of the existing nave. The whole church happily escaped the Great Fire, and although of late years it has been terribly over-restored, it is still full of interest and crowded with ancient monuments. To return to Nos. 8 and 9. This mansion, latterly divided into two, and destroyed in the early part of 1892, was of brick, having engaged pilasters, which were furnished with stone bases and capitals. They also had bands, on two of which appeared in relief the initials $\frac{L}{A} 1$, and the date 1646. The projecting sills or cornices and the deep keystones on the first-floor windows gave



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a striking appearance to the fabric. It was also memorable as an early specimen of brickwork in London, and as dating from a period before the formal conclusion of the Civil War, when building operations were almost at a standstill. No. 9 had in a room on the first floor a wooden seventeenth-century mantelpiece, behind which, on its removal, were found traces of an older mantelpiece of marble, and evidence of the former existence of a large open fireplace. The beautiful staircase, or portion of a staircase, might from its style have been Elizabethan. A blocked-up window, with wooden transoms for casements, was also discovered; so it seems likely that some years after the date of the original building considerable alterations took place. The façade has been attributed to Inigo Jones, but it had not his classic symmetry, and looked like the work of a less instructed local artist. Besides, Inigo Jones, a Royalist and a Roman Catholic, was taken prisoner in October 1645 at the storming of Basing House, having been there during the siege, which had lasted since August 1643. He was apparently not free to return to his profession until July 2, 1646, when, after payment of a heavy fine, his estate, which had been sequestrated, was restored to him, and he

received pardon by an ordinance of the House of Commons. It is hard to believe that whilst he was passing through such a crisis, or in the few months succeeding it, he would have been superintending a work in the Puritan City. At the time of his release the great architect was seventy-four years of age, and as far as we know he hardly practised his profession afterwards. The division of Nos. 8 and 9 Great St. Helen's took place in the course of the last century, probably about 1750, to judge from the style of the fanlights and projecting hoods to the front doors, and from the staircase of No. 8, the upper portion of which, however, was much more archaic, and might have served as part of the back staircase to the original building. We have not been able to give a coloured illustration of this house, but there is an architectural drawing of it in our book on London signs and inscriptions.

The initials have generally been considered to refer to Sir John Lawrence and his wife, but they were really those of his uncle and aunt, Adam and Judith Lawrence, who were members of the Dutch congregation of Austin Friars. From Adam, Sir John inherited this house with other property in 1657, the year

that he was elected alderman of Queenhithe Ward. He shortly afterwards served the office of Sheriff, and on June 16, 1660, he was knighted by Charles II. when that monarch, accompanied by his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and some of the nobility, were entertained at supper by the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Alleyne. In 1664 he was elected Lord Mayor, and Evelyn speaks of a "most magnificent triumph by water and land" on that occasion. Evelyn also attended the Lord Mayor's banquet, when he dined at the upper table with various great personages, and "the cheer was not to be imagined for the plenty and rarity, with an infinite number of persons at the table in that ample hall." Sir John behaved very well during the time of the Great Plague. He "enforced the wisest regulations then known," and freely expended his private fortune in support of those who were ill and impoverished until subscriptions from elsewhere could be obtained. Dr. Erasmus Darwin, in his *Loves of the Plants*, devotes a few lines to "London's generous Mayor."

In 1662 apparently Lawrence had built a new house for himself also in Great St. Helen's, in which he kept his mayoralty; an illustration of it appeared in 1796, forming the frontispiece to

vol. xxix. of the *European Magazine*. That undoubted residence of his is marked by name in the map of Bishopsgate Street Ward accompanying Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey*, where a slight sketch of it is given. The Jewish synagogue is rather west of the site. It is curious that the initials on Nos. 8 and 9 Great St. Helen's besides suiting the uncle Adam and his wife were also applicable to Sir John and Lady Lawrence, whose Christian name was Abigail. There is a monument to this latter lady in St. Helen's Church, where it is recorded that she was "the tender mother of ten children. The nine first, being all daughters, she suckled at her own breasts; they all lived to be of age. Her last, a son, died an infant. She lived a married wife 39 years, 23 whereof she was an exemplary matron of this Cittie, dying in the 59th year of her age." As she died in 1681, it would appear that she and her husband came to reside in the parish after Adam's death. In St. Helen's Church is a carved wooden stand for the reception of the Lord Mayor's sword on the occasion of his ceremonial visits there. This has on it the arms of Lawrence, namely argent, a cross raguly gules, a canton ermine, and is the oldest sword-stand in the City. Faulkner in his *History of Chelsea*, and

the Rev. J. E. Cox, D.D., in his *Annals of St. Helen's*, deceived no doubt by the fact that their arms were identical, have assumed that Sir John Lawrence belonged to the Lawrences who acquired the Manor House at Chelsea about the year 1590, and with it, in all likelihood, the north chapel in the old parish church, which is still called after them but was built long before their time, perhaps towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Lord Mayor, as we have implied, was of Dutch or Flemish ancestry. The name had been spelt in various ways, as Laurens, Laureijns, Laurents, etc., until, when its possessors became thoroughly anglicised, it took the English form.

About the year 1860 almost all the houses in Great St. Helen's were of considerable age, but little that is of interest now remains. On the south side No. 2 has a pretty doorway, which appears to date from the early part of the eighteenth century, and there is another (No. 7) with a Georgian staircase. There was a right-of-way through here for the public from very early times; for Dugdale tells us that in the Hundred Roll of the third year of Edward I. several entries occur relating to an attempt which the nuns made to stop up the lane or passage through the court of their priory from

Bishopsgate Street to St. Mary Axe. The view which is here given represents the entrance to Bishopsgate Street from Great St. Helen's in 1890. On the left is a modern portion of Crosby Hall, and over the passage were gabled houses older than the time of the Great Fire. The structure on spectator's right, although unpretentious, had an air of quaintness, with its iron railings and broad white window frames shining in the sun. The inscription on a tablet above the door of this building ran as follows:—"These alms-houses were founded by Sir Andrew Judd, Kt., Citizen and Skinner, and Lord Mayor of London, Anno Dom. 1551. For six poor men of y^e said Company. Rebuilt by y^e said Company Anno Dom. 1729." The original almshouses are supposed to have been further east.

Sir Andrew Judd was a native of Tunbridge in Kent, and made a large fortune as a merchant, chiefly, it is said, by dealing in furs. He kept his mayoralty in a "fair house" in Bishopsgate Street, which had been before used for a similar purpose by another great city magnate, Sir William Holles. It seems to be shown by her will, that in building the almshouses Sir Andrew Judd only acted as executor to his cousin Elizabeth, widow of Sir William.



Stow, however, does not mention her name in connection with the charity, which was augmented by Judd's daughter, Alice Smyth, of Westenhanger, Kent. Sir Andrew also founded and endowed Tunbridge Grammar School. Like most of the other worthies we have mentioned in connection with this precinct, he was buried in St. Helen's Church. A quaint Elizabethan monument marks his resting-place. The epitaph gives quite a little biography of him, which contains what a transatlantic cousin thought to be the essential poetic elements, for it "states all the facts and rhymes occasionally."

Judd's almshouses in Great St. Helen's were destroyed about 1892, a scheme having been matured by the Skinners' Company for amalgamating the funds with those of other almshouses administered by them, which stood on the north side of the Mile End Road. We shall here take the opportunity of saying a few words about the Skinners' almshouses, a view of a portion of them being given in this book. Over the gate were the arms of the Skinners' Company and two statuettes of cripples. There were also two inscriptions, one setting forth that the almshouses were founded in 1688 during the mastership of Benjamin Alexander. The other ran thus :—

THE GIFT OF MR. LEWIS NEWBURY,

BUILT BY

THOMAS GLOVER, ESQ.,
his Executor, committed
to the management of the
COMPANY OF SKINNERS,
LONDON.

The narrow frontage of these almshouses towards the road did not prepare one for the picturesque scene within. The houses, twelve in number, were for poor widows. There was a chapel and a garden at the farther end from which our drawing was taken. In 1892 the Skinners' Company invited tenders for the purchase of the property, and about two years afterwards these old buildings were swept away. Almshouses have been built outside London from the funds of this and of the Judd foundation.

Next to the site of the Skinners' almshouses on the east, is the famous Trinity Hospital, held to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and saved from imminent destruction now some years ago, while further east are the Vintners' almshouses, originally founded in the Vintry Ward in 1357, moved to Mile End in 1676, and rebuilt in the early part of the nineteenth century with increased benefits, under the will of Benjamin Kenton,



Citizen and Vintner, whose house is yet standing in the Minories. There were formerly several other almshouses in this once rural neighbourhood, where, as Gerard tells us in his *Herbal*, pennyroyal once grew in great abundance, and whither Londoners used to wend their way on festive occasions for the sake of fresh air and for cakes and ale. The Drapers' almshouses of the John Pemel foundation disappeared long ago, and those founded by Bancroft have given place to the "People's Palace," the outcome in some sense of Walter Besant's ideas of social philanthropy as set forth in *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*.

Standing by the Skinners' Almshouse, and looking west towards the Whitechapel Road, one would formerly have seen a little timber-built tavern with tiled roof called the Vine, which had here boldly thrust itself on to the open space between the wide pavement and the wider road. So picturesque was its appearance that two views of it are here given. The first, done many years ago, represents it from the west, in the early morning of May 14, 1887, the day when her late Majesty Queen Victoria, accompanied by Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, drove in an open carriage from Paddington to Mile End, and

opened in person the great Central Hall of the People's Palace. The streets were gaily decorated for the occasion, and it will be seen that the proprietor of the Vine Tavern invested in bunting to an extent that marked him out as a thoroughly loyal subject. At the time represented in the painting, the road, soon to be thronged with a joyous crowd, was still empty, save for the presence of here and there a straggler, who seemed in no hurry for work or play, but as if anxious to begin at once with some slight liquid refreshment. On spectator's right the entrance to the Skinners' Almshouses is visible. In the early autumn of 1903 it became known that the old house had been condemned by the Borough Council of Stepney. Our second illustration was the result of a couple of afternoon visits, when the work of demolition was already begun. As the hour of sunset approached, we were struck by the crowd of foot passengers, male and female, who, business for the day being finished, were wending their way eastward from Whitechapel.

The site of the "Vine" remains vacant, and is not likely to be again built upon. Although dear to the artist, it was a humble shanty, and efforts to find out something of interest connected with



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it have been rather unsuccessful. From its appearance it must have been at least as old as the earlier half of the eighteenth century, perhaps much older, and it was built on the waste ground at Mile End which has been absorbed into the thoroughfare, thus long ago extended to an abnormal width. The former waste land at Mile End must not be confounded with Mile End (now Stepney) Green. The Vine Tavern stood in front of some houses named in a map of 1799, "Five Constable Row," and is thereon distinctly marked. It was in the Mile End Road, which is a continuation east of the Whitechapel Road; Dog Row (now Cambridge Road) from the north joins and also divides them. This junction takes place a short distance west of the tavern site; and here stood the old turnpike, shown in more than one engraving, and abolished about the year 1866.

Those who wend their way along the Whitechapel Road towards the city will not find much that is of interest artistically, so far at least as the buildings are concerned, until they approach Aldgate. One is struck by two things, the prevalence of the Jewish element, and the fact that there is little or no sign of the destitution which we are apt to associate with this part of London. On the

contrary, the district looks prosperous, and Mr. Charles Booth's "Descriptive Map of East End Poverty," compiled in 1887, appears to bear this out, all the houses on each side of the road being shown as occupied by those who are well-to-do, although here and there a very short walk to north or south would take us to scenes of extreme poverty.

Aldgate High Street and Whitechapel, being on the highroad to Essex, had in former years, like other main thoroughfares out of London, several famous inns; among others the Three Nuns, the Crown, the Blue Boar, and the Black Bull. Of these the Three Nuns is mentioned by De Foe in his *Journal of the Plague Year*, and was an important coaching inn. It was rebuilt in 1880, the Aldgate Station of the Metropolitan Railway occupies part of the site. Hard by, at 25 Aldgate High Street, some twelve or fourteen years ago, an old-fashioned gateway was still to be seen, surmounted by a handsome piece of iron work, which once supported a lamp. In the passage leading to the yard at the back, one could dimly discern, nailed to the wall, a painted board, once the sign of the Black Bull Inn. Some part of that establishment then remained, and here in



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the palmy days of coaching, just before the advent of railways, Mrs. Anne Nelson, coach proprietor, had held sway. It was said that she could make up nearly two hundred beds at this hostelry, and she lodged and boarded about three dozen of her guards and coachmen. Most of her trade was to Essex and Suffolk, but she also owned the Exeter coach. She must have been landlady on the memorable occasion when Mr. Pickwick arrived in a cab after "two mile o' danger at eightpence," and it was through this very archway that he and his companions were driven by the elder Weller when they started on their adventurous journey to Ipswich. The house is now wholly destroyed, and the yard built over. On the opposite side of Aldgate High Street, a few seventeenth-century houses still survive, chiefly butchers' shops, to remind us that even in Strype's time (1720) they plied their trade here, because, as he tells us, this region lies "conveniently for driving and carrying cattle from Rumford market." There is also an old tavern, with the sign of the Hoop and Grapes, better known as Christopher Hill's, with handsomely carved door-posts of the same date as the house.

A short distance to the south, along the

Minories, close to the little church of Holy Trinity, stood formerly one of the oldest public-houses in London, by name the Sieve. The sign, now extinct in London, had been associated with it at any rate for considerably more than two hundred years. Stow, the historian of London, might almost have seen it, and we know that in his boyhood he had often fetched milk from a neighbouring farm, the site of which is still called Goodman's Fields. Underneath there were crypt-like cellars, the material used in their construction being of the nature of chalk. It is possible that originally they had some connection with the adjoining convent of "sorores minores" or nuns of St. Clare, for J. T. Smith, who in 1797 sketched the remains of the conventual buildings then laid bare by a fire, and published the results in his *Ancient Topography of London*, tells us that their walls were of chalk and Caen stone. The parish of Holy Trinity is all included within the ancient precincts of the convent, and in the early days of the Reformation the gates were still kept up. In the parish records, under date 1596, there is mention of the appointment of a "vitler to the parish." He was also to have the custody of the keys, and was to close the gate "in the

sommer at night at tenne of the clocke, and in the winter at nyne, and at noe other hour, except the necessary and urgent occasions of the inhabitants of the said parish doe require the contrarie." Later extracts speak of vestry meetings at the Sieve; for instance "about agreeing to pull down the churchyard wall," when matters were facilitated by the expenditure of six shillings on refreshment. A seventeenth-century trade token was issued from this house, which for many years belonged to the Byng family, but at length came into the hands of the Metropolitan Railway Company, by whom it was closed in 1886, but not entirely destroyed until 1890. The writer made various drawings of it, unfortunately all in monochrome, which are now to be seen at the Bethnal Green Museum.

The parish of Holy Trinity is now annexed to that of St. Botolph, Aldgate, and the church, within a few yards of the site of the old Sieve, is used as a parish room. It is a plain little structure, but has various interesting features and associations, which it is hardly the writer's province to note in this volume. He would mention, however, that on this site was the church of the Minoresses, which survived until the year 1706, when it was

to a great extent rebuilt; but part of the north wall remains, and in the early autumn of 1904, a fire having laid bare a considerable space on this side, exposed to view the whole of the masonry, the most interesting portion being a pointed window near the west end, which is much mutilated but appears to be of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Retracing our steps up the Minories to Aldgate High Street, if we turn to the west, we shall still find just within the original limits of the City, that is beyond the site of Aldgate, the original front of another well-known coaching inn—the Saracen's Head. The old yard remains, and on the right of the entrance the name in 1887 was still visible under the paint. The carved pilasters to the left must have been the work of an artist. The back of the inn was once galleried, and coaches plied from here to Norwich as long ago as 1681.

CHAPTER III

MORE CITY HOUSES

“The old merchants—were a fine race. They knew their position and built up to it.”—DISRAELI, *Tancred*.

WE find ourselves once more in the City, and will finish our quest among the old houses, now few and far between. Already they have almost disappeared from the main thoroughfares, being found in quiet nooks and corners—relics of a past age, which seem to have survived by escaping notice rather than from any wish to preserve them. The first of these to which we shall allude is, it is true, close to the headquarters of the corn trade; but having been in its time an important dwelling, it still has a long forecourt, and remains somewhat isolated. This stately old red brick mansion stands back some distance on the west side of Mark Lane, the entrance being through a very handsome doorway adorned with carvings of fruit and

figures, which seems to belong to the end of the seventeenth century. The house is four storied, with engaged pilasters. On the keys of the windows are what appear to be heraldic decorations in cut brick, perhaps the crest of the first owner. Passing through a passage, one finds at the back another handsome doorway, while the present main entrance is on the left, in what must have been an early addition to the main building. On the ground floor in the hall is a leaden statue which looks as if it came out of a garden. The principal staircase is now here, the carved balusters of varied pattern, with their supporting brackets, being excellent specimens of early eighteenth-century woodwork, and on the landing is a window with a recessed seat charmingly inlaid.

This house, like another we shall mention, has been called the "Spanish ambassador's house," but in this case there is no authority (except tradition) for the title. A glance at Ogilby and Morgan's plan of 1677 makes another suggestion more likely. One there sees, just on this site, a court marked "Navy Office," and possibly the business of that institution was carried on here for a time, but to decide the matter further research would be necessary.

Forty years ago there were other fine old houses in Mark Lane, standing in open courts and shaded by trees, but all the rest have been destroyed to make room for modern offices. During excavations on the site of one in 1871 a Roman tessellated pavement was found, together with fragments of Samian ware.

Mention of the Navy Office reminds us that, as we all know, its headquarters were for many years in Seething Lane, hard by, and that Samuel Pepys, who was Clerk of the Acts, lived in a house adjoining and belonging to it. Here he wrote almost the whole of his famous diary, and he was finally laid to rest in the church of St. Olave, Hart Street. In Seething Lane there is nothing now that dates from his time; but Catherine Court, which extends from there to Tower Hill, was built in 1725, and has or has had handsome iron work at the entrance, and other decorative features.

Not far off, one of the best examples of a well-to-do citizen's dwelling of the time of Charles II. is to be found in that amphibious region between Lower Thames Street and Little Tower Street, where it has been used since 1859 for the Billingsgate and Tower Ward school. It stands in a quiet courtyard opening into Botolph Lane, which runs

from Eastcheap to Lower Thames Street. A second entrance is on the east side in Love Lane. The front is plain but has an air of quiet dignity, being built of well-laid and unusually small bricks with stone dressings. It has a projecting cornice and flat lead-covered roof. The doorway is approached by a double flight of steps, beneath which an opening has been left, once used as a dog kennel, to judge from the little hollow for water scooped out in front. Entering a hall, which extends right through the house and is paved with alternate chequers of black and white, one sees in front a massive staircase with the date 1670 on the plaster above. Upstairs the house has been mutilated, the greater part of the landings on the first and second floors being included in the schoolrooms, but fine chimney-pieces of various dates, well-designed cornices and plaster-work, evince the taste of former possessors. Perhaps the most interesting part of the house is a small room immediately to the left of the main entrance. It is panelled throughout, and painted from ceiling to floor with strange designs, among which one can dimly discern the figures of Indians, a rhinoceros, antelopes, palm trees, and other signs of tropical life as it presented itself to the memory or imagination of the artist. According to some,

the history of the tobacco plant is here depicted, but of this I could see no sign. The paintings were in the first instance brightly coloured, the prevailing tone is now a rich mahogany, due partly to time and varnish, partly to the fact that years ago damp Brazil nuts were stored in the basement, which became heated and the fumes forced themselves into the room above. Fortunately we know the name of the painter of this curious series of pictures, one of the panels being signed "R. Robinson, 1696." Perhaps this was his masterpiece for it is the only record of him which has come down to us. The other decorations of the room are a carved mantel and a panelled cupboard.

The house is eloquently described in the pathetic novel *Mitre Court*. Here Mr. Brisco suffered, and Abigail Weir passed her innocent girlhood. Their joys and sorrows are true—to human nature at least; truer I fear than Mrs. Riddell's assertion that Sir Christopher Wren was its architect and first inhabitant, though the design is not altogether unworthy of him. At the time of writing, we hear, alas! that it is doomed. Cannot something be done to save it from destruction?

A short distance to the north, on the east side of Lime Street, was formerly a superb old mansion

still standing in the year 1872, when the late Mr. G. H. Birch and Mr. R. Phené Spiers made drawings and measurements of it, which were afterwards published in the form of a monograph. It appears to have been built by Richard Langton about the year 1600, the site having been occupied in the fifteenth century by Lord Scrope of Bolton, and bequeathed in 1501 to the Fishmongers' Company. In 1700-1 Sir Thomas Abney was Lord Mayor, and there he kept his mayoralty. He was a great supporter of St. Thomas's Hospital, and will also be remembered as the friend and patron of Dr. Isaac Watts. Mantelpieces from thence are preserved in the Guildhall Museum and at South Kensington.

Let us now turn our steps to the region of Austin Friars, which still has, in what is now the Dutch Church, a famous relic of monastic times; and, although within a few yards of the Stock Exchange, has hardly yet altogether succumbed to the assaults of the modern builder. The most interesting houses, however, have now been destroyed. Early in 1896 the house numbered 10 ceased to be. It was on the north side of the old Friars' Church, the date on a rain-pipe proved that it had been there at least as early as the year 1704. The porch was approached by steps;



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ascending these one saw in front a spacious staircase, so typical of the period that it is here portrayed. This staircase was panelled throughout, and was especially noticeable from its ceiling, which was painted on plaster with allegorical figures in the style of Sir James Thornhill. The house No. 11 formed part of the same block of buildings. While these were in process of destruction a Gothic arch was exposed to view, the upper part of which had been in a room on the ground floor of No. 10, incorporated in the east wall of the house. From the character of the mouldings it was held to date from the fifteenth century, having no doubt belonged to the cloisters of the Augustine Friars. Other mediæval remains were found, and a paper on the subject was read before the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

Another house, which made more stir at the time of its destruction, was No. 21 Austin Friars, at the north-west corner of the precinct. It had been built in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and in the year 1705 came into the hands of Herman Olmius, merchant, whose name occurs in the first London directory, namely that for 1677, where he is described as "of Bishopsgate-without, Angel Alley." Descended from an

ancient family of Arlon in the Duchy of Luxembourg, he was naturalised, and having made a large fortune died in 1718. His will showed that he was a member not of the Dutch congregation in Austin Friars, but of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, to which he left £150 for the benefit of the poor. His eldest son died Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, and his grandson, who for many years represented Colchester in the House of Commons, was made an Irish peer as Lord Waltham, but the title died out in the next generation. The family possessed much land in Essex, and had a famous country seat at Boreham, now used as a convent. Herman Olmius had left the Austin Friars property to the children of his younger daughter, Margaret, married to Adrian Lernoult, who predeceased him. In 1783 Hughes Minet came to live here, and in 1802 he bought a share of the house from descendants of Margaret Lernoult. He was of Huguenot ancestry, and his family had long carried on a prosperous business at Dover. The Minets occupied No. 21 for many years; in 1838 Messrs. Thomas, Son, and Lefevre were established here, the last named being a brother of Lord Eversley. The final owner was Mr. John Fleming, through whose

kindness I had the privilege of exploring the whole property on almost the last day that it remained intact. In truth the house itself was by no means a striking piece of architecture; the only decoration externally was a carved hood to the doorway forming the chief entrance from Austin Friars. But having been from the beginning practically unchanged, there were points about it worthy of record. The counting-house on the ground floor had a Purbeck marble mantelpiece, on the upper moulding of which appeared in white marble the Olmius arms with very elaborate quarterings, representing the foreign families of Gerverdine, Cappré, Drigue, and Reynstein. Mounting the broad staircase which, like that at No. 10, had carved and twisted balusters, one came upon the dining-room and drawing-room on the first floor; the former looked out on what had once been the pleasant and ample garden of the Drapers' Company. Retracing our steps to the hall we found flanking a passage on the side opposite to the counting-house a lofty kitchen still furnished with smoke-jack, racks, and iron cauldron-holders, and next to the range an oven lined with blue and white tiles, perhaps a legacy of Herman Olmius. Through a passage we passed to the outer offices,

a brewery, washhouse, coachhouse, and stables ; from these again there was access by a side entrance into the garden—a quiet spot some half-acre in extent, which no doubt had originally formed part of the Friars' grounds. It was connected by steps with a narrow terrace running along the back of the house. Here, in the summer of 1888, fig-trees were still flourishing while the work of destruction had already begun.

The boundary at the end of this garden was formed by another very interesting house, No. 23 Great Winchester Street, improved out of existence in the year 1890. It was approached through a paved yard with a lodge on each side of the entrance, its chief external characteristics being a somewhat high-pitched roof and wings projecting forward. Inside, the chief reception-room was finely proportioned, and the staircase had pleasant architectural features. At the Dissolution the house and grounds of the Augustine Friars had been bestowed by Henry VIII. (for a consideration no doubt) on William Paulet, first Marquis of Winchester, who there built his town residence, traces of which existed as late as the year 1844 ; after this mansion Winchester Street was named. From a date carved on a grotesque bracket, formerly



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to be seen at the north-east corner, it appears that the street was constructed, partly at least, in the year 1656, during the government of Cromwell. Strype says that here was "a great messuage called the Spanish Ambassador's House, of late inhabited by Sir James Houblon, Knight and Alderman, and other fair houses." Even down to our time it was a remarkably picturesque specimen of an old London street. Now nothing but the name is left to mark its connection with antiquity.

Some little distance to the west of the district we have just been exploring, at No. 4 Coleman Street, near its junction with London Wall, a house was standing not many years ago which, like houses innumerable, was reputed to have been a residence of Oliver Cromwell. At first sight it had the appearance of dating from the earlier part of the eighteenth century. There was in it a good eighteenth-century staircase with a skylight above, and one of the rooms had a handsome mantelpiece, also apparently Georgian. Another room on the first floor was of more interest and importance. Its panelling was of cedar, and the carved chimney-piece was distinctly Jacobean in character. The house, therefore, was much older than its general character would have led one to suppose, or else

it had been rebuilt early in the eighteenth century, the chimney-piece and panelling being insertions from an older building. It should be added that the north end of Coleman Street is known to have escaped the Great Fire. In 1891-92 "the cedar room" was used as an office by Mr. H. S. Foster, then Sheriff of London. In 1896 the house was pulled down by Messrs. Colls and Son, whose offices adjoined, and in clearing away the foundations the workmen came upon three ancient wells—two of them went down twenty feet below the pavement level. The following is quoted from an illustrated article in the *City Press* for June 6, 1896 :—"The construction of these wells or elongated water-butts was simplicity itself. Tubs or casks bound with wooden hoops were sunk into the ground and banked up with puddled clay to keep them water-tight. The clay remains to this day, as also do the wooden hoops (or did till very recently), but the latter are as soft as touchwood." The description of these casks reminds one of casks somewhat similar which have been found in Roman wells at Silchester, and were exhibited in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House, but examples more analogous, because of a similar date, were brought to light not long ago in the course



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of alterations at the Bank of England. In the wells beneath No. 4 Coleman Street were discovered various pieces of pottery in remarkably good preservation, and of types ranging from the beginning of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, which are now at the Guildhall Museum. The soil in which these old wells were sunk was dark and peaty; in all probability it once formed part of the marsh land of Moorfields.

If the reader cares now to explore the lanes about the neighbourhood of Cannon Street Railway Station, it will be a pleasure to introduce him to a few capital specimens of old city architecture; and by slightly prolonging our walk we may pay a flying visit to No. 73 Cheapside which is or has been known as the "Old Mansion House." According to the usual accounts, it obtained this name from the fact that Sir William Turner, for whom it was built shortly after the Great Fire, here kept his mayoralty in 1668-69. On an engraving of the house, dating apparently from about 1825, it is described as the residence of Mr. Tegg, the bookseller, the design being attributed to Sir Christopher, but this seems to be all the authority for the latter statement. Since then the front has been modernised, but there is

still an old staircase with massive newels and balusters, dating no doubt from the seventeenth century.

We will now make our way to Laurence Poultney Hill, a narrow lane running south from Cannon Street, a short distance to the east of the railway station, and as we pause for a moment we may note an inscription on the corner house telling us that it leads to Duck's Foot Lane and to Suffolk Lane. Here one has a group of names conveying an historic lesson, the name Poultney indicates the former connection of Sir John de Pulteney, four times Mayor of London, with the parish, while Duck's Foot Lane is undoubtedly a corruption of "Duxfield," which in its turn is equivalent to "Dukes Field" Lane, having reference to Dukes of Suffolk and other dukes who in succession held the property which had belonged to the great citizen, de Pulteney. I shall revert to this subject in another chapter when describing a crypt destroyed here some years ago; meantime we will glance at two or three merchants' houses still to be found in the neighbourhood.

A few yards down Laurence Poultney Hill, on the west side, we shall see two beautiful doorways of a style which was not unusual in the reign of



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Queen Anne, but these specimens are among the best in existence. An important brick mansion, built on this site immediately after the Great Fire, was in 1702 sold to Thomas Denning, citizen and salter, and in the following year replaced by the houses of which these doorways form part. Within one of their shell-shaped canopies is the date of erection, and on the other are the figures in relief of two boys playing at marbles. This house has a handsome staircase, shown through the open door in our illustration. The Rev. H. B. Wilson, D.D., who published in 1831 an account of the parish of St. Laurence Poultney, and was a master of Merchant Taylors' School, resided here, the house to the left being then occupied by Mr. Justin Fitzgerald. The general effect of the two buildings, which form one architectural composition, is spoiled by an ugly modern addition in front.

Immediately to the west or south-west is Suffolk Lane, united to Laurence Poultney Hill by a short roadway, and here No. 2, although outside there is nothing particularly attractive about it, contains in a ground-floor room, above the carved marble mantelpiece and on the walls, decorative plaster work of rather an elaborate kind. It is Italian in style, and, although perhaps somewhat more

modern, much resembles work executed by Italian plasterers in 1725-26 at Ditchley in Oxfordshire, the home of Viscount Dillon. Their names were Giuseppe Artavi, Francesco Serena, and Francesco Vassali, as shown in still-existing documents. In the calendar of the Sherborne Muniments, under date 1724, I find among Sir John Dutton's accounts the following entry :—"To Sign^r S. Vassalii for making 14 busts and pedestals and busts in my hall, 20li. 9s." There are also at 2 Suffolk Lane fine carved over-doors, and a pretty mantelpiece upstairs with painted plaques in the style somewhat of Angelica Kauffmann.

A little farther west is College Hill, so named because Richard Whittington, perhaps the best remembered of all the mediæval Mayors of London, here founded a College of St. Spirit and St. Mary. He was buried in St. Michael's Church hard by, which was destroyed in the Great Fire, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, whose handsome tower still adorns the narrow thoroughfare. Here, also, two gateways with sculptured pediments remain which might have been designed by Wren. It is worthy of remark that on College Hill was the house and courtyard of "Zimri," the second and last Duke of Buckingham of the Villiers family,

who, as Strype tells us, lived in this street for some time "upon a particular humour." Hatton, in his *New View of London*, 1708, says that this is "a spacious building on the east side of College Hill, now or late in the possession of Sir John Lethieullier," and as regards the position of the house he is followed by Peter Cunningham in his famous handbook of London. However, in Ogilby and Morgan's plan of 1677, and in the plan attached to Strype's edition of Stow, the Duke's dwelling is distinctly shown on the west side of College Hill.

At present the gateways are incorporated in a frontage which in old leases is always called "the stable." They form the means of access to two houses under one roof; that to the south—No. 21 College Hill—being a capital specimen of a merchant's dwelling of the early part of the eighteenth century, with a handsome staircase, carved over-doors, and a finely-panelled room on the first floor. They stand back some distance from the street and have no particular relation with the gateways, which are older in style. Underneath both houses run very large cellars, which are connected, and within memory there was a small garden at the back of No. 21. In

1746 this house belonged to Charles Lethieullier, and was then tenanted by Sir Samuel Pennant, the previous occupant having been Sir Robert Godschall. The house afterwards passed by marriage to the Hulses; for many years it has been in the hands of the Wilde family, which has produced two eminent judges—Lord Truro and Lord Penzance.

Taking into consideration the fact of the property having once belonged to the Lethieulliers, from its ground plan, and from the style of the gateways themselves, and of the building to which they are attached, it seems not improbable that here were the stables of Buckingham House with a garden at the back. The house between the gateways and the church was built for the Mercers' School, being opened by the master and wardens of the Company, June 6, 1832, and is said to occupy the site of Whittington's dwelling. The school has of late years been removed to Barnard's Inn, which we shall presently visit. The building on College Hill remains intact.

From the foot of College Hill, a short walk along Upper Thames Street towards the west, and then a turn to the river, would, not many years ago, have taken us to Paul's Pier, now no longer in exist-



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ence. Thence the view was one which we felt must be recorded. In the immediate foreground stood a curious riverside dwelling, squeezed in between two great warehouses, its quaint bay window projecting over a wide doorway for the passage of goods, which opened on to the Thames. The house, containing two staircases and nineteen rooms, was in 1891 still occupied as a private residence, being let in apartments, and was one of the last of its kind on the Thames bank in London. It was popularly supposed to be three hundred years old, and to have been occupied by James I., the building on an adjoining wharf being used as a barrack for his soldiers, but from the architectural point of view there was nothing to indicate that it dated from before the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. East Paul's Wharf, immediately west of it, had been rebuilt in 1890, but the large warehouse adjoining this on the west, known as Paul's Wharf, and sometimes called "the barracks," looked as if it had been built in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It ran back some distance, having twelve gables alongside the way to Paul's Pier. Shortly after the completion of our drawing, a subterranean brick tunnel (partly under the old house) was discovered. It began at

a distance of about 50 feet from the Thames, and extended in a northerly direction for about 110 feet, being 14 feet wide, with a clear way of some 8 feet, after allowing for a deep deposit of mud along the floor. Within, the roof of the arch was covered with stalactites in some cases a yard long; the two ends had been bricked up. The writer of an article in the *Builder* for August 2, 1891, suggests that this tunnel may possibly have been made to assist in carrying off the torrents that used to run down the steep inclines in this part of the town after great and sudden rains, sometimes to the peril of human life. The old house, the "barracks," and the tunnel were all destroyed in 1898. During the work of reconstruction, ancient timber piling came to light which had been used for the embankment of the river.

Stow describes Paul's Wharf as "a large landing-place with a common stair upon the river Thames, at the end of a street called Paul's Wharf Hill, which runneth down from Paul's Chain." We have already noted the fact that the iron railings for St. Paul's Cathedral were landed at Paul's Wharf. Letters to Sir John Paston "at the George by Powley's Wharf," were written as



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long ago as 1476. From here a seventeenth-century trade token was issued, reading as follows :—

Obverse.—AT · YE · NEXT · BOAT · BY · PAVLS =
A boat containing three men ; over it, NEXT BOAT.

Reverse.—WHARFE · AT · PETERS · HILL · FOOT =
M. M. B.

Paul's Pier was within a few minutes' walk of Dean's Court, St. Paul's Churchyard, where stands the Deanery, the wall enclosing which is shown, in one of our illustrations, on the left. In 1894 great changes took place at this spot, which had before been singularly quiet and old-fashioned. The entrance from St. Paul's Churchyard was until then through an archway, under a house dating from immediately after the Great Fire, which was said traditionally to have been used by Wren as an office after the rebuilding of St. Paul's. This house is shown in course of demolition, while the ground on the right lies vacant, and we were thus enabled to have a glimpse of the Cathedral, now again quite concealed. The houses to the east, facing St. Paul's Churchyard, together with the Vicar-General's office, and other houses on the same side of Dean's Court, were cleared away to enable Messrs. Pawson and Co. to extend their

warehouses, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners having granted them a building lease for that purpose.

Dean's Court did not actually form part of the precinct of Doctors' Commons (finally cleared away in 1867), but was associated with, and in its immediate neighbourhood. Sam Weller in *Pickwick* thus humorously refers to the entrance:—"St. Paul's Churchyard — low archway on the carriage side, bookseller's at one corner, hotel on the other, and two porters in the middle as touts for licences." It was here that his father was inveigled into matrimony. The Dean's house, yet standing, was built by Wren, after the Great Fire, on the site of the former Deanery, but shorn of the chief part of its garden stretching down to the river, which was portioned off in building leases to defray the cost of the new structure. The porch is decorated with carved festoons of flowers in the style of Grinling Gibbons. There is also a handsome staircase. Little more than a generation ago rooks used to build on the plane trees in front.

Immediately opposite to the south end of Dean's Court, in Carter Lane, an old inn called the Swan with two Necks, with a painted sign against the wall in front, was standing until the



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end of 1894. It had been a coaching house, but of modest dimensions, never a rival of the famous Swan with two Necks in Lad Lane, once the headquarters of Mr. William Chaplin, perhaps the greatest coach proprietor that ever lived. Times having changed, the building facing Carter Lane became an ordinary public-house, while the galleried portion at the back was occupied by persons in the employment of Messrs. Pawson, the great ware-housemen. This drawing was made in October 1894, when the place had just been vacated, having been taken over by the Post Office authorities. At that time the place was overrun by a legion of half-starved rats, their supply of food having suddenly been cut off by the exodus of the human inhabitants. A Post Office Savings Bank was shortly afterwards built on the site.

The origin of the sign has often been explained, but as a rule inaccurately. Perhaps, for reference, it will be useful to put the explanation in a concise form. The swans on the upper reaches of the Thames are owned respectively by the Crown and the Dyers' and Vintners' Companies of the City of London, and, according to ancient custom, the representatives of these several owners make an expedition each year up the river and mark the

cygnets. The Royal mark used to consist of five diamonds, the Dyers' of four bars, and the Vintners' of the chevron or letter V and two nicks. The word "nicks" has been corrupted into necks, and as the vintners were often tavern-keepers, the Swan with two Necks became a common inn and tavern sign. The swan marks just described continued in use until the year 1878, when the swanherds were prosecuted by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, on the ground that they inflicted unnecessary pain. Although the prosecution failed, the marks have since been simplified.

Other houses of entertainment more or less in this part of the City, which have ceased to be, within the memory of most of us, deserve a short obituary notice before we conclude this chapter. The Green Dragon Inn on St. Andrew's Hill, must from the first have been but a humble hostelry, but from the back at least it was very picturesque, dating no doubt from immediately after the Great Fire. It was drawn by the writer in 1890, and pulled down in 1896. St. Andrew's Hill was first called Puddle Hill, afterwards Puddle Dock Hill, from the neighbouring wharf of that name. Shakespeare owned property in Ireland Yard hard by, near the Blackfriars' theatre, with which he was associated.



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In Ireland Yard also remains of the famous house of the Dominican Friars were lately brought to light. A quaintly-named house was the Goose and Gridiron in London House Yard, north of St. Paul's Cathedral, demolished about 1896. Set into the wall in front was a stone tablet having on it a bishop's mitre, the initials TF, and the date 1786, and on the top of a lamp projecting from below a first-floor window was a veritable imitation of a goose on a gridiron, now to be seen in the Guildhall Museum. Before the Great Fire there was a house with the sign of the mitre in London House Yard, perhaps on this very spot, where in the year 1642 were to be seen, among other curiosities "a choyce Egyptian with hieroglyphicks, a Rémora, a Torpedo, the Huge Thighbone of a Giant," etc., as then advertised; and again in 1644, Robert Hubert, *alias* Forges, "Gent. and sworn servant to his Majesty," exhibited here a museum of natural rarities. The catalogue describes them as "collected by him with great industrie, and thirty years' travel into foreign countries; daily to be seen at the place called the Musick-house at the Mitre, near the west end of St. Paul's Church." Concerts were doubtless among the attractions the house provided,

until its destruction in the Great Fire. It has been suggested that on the rebuilding of the premises, the new tenant, to ridicule the character of the former business, chose as his sign a goose stroking the bars of a gridiron with her foot, and wrote below "The Swan and Harp." This explanation of the origin of the sign is at least ingenious. Larwood and Hotten think that it was a homely rendering of a charge in the coat of arms of the Musicians' Company.

At the Goose and Gridiron Sir Christopher Wren presided over the St. Paul's Lodge of Freemasons for upwards of eighteen years. In that curious tavern book, the *Vade Mecum of Malt-worms*, there is a drawing of the sign, and we are told in doggerel as rude that—

Dutch carvers from St. Paul's adjacent dome,
Hither to whet their whistles daily come.

The Goose and Gridiron, eighty years ago, was a famous house of call for coaches to Hammersmith, and various villages west of London.

A far more important and more picturesque hostelry was the Oxford Arms, approached by a passage from Warwick Lane, extending to Amen Corner on the south, and bounded on the west



by the site of the old London wall. A writer in the *Athenæum* of May 20, 1876, thus writes of it immediately before its demolition :—“ Despite the confusion, the dirt, and the decay, he who stands in the yard of this ancient inn may get an excellent idea of what it was like in the days of its prosperity, when not only travellers in coach or saddle rode into or out of the yard, but poor players and mountebanks set up their stage for the entertainment of spectators, who hung over the galleries or looked on from their rooms—a name by which the boxes of a theatre were first known.”

The house must have been rebuilt after the Great Fire which raged over all this area. That it existed before, is proved by the following odd advertisement from the *London Gazette* for March 1672-73 :—“ These are to give notice that Edward Bartlet, Oxford Carrier, hath removed his Inn in London from the Swan at Holborn Bridge to the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane, where he did Inn before the Fire. His coaches and waggons going forth on their usual days, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Frydays. He hath also a hearse, and all things convenient to carry a Corps to any part of England.’ In the palmy days of coaching, just before the advent of railways, the Oxford Arms was occupied

by Mr. Edward Sherman, who carried on his chief coaching business at the Bull and Mouth, St. Martin's-le-Grand. After 1868 many of the rooms were let out in tenements, but the inn still did a good carriers' trade, carts leaving daily for Oxford and other places. It was closed in 1875, and pulled down in the following year. Views of this house formed the first of a series issued by the society for photographing relics of old London. Mr. Alfred Marks, the accomplished secretary, wrote most useful accompanying notes. Another old galleried house, which long lingered in Warwick Lane, but on the opposite side, was the Bell Inn, where Archbishop Leighton died in 1684. As Burnet tells us, he had often said that "if he were to choose a place to die in it should be an Inn; it looked like a pilgrim's going-home to whom this world was all as an Inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion in it." Thus his desire was fulfilled.

CHAPTER IV

SOME ANCIENT CITY RELICS

London ; that great sea whose ebb and flow
At once is deaf and loud, and on the shore
Vomits its wrecks, and still howls on for more.
Yet in its depth what treasures !

SHELLEY.

A FACT, of which many people are unaware, is that in ancient cities the soil has almost invariably accumulated to a considerable depth, so that the houses stand on successive layers of debris, revealing all sorts of hidden treasures which tell the story of the site. This is eminently the case in the City of London, especially in that part of it contained within the line of the ancient walls. All this area was long occupied by the Romans, and if the site is excavated down to the primeval soil, as is almost always the case nowadays when a new building is about to be erected, evidence is often found of Roman, Saxon, and Norman occupation, and so on

through later times, a calcined layer indicating the effects of the Great Fire, while near the surface objects of the eighteenth century are exposed to view. Another place where ancient objects have accumulated and been preserved is the bed of the Thames, especially along the line of old London Bridge. Various collections of such objects have from time to time been made, the largest and the most easily consulted is that at the Guildhall Museum ; but unfortunately, in spite of our boasted business qualities, we are not a methodical people, and there has been no systematic register of excavations, or record of the finds. In the most frequented parts of the old city the Roman remains are sometimes covered with not less than eighteen feet of debris or even more, but along the line of the old wall, that is on the fringe of the City, as a rule one finds the Roman ground level considerably nearer the surface.

When, in the course of the year 1903, that most impressive piece of architecture, Newgate Prison, was levelled with the ground, one was not surprised to hear that remains of the Roman wall of London were being brought to light, for we all knew that Dance's building had displaced a portion of that structure. It was the privilege

of the writer to see these and other remains immediately after they were laid bare, and he had the melancholy satisfaction of visiting the site frequently whilst they were being demolished, a work which took several months. A piece of Roman wall was discovered, not less than 68 feet in length. It was $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick at the Roman ground level, and the undeniably Roman masonry rose to about an equal height, its top, nevertheless, being below the level of Newgate Street. The construction was like that of other portions of the Roman wall which from time to time have been examined. Immediately above the ground level on the outside it had a plinth of ironstone, the wall generally being faced on each side with roughly squared stones of Kentish "rag." The interior was composed of fragments of ragstone carefully packed, on to which mortar had been poured in a liquid or semi-liquid state, and the wall was bonded with courses of large flat tiles which ran right through. Outside its facing was a good deal dilapidated, but towards the east it was in remarkably good condition. Standing up boldly to a considerable height above the virgin sand and gravel, it formed a picturesque and interesting object, the destruction of which one could not but lament.

A detached fragment of masonry, near Newgate Street, must have belonged to the Roman gateway which, as archaeologists now agree, once stood upon this site. West of this was a portion of the mediæval gateway, which we now discover to have been injured, not destroyed, in the Great Fire of London. Remains of a broad ditch were also discovered, together with fragments of Roman pottery and other relics. Among them was part of a small mediæval statue held to represent St. Christopher and the infant Christ, which has been pieced together and is now in the Guildhall Museum.

Reference to the Roman wall reminds one that originally the wall of London on this side, after joining Ludgate to the south, ran straight down from there to the Thames. In the year 1276 the Friars-Preachers of the Dominican Order, commonly known as the Black Friars, who had found the original establishment of the order in Holborn too small for their requirements, secured a piece of land to the south and south-west of Ludgate. It was not, however, until 1278 that the necessary license was obtained from the Bishop and Chapter of London to erect a new church and buildings. As to their site, Stow says that "Gregory Rokesley, mayor, and the barons of London granted and gave



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to Robert Kilwarbie, Archbishop of Canterbury, two lanes or ways next the street of Baynard's Castle, and also the tower of Mountfitchet to be destroyed, on the which place the said Robert built the late new church with the rest of the stones that were left of the said tower." It seems, therefore, that both these men helped the Friars largely; and in 1311 Edward II. by charter confirmed the gift. The Friars were also allowed to pull down the City wall and to take in all the land to the west as far as the Fleet river, and it was intimated to the Mayor that the new wall should be built at the expense of the City. Thus we know rather accurately when the Norman tower of Mountfitchet and this part of the Roman wall were destroyed. A glance at the map enables us to feel almost certain that the latter ran down to or through the *Times* printing office.

In May 1900, on the pulling down of No. 7 Ireland Yard, St. Andrew's Hill, previously in the occupation of Messrs. Reuben Lidstone and Son, carpenters, attention was called to mediæval arches and vaulting, the upper part of which had been always visible above ground. A painting, done at this time, has been reproduced as one of our illustrations. When the modern buildings to the east

were also removed, further remains came to light, the whole being of considerable extent and interest.

As we know from a Loseley manuscript, the church of the Friars-Preachers was an important structure, measuring in breadth 66 feet, and in length 220 feet, dimensions rather greater than those of St. Saviour's, Southwark. Within the precinct of Blackfriars, before the Reformation, stood the Church of St. Anne, afterwards rebuilt and finally destroyed in the Great Fire. The remains which came to light in 1900, extending almost from Friar Street on the east to St. Anne's churchyard on the west, were about 27 feet wide by 40 feet, but the building had originally been longer. The space had been divided into two alleys of equal dimensions (each being between 13 and 14 feet wide) by a row of Purbeck marble shafts, four in number, which supported the stone vaulting of the roof. One of these shafts remained *in situ*, and still carried a cross rib springing at the other end from a corbel attached to the north wall. The stone of this rib had been reddened by the action of fire. The base of the shaft was 9 feet below the present ground level, the total height from the base to the crown of the arch being 16 feet.



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The most perfect piece of the north wall was that immediately west of the corbel supporting the cross rib. It showed the remains of a wall arch, enclosing and partly hiding the head of a pointed window still fairly perfect, which is shown in our illustration. In the same wall, farther east, were traces of a similar window. In the ground excavated within the area of the building, many skulls and other human remains were found, huddled together without order, as if they had been transplanted from some other burial-place. It is clear that the structure of which these remains formed part had not been originally connected with the parish church of St. Anne, Blackfriars, the site of this, as can be seen in Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1677, having been in the adjoining burial-ground. Moreover, it was never claimed for that church that it had been founded before the fourteenth century at the earliest. On the other hand, the style of the remains here discovered exactly fits in with the date of the foundation of the House of Friars-Preachers; we may therefore be sure that they belonged to that house. They were orientated, but whether they formed part of the Friars' church or not is at present an open question. Further information on the subject may

be found in a short article contributed by the writer in 1901 to the first part of the London Topographical Society's Annual Record.

Ireland Yard is approached from Water Lane on the west, through Play House Yard and Glass House Yard, each full of interesting associations, although these associations began years after the passing away of the Friars. Allusion has been made on a previous page to Shakespeare's house in Ireland Yard. In the deed of conveyance to the poet it is described as "abutting upon a street leading down to Puddle Wharf, and now or late in the tenure or occupacon of one William Ireland."

As we all of us know, London in the Middle Ages was most richly supplied with ecclesiastical buildings. Fitzstephen, a monk who wrote in the reign of Henry II., tells us that here and in the suburbs were thirteen churches attached to convents, and the great number of a hundred and thirty-six parochial ones. The glory of the conventual establishment passed away at the Reformation, but the parish churches mostly survived without much structural change, except what became necessary through lapse of time, until in the Great Fire of 1666 no less than eighty-six of them were destroyed or badly injured.

A dire catastrophe is apt to call forth the energies of the master mind that can grapple with it. This was the case when Christopher Wren, at that time hardly a professional architect, turned his attention to the City. In spite of his apparent inexperience, he had already made a few fine designs for buildings, for instance that of the chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, and he had a considerable reputation as a man of science. Architects were then few and far between, and so it came about that to him was assigned the task of rebuilding or repairing not only St. Paul's Cathedral, but if one includes St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Sepulchre (both only repaired) no fewer than fifty-two City churches. In carrying out his stupendous undertaking, Wren was cramped and thwarted by many difficulties, not the least of these being a want of funds ; for although on a few important churches, notably on St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Bride's, Fleet Street, Christ Church, Newgate Street, and St. Lawrence Jewry, considerable sums were spent, as a rule he was compelled to practise strict economy. It was no doubt partly on this account that wherever the charred walls, or merely the foundations, of a mediæval church remained in

a solid condition they were worked into his building. The ground plans of Wren's churches are often, one might say usually, a good deal out of the square. In such cases he may now and then be merely accommodating himself to the street line, thus including as much as possible within the prescribed area; but as a rule he is utilising old foundations, for, whereas it would be in the spirit of Renaissance architecture to plan with something approaching to mathematical accuracy, in Gothic work little attention was paid to the laying-out of exact parallelograms.

For a century, more or less, all Wren's City churches remained intact, except St. Mary Woolnoth, which was rebuilt by Nicholas Hawksmoor in 1716, its repair having proved a failure. The first to go was St. Christopher-le-Stocks, taken down when the Bank of England was enlarged in 1781. This was followed by St. Michael, Crooked Lane, destroyed to make room for the approaches of the present London Bridge. St. Bartholomew, by the Exchange, was replaced by the present Sun Fire Office in 1841, and soon afterwards St. Benet Fink disappeared on the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange. But it was the Union of City Benefices Act, passed in 1858 and 1859, which has facilitated



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the destruction of Wren's churches, eighteen of which have now succumbed. This, whatever one's feelings may be about the necessity of providing churches elsewhere, cannot but be a matter of regret to all lovers of fine architecture.

The Church of St. Michael, in Wood Street, a little to the north of Cheapside, and on its south side touching a passage called Huggin Lane, built, or rather very much repaired and remodelled, by Sir Christopher in 1675, at a cost of only a little over £2550, was pulled down under the provisions of this Act in 1897, and the parish, together with the associated parish of St. Mary Staining, united with that of St. Alban, Wood Street. It was one of the cheapest of Wren's churches and also one of the simplest. In this particular instance one might admit that the interest lay not so much in his building as in the older work which it obscured. Externally, the east end was the most conspicuous portion. The front was faced with Portland stone, and decorated by four Ionic pilasters carrying a cornice and pediment. Between these were three round-headed windows. A clock jutting out from the pediment was added in the nineteenth century, and Wren's lantern on the tower had been replaced by a dull-looking octagonal spire. The interior of

St. Michael's Church was very plain, being more or less an unbroken parallelogram, although not absolutely so, as the two side walls widened out towards the east end, which was also placed askew. The tower, occupying the south-west corner, projected slightly at the west end. Its ground stage was blocked up so as to form an apartment used as a vestry.

Of the Gothic building which had stood on this site, the earliest direct notice with which the writer is acquainted appears in the will of Geoffrey de Ambresbure, goldsmith, enrolled in the Court of Husting, and calendared by Dr. Sharpe under the date 1272-73, whereby the said Geoffrey assigns houses, gardens, and rents, in this parish and in that of St. Giles, Cripplegate, for the purpose of founding a chantry. In all probability, however, as was the case with most other City churches, the date of foundation was very much earlier. But whatever the age of the original church of St. Michael, Wood Street, the first documentary evidence forthcoming, which helps us to a knowledge of the mediæval structure, belongs to the latter part of of the fourteenth century, and this merely relates to a vestry on the north side which disappeared leaving no trace behind. More important is a later

document to which we will now briefly refer. In the year 1422, John Broun, citizen and saddler, drew up his will (not proved until 1429-30) in which, while disposing of the rest of his property in various ways, he made the following bequest:—

“Item, I leave to Master Robert Fitzhugh rector of the church of St. Michael in Hoggenlane and to the custodians of the goods and work of this church, and to four parishioners of this church for the time being, all that vacant piece of ground, with its appurtenances belonging to me, in the parish of St. Michael, between the said church of St. Michael on the east, and the house of John Biernes goldsmith and of Benedicta his wife on the west side, and the house of the rector and the burial-ground of the said church on the north side, and the lane called Hoggenlane on the south side; on which piece of vacant ground stood a house lately acquired by me from Agnes Pychard and others, which was then lately built and which I have of late totally destroyed for the purpose of the enlargement of the said church towards the west and the adding of a belfry. Further as a contribution towards the cost of the said enlargement I leave the sum of ten pounds sterling and the sixteen pounds which Thomas Lovell gentleman owes me.”

Turning now to the mediæval remains at the church; portions of these had always been more or less apparent. Thus a water-colour drawing, done after the completion of the modern spire, shows a pointed window with fifteenth-century tracery on the south side of the tower, latterly blocked up as to the upper part, while the lower portion was converted into what looked like an ordinary square window, serving to light the vestry, which, as we have seen, occupied the ground floor of the tower. Again, the top of the pointed north tower-arch was visible from the gallery in the tower, above the vestry, and there was a little turret staircase at the north-west angle of the tower, entered from the nave through a doorway with fifteenth-century mouldings. On passing through this doorway, and ascending by the spiral staircase, one found that the mediæval masonry ended within three or four feet of the belfry floor level, and the building was carried up in brick, evidently Wren's addition after the Fire. In his brick superstructure he had placed pointed windows, perhaps rough imitations of those which had existed before. The mediæval or lower part of the staircase had been lighted by three little quatrefoil windows opening into the church.

When the building was pulled down it was seen that the lower portion of the tower was wholly Gothic. The most perfect piece was the engaged arch on the western side of the tower. The north and south arches were also perfect enough to do their work, the latter containing the square vestry window which filled the lower part of the space formerly occupied by the pointed window. The eastern arch appeared, as far as one could judge, to have been entirely blocked by Wren, but in 1831 the upper part of the wall had been opened into the church and a small gallery formed over the vestry, a round-headed arch being inserted. As could be seen by their general character and by their mouldings, these Gothic remains were of the early fifteenth century; thus they coincided with the documentary evidence of the building of the tower.

Much of Wren's south and east walls were formed of re-used stone from the old church. There was ancient masonry at the east end of the south wall up to 2 or 3 feet above the wainscoting, which was about 8 feet high. Embedded in the south wall near the tower, among other fragments not in their original positions, was an oblong piece of stone of considerable size with three quatrefoil

openings, now in the Guildhall Museum; the use to which it had been put is, we think, doubtful. The portions of walling not of old material, which dated from Wren's time, were of brick. The foundations of the church seemed to be generally mediæval. Some encaustic tiles, the majority of which are now in the Guildhall Museum, were found beneath the floor level. They dated apparently from the fifteenth century. At the base of the tower were many fragments of coloured glass and of the lead-work in which it was fitted. These belonged to the fourteenth century; neither glass nor lead appears to have been injured by fire.

Soon after the destruction of St. Michael's, Wood Street, Wren's Church of St. Michael, Bassishaw, was also pulled down, and here also a great deal of mediæval work was found. The tower at the west end, as finished by him, looked not unlike an Italian campanile. In the course of demolition its lower part was found to date from the end of the fifteenth century, and it had against its west side a holy water stoup of late Gothic design. There were rudely-arched stone foundations under the south aisle, and at its east end was the arched entrance to the vault of Sir John Gresham, Lord Mayor in 1547-48, who died in



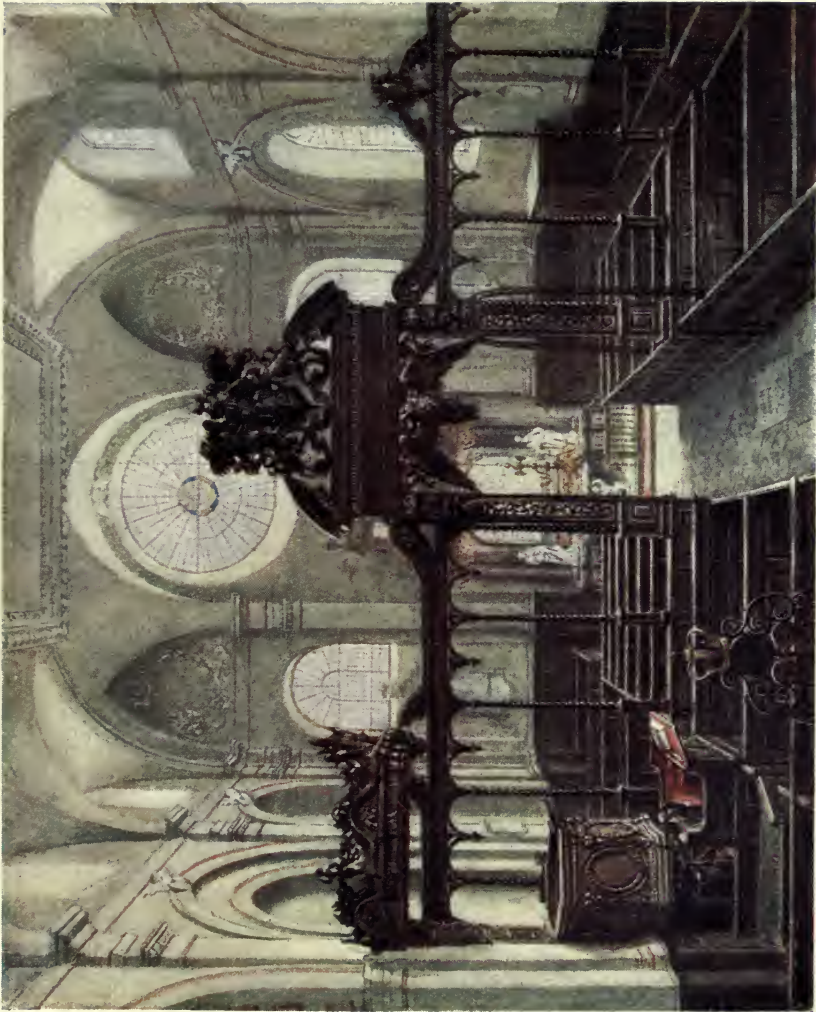
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1554. He was brother of Sir Richard, uncle of Sir Thomas, and ancestor of the Leveson Gowers of Titsey. No vault remained on either side of this entrance. Inside the church, traces of at least two buried floors came to light, with fine encaustic tiles *in situ*. These are mostly, it is believed, in the Guildhall Museum.

Two more of Wren's churches in the City have been pulled down since the writer first began to make a study of its architecture. The first to succumb, and from the artist's point of view by far the most picturesque and interesting, was that of All Hallows the Great in Upper Thames Street, torn down in 1894, the site being bought by a neighbouring brewery. Beyond the facts that the patronage of the living had been in the hands of the Le Despencers, and afterwards came to Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, "the king-maker," not much is known of the early history of All Hallows. It is said by Stow to have been called "Alhallowes the More in Thames street, for a difference from Alhallowes the Less in the same street—also called Alhallowes *ad fœnum* in the Ropery, because hay sold near thereunto at Hay wharf, and ropes of old time made and sold in the high street." He adds that "it is a fair church, with a large cloister

on the south side thereof about their churchyard, but foully defaced and ruined."

The whole was destroyed or very much injured in the Great Fire, and rebuilt by Wren, who, according to his custom, used such parts of the walls and foundations as were available. The tower and north aisle or ambulatory of this structure (which seems never to have been open to the nave) were removed in 1876 for the widening of Upper Thames Street. This, however, did not affect the general appearance of the interior, which had been very little changed since Wren's time, and was in fact the only interior of a Wren church at all in its original state, except that of the small church of St. Mildred, Bread Street; to students of architecture it was therefore of particular value. Among the fittings was the famous open screen, shown in our illustration, which is now in St. Margaret's Church, Lothbury. This is usually said to have been made at Hamburg, and given by the Hanseatic merchants so long connected with the neighbouring Steelyard. It is, however, clearly English, and seems to have been paid for in the ordinary way. It is likely that German merchants subscribed towards the cost, for although the Hanseatic Company in London had lost its special privileges



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during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, their property in the Steelyard was not confiscated, and they kept up a connection with the church and neighbourhood until comparatively recent times. It may be observed also that the screen has on it the German eagle. The pulpit, with its exquisite sounding-board, we know from a vestry book to have been given, in 1862, by Theodore Jacobsen, who was connected with the Steelyard. On the destruction of the church it was found that part of the old south wall had been incorporated to some extent in Wren's building, and elsewhere some of the old stones had been re-used.

The last of Wren's churches to be mentioned is that of St. George, Botolph Lane, which stood very near the Billingsgate and Tower Ward School, mentioned in a previous chapter, but on the opposite side of the way. It occupied the site of an ancient church destroyed in the Great Fire, and was pulled down as recently as the year 1904. The doorway, by which one entered the vestry at the south-east corner, has so far been left standing, and with the adjacent houses makes up a scene which looks as if it belonged to the reign of good Queen Anne rather than to the twentieth century. The fish porter and

the porters' "knots" introduced into our illustration are modern enough, but they serve to remind us that the lower end of Botolph Lane is almost opposite to Billingsgate, a fact which a blind man who had once visited the spot might easily guess, for the odour of sanctity which it may once have possessed is now entirely extinguished by "a very ancient and fish-like smell."

St. George's was rather a small church, the ground-plan being nearly square, with a tower breaking into it at the north-west angle. Beyond the fact that, like all Wren's buildings, it was finely proportioned, there was nothing very remarkable about it. Among its fittings was a wrought-iron sword-rest with an inscription to the memory of William Beckford, twice Lord Mayor of London, and father of William Beckford who wrote *Vathek*. At present the site of the church is lying vacant; perhaps when the foundations are dug up we shall find stronger evidence than has yet come to light of its early origin. The earliest mention of it known to the writer dates from the year 1295, when money was left to "Sir Thomas, the chaplain."

We have already visited St. Laurence Poultney Hill, Cannon Street, and seen the fine doorways



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there, happily still in existence. A favourable opportunity now occurs for describing a far more ancient relic hard by which survived until some ten years ago. This was a crypt which ran east and west, extending from Laurence Poultney Hill to Suffolk Lane. It was beneath an eighteenth-century house, No 3 Laurence Poultney Hill, and was partly under and partly above ground, the principal chamber being entered at the east end from the street above. The ancient staircase had disappeared. This chamber was some 45 feet long by 18 feet to 20 feet wide, and consisted of two vaulted and groined bays, which together occupied about 40 feet of the length, and to the east a ribbed barrel vault about 5 feet wide. It was beautifully proportioned but somewhat plain. The groins were supported on attached shafts. There were no ridge ribs in the vaulting and no bosses. The floor was covered with modern planks, on the removal of which the ancient floor level was found about a foot below, the bases of the shafts being exposed to view. The height from this original floor to the crown of the vault was a little over 12 feet 6 inches. Traces of more than one arched opening were visible on the side walls. At the west end was an arched doorway some feet above the floor ; while to the left of

it was a smaller arch filled up, in the jamb of which an iron hook might still be seen. The appearance of this chamber may be gathered from the accompanying illustration. Ascending by a ladder, and passing through the doorway, one entered a narrow vaulted passage running north and south, its floor being 4 feet 6 inches above the old floor of the crypt just described. This passage, only 5 feet wide and $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, was in part handsomely vaulted and groined; the ribs were supported on corbels decorated with ornament; upon these were placed moulded capitals. Some ancient stone pavement was here visible, and at one end there were fragments of encaustic tiles. In the west wall of this passage were two arched openings, one leading to a modern staircase which communicated with Suffolk Lane. The other led into a vaulted room only some 8 feet square and 9 feet 3 inches high, with a window, comparatively modern, which was above the level of the street.

In a paper read some years ago before the Society of Antiquaries of London the writer pointed out that this crypt had formed part of a famous house, thus mentioned in the play of *Henry VIII.* assigned to Shakespeare, Act I., Scene i. :



The Duke being at the Rose, within the Parish
St. Laurence Poultney, did of me demand
What was the speech among the Londoners
Concerning the French Journey.

A few allusions to the mansion and to the people who occupied it will perhaps not be thought out of place, and by way of introduction I should say something about Sir John de Pulteney's connection with the neighbourhood. Sir John, who was called by Dr. Milman "the most munificent" of London citizens, by the beginning of the reign of Edward III. had earned a high mercantile position in the City of London. Often employed by the King and others on important business, he was Mayor of London in 1331, 1332, 1334, and 1337, and received the honour of knighthood on an important occasion, namely when Edward, Prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, was created Duke of Cornwall. Sir John gave largely for purposes of religion. In 1332 he obtained a letter from the King to the Pope in favour of a proposal on his part to found a chantry in honour of Corpus Christi, by the Church of St. Laurence, Candlewick. The chantry, which absorbed a previous establishment founded by Thomas Cole for a master and one or two chaplains, seems to

have been originally intended for seven chaplains, but was afterwards increased to form a college for a master, thirteen priests, and four choristers. On account of this generous gift the church came to be called St. Laurence Poultney, and the college was generally known as St. Laurence Poultney College. We would add that the church was destroyed in the Great Fire and not rebuilt; its picturesque burial-ground remains. Sir John also founded a chantry for three priests in St. Paul's Cathedral, a house for the Carmelite Friars at Coventry, and built the Church of All Hallows the Less, in part, as we are told by Stow, over the arched gateway of Cold Harbour. He resided for a time almost within a stone's throw of Laurence Poultney Hill, in this very important mansion on the bank of the Thames, the name of which is so common throughout England, and has been so often discussed. Stow tells us that this Cold Harbour, the most famous place so called, already existed in the thirteenth year of Edward II., that in the eighth year of Edward III. John Bigot and Sir John Cosenton sold their respective moieties of it to Sir John de Pulteney (by whom it may have been rebuilt), and that from his dwelling there it took the name of Poultney's Inn. Thirteen

years afterwards he disposed of it to Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex. It afterwards passed through many vicissitudes. Coming into Royal hands, it was granted in the year 1410 by Henry IV. to his eldest son, afterwards Henry V., and nearly a century afterwards was the temporary residence of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. Here, on the marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Arragon, she entertained the Lord Mayor and other civic dignitaries. Given to the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury, the sixth Earl, who was guardian of Mary Queen of Scots for fifteen years and died in 1590, is said to have taken it down and built a number of small tenements on the site. Bishop Hall, Ben Jonson, Nash, and others of their time, refer to the precinct as a privileged place for debtors. Thus the first named in his *Satires*, V. i., 1598, writes as follows :—

Or thence thy starved brother live and die,
Within the cold Coal Harbour sanctuary.

It so continued until the special privileges which had grown up in connection with it were abolished, September 20, 1608, in the second charter granted to the City of London by James I., wherein it is described as the “inn or liberty of Cold Herberge,

otherwise Cold Harburgh, and Cold Herburg Lane." In spite of what the chroniclers tell us, we learn from views that the river-front of the old mansion remained in part until the Great Fire. The Watermen's Company established themselves here in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, and after the Fire, built their Hall on the south-west angle of the site. They sold it, about 1776, to the proprietors of Calvert's, which already appears to have occupied the adjoining site of a "great brew-house built by one Pot" in the sixteenth century. This long-established brewery is referred to in Goldsmith's lines :

Where Calvert's butt, and Parson's black champagne,
Regale the bloods and drabs of Drury Lane.

The City of London Brewery, which succeeded Calvert's, now occupies the site of Cold Harbour, together with those of the churches and burial-grounds of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less, portions of which remain.

Sir John de Pulteney's other residence in London, although within but a short distance of Cold Harbour, was quite a distinct property. This was the house on the west side of Laurence Poultney Hill which contained the crypt, until

lately in existence. Stow, when writing about the Merchant Taylors' school, calls it the Manor of the Rose. Sir John in his will mentions "my principal Messuage, which I inhabit, in the parish of St. Laurence of Candlewyk strete," and he leaves it to his widow for her life, provided that she remains unmarried, and afterwards to their only son, William. The house has been confused with Cold Harbour, because, like that, from having been associated with him, it was called occasionally Pulteney's Inn. How it acquired its later appellation, "The Manor of the Rose," is an open question; but the title was perhaps associated in some way with a curious tenure of Cold Harbour to which Stow refers, namely, payment of a rose at Midsummer in lieu of services. Another suggestion is that it originated in some party distinction during the wars of York and Lancaster, as it is called the Red Rose in a schedule of the lands of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

Be this as it may, the crypt on Laurence Poultry Hill, which some of us knew so well, had formed part of this mansion called by Stow the Manor of the Rose, and if built by Sir John de Pulteney, it must, from its style, have been in the earlier part of his career, soon after 1322, when

he is already mentioned as a citizen of London. In the fifteenth year of Edward III. (1341) Sir John got licence to crenellate, that is to fortify with battlements or crenelles, his mansion in London, and this we believe to have been the house on Laurence Poultney Hill, for the sixteenth-century illustrations of it by Van den Wyngaerde and Agas indicate an embattled building. At the same time leave was granted him to crenellate his house at Cheveley in Cambridgeshire, and his famous mansion at Penshurst, Kent.

In the sixth year of Richard II., 1384, the College of Corpus Christi at the Church of St. Laurence Poultney, having come into possession of this their founder's house, exchanged it for the church at Napton which belonged to the Earl of Arundel. Afterwards, during many years, while princes and nobles were holding high court at the neighbouring Cold Harbour, we hear little or nothing of De Pulteney's "principall messuage." Then, to judge from results, it seems to have been an unlucky possession, several of its owners and occupiers suffering death on the scaffold; but this was a common end of great people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It belonged for a time to William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who, having

been banished by the King, was cruelly beheaded at sea in 1450, his dukedom being forfeited or falling into abeyance. One of the treasonable acts of which the Commons had accused him, was said to have taken place in the parish of St. Laurence Poultney. His son, John de la Pole, who married Edward IV.'s sister, was re-created Duke of Suffolk in 1463, but this property does not seem to have been restored to him. It belonged, however, to *his* son, Earl of Lincoln, at the time of his attainder in 1483, and then reverted to the Crown, being restored in 1495 to the De la Pole family in the person of Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, on whose forfeiture Henry VII. granted it in 1506 to Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham. It was this nobleman, of great wealth and illustrious descent, who, having been arrested on his barge on the Thames when coming to London, as Hall the chronicler tells us, was condemned for high treason and executed in 1523, and who, as we have seen, is enshrined in the play of Henry VIII., the lines alluding to him, which we have quoted on a previous page, being taken almost word for word from Holinshed's Chronicle.

At this time Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law of the King, who has been men-

tioned in our chapter on Southwark, seems already to have had a grant of the estate, but if so he did not long hold it, for about four years after the execution of Buckingham it was granted by the Crown to Henry Courteney, Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter. He was first cousin to the King, which was almost enough to make him a suspected person, and in due course he had the not unusual fate, being beheaded on Tower Hill in 1539. The last great nobleman to whom the estate belonged was Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, who, early in Queen Elizabeth's reign, sold it to John Hethe, citizen and cooper. By him it was divided shortly afterwards into two moieties, one of them being bought by Richard Botyl, citizen and merchant taylor, and the other by William Beswicke, citizen and draper.

The parcel sold to Botyl comprised the west gate-house, a long court or yard, the winding stairs at the south end of the said court, and other portions. All this was conveyed shortly afterwards by Botyl to the Merchant Taylors' Company, he having acted in the transaction as their confidential agent. The part sold to Beswicke included the remainder of the mansion and the whole of the

garden, which must have been chiefly to the south of it.

The Merchant Taylors' moiety, with an opening into Suffolk Lane, was soon afterwards appropriated to their grammar school, and continued so to be used until in the Great Fire it was hopelessly damaged by the flames. Afterwards rebuilt, perhaps from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, and devoted to the same purpose, it was pulled down in 1875, when the school migrated to the old Charterhouse.

A prominent member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, at one time master, was Patience Warde, afterwards knighted, who appears to have taken the lead in the arrangements for rebuilding the schoolhouse, and held the office of Lord Mayor in 1680. The other part of De Pulteney's mansion had passed to him about the middle of the seventeenth century. He occupied this building, which, like the school, was no doubt almost destroyed in the Great Fire, and having no children, left his property on Laurence Poultney Hill, which he says in his will cost him, "building or otherwise," upwards of £5000, to his nephew John Warde, merchant, who was also knighted and also attained the highest civic office.

In course of time the Warde estate here was inherited by that branch of the Warde family which has long been settled at Squerries, near Westerham. It included 3, 4, and 5 Laurence Poultney Hill, and Laurence Poultney Place, which is called in a plan attached to Noorthouck's *History of London* (1773) "Sir Patient Ward's." In 1859 and 1860 the estate was bought by the Merchant Tailors' Company, they having, it was said, some idea, never carried out, of extending their school in this direction. In 1894 an ominous placard announced that the house containing the crypt was to be let on building lease. Considerable efforts were made to induce the Merchant Tailors' Company to preserve a relic of such remarkable interest, which was quite sound and might easily have been built over. However, these efforts were unavailing, and in the course of that year the whole structure was swept away. As to the purpose for which it had originally served, the writer hazards the opinion that the principal chamber was the undercroft of the hall of the mansion known successively as Pulteney's Inn or the Manor of the Rose, and showed its ground plan, and that the passages were under the passages separating the hall from

the kitchen, pantry, etc. In that case, the room to the right would have been beneath the buttery, or beneath a small parlour, while the modern staircase, and the space adjoining it, indicated the position of other offices. Here perhaps also there was an ancient staircase, giving communication to the other parts of the building. It may be mentioned incidentally that crypts beneath town houses were common in mediæval times, and various examples existed in London until quite recently, one at least still remains. In Hudson Turner and Parker's *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, we are told how, in a lease of Packman's Wharf, Thames Street, made in 1354-55, the lessee, Richard Wyllesdon, covenanted to build a chief dwelling-place above stairs, viz. a hall 40 feet in length and 24 feet wide; and a parlour, kitchen, and buttery, as to such a hall should belong, taking care that there should be cellars 7 feet in height beneath the said hall, parlour, kitchen, and buttery. The materials to be used in the building generally were Maidstone stone (presumably Kentish "rag") and heart of oak.

We have kept for the end of the chapter, allusion to the removal of Christ's Hospital from the site of the old convent by Newgate Street, which re-

sulted in the sale and clearance of the land, perhaps the heaviest blow which has been dealt to lovers of old London for many years. The historical associations of the precinct were many and varied, ranging from the time of the Grey Friars to that of S. T. Coleridge and Charles Lamb, whose papers called *Recollections of Christ's Hospital*, and *Christ's Hospital Five-and-Thirty Years Ago*, will perhaps continue to give pleasure when the substantial school buildings now erected at Horsham have crumbled to decay.

The possessions here of the Franciscans or Friars Minors, usually called the Grey Friars, are described in a manuscript belonging to the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, which contains a register of those who were buried in the church and cloister, a description of the convent and of its various benefactions, and several other documents, such for instance as a detailed account of the Friars' water supply, starting from the point where the pipe entered the convent, tracing it along Holborn, up Leather Lane, and then to the open country on the north-west, where the water was gathered in a little stone building (*domuncula lapidea*), which of late years had been entirely lost sight of, until the present writer was fortunate



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enough to identify it with a conduit or well-head still existing at the back of a house in Queen Square, Bloomsbury.

We learn that the Franciscans first came to England in 1224; they were nine in number, and five of them remained at Canterbury, founding there the first English Franciscan house. The other four came to London, where they stayed for a few days with the Black Friars or Dominicans, and afterwards secured a house on Cornhill. In the following summer, John Twyn, citizen and mercer, settled them on land by Newgate, which, because of the Franciscan vow of poverty, was vested in the Commonalty of London for the use of the Friars. By subsequent donations the site of the convent grew, the last gift of land recorded in the Cotton manuscript having been made in the year 1353. It seems not to have reached the City wall, nor did the western corner of Newgate Street and what is now called King Edward Street ever come into the hands of the Friars.

The building of the original church was carried on during most of the thirteenth century; but in 1306 Queen Margaret, second wife of Edward I., having given a considerable sum for the purpose, a much larger church was begun, to which Queen

Isabella, Queen Philippa, and other great personages contributed; the fabric seems to have been finished in 1348. The glazing of the windows took place later, and the stalls were added at the expense of Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, about 1380.

After the Dissolution the convent was granted by the king to the City authorities as a hospital for poor, sick, and impotent persons, while the church, under the name of Christchurch, became parochial. The hospital of Henry VIII. was re-founded as a school by Edward VI. in 1553, ten days before his death. The old Grey Friars' buildings were damaged in the Great Fire, and the church was rebuilt by Wren about the year 1680, but shorn of more than half its former size. It had been no less than 300 feet long and 89 feet wide, covering all the ground now occupied by Christchurch, Christchurch Passage, and the present disused burial-ground. Mr. E. B. S. Shepherd, an authority on the subject, says that some notion of the appearance of the great church of the friars may be gained from the existing nave of the Austin Friars' church near Old Broad Street, the immediate neighbourhood of which we have already visited. The bases of three of the buttresses on the south side were uncovered some years ago and described in vol. v.

of the *Journal of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*.

Christ's Hospital contained all the site of the Grey Friars' convent, except the ground occupied by their church. The governors had also extended their boundaries largely to the north and west, taking in the site of the City wall and ditch lying between their property and St. Bartholomew's Hospital on the north, and on the west also the site of the City wall, together with that of the Giltspur Street Compter beyond it.

The ground plan of the Grey Friars' great cloister remained until the end, together with a few of the mediæval cloister arches on the south side, and along what is now Christchurch Passage the friars passed to and fro for hundreds of years, this having been the ancient way between church and cloister. The other buildings of various dates were very picturesque, the façade to the south being an admirable specimen of Wren's work. A piece of it from Christchurch Passage is shown in our illustration of the school entrance. The stone tablet beneath the statue of Edward VI. had an inscription which told us that this building had been erected at the cost of Sir Robert Clayton in 1682. The treasurer's house, still standing, for a short time,

with its ample garden intact, is full of charm. There were few prettier interiors of its kind than that of the court-room; while the great hall, although comparatively modern, was a fine structure which looked its best from the open railings in Newgate Street, especially when the playground in front was occupied by groups of Blue-Coat boys in their quaint costume. To the interest and beauty of these buildings the writer felt bound to bear witness before a committee of the House of Commons; and he will always remember with a pang of regret the time-hallowed precinct now almost utterly effaced. One knows, however, the enormous monetary value of land in London, and that the authorities of Christ's Hospital were bound to do the best they could on behalf of the young generation.

Out of evil sometimes good may come. The excavations which will of necessity take place on the site now cleared of buildings can hardly fail to add much to our knowledge of the Roman wall of London, for those of its foundations which still exist will be laid bare along the whole line of it, from the north side of Newgate to King Edward Street.

CHAPTER V

THE WARD OF FARRINGDON WITHOUT

‘The whole great ward of Farindon, both infra and extra, took name of W. Farindon, goldsmith, alderman of that ward, and one of the sheriffs of London in the year 1281.’—J. Srow (1598).

THE ward which gives a title to this chapter contains all the part of London lying immediately west of the old City wall. It includes the parishes of St. Bartholomew the Great and St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield, St. Sepulchre’s, St. Andrew’s, St. Dunstan’s-in-the-West, and St. Bride’s, and early became of sufficient wealth and importance to have its share in the municipal government. In the year 1393 it was divided from the parent ward of Farringdon Within, and shortly afterwards John Fraunceys was elected its first Alderman—an important reform effected at the same time being the appointment of Aldermen for life; before this they had been elected annually.

A glance at old plans will show us that up to the end of the sixteenth century much of the northern part of this ward was still by no means thickly populated. The first district which we shall visit was, like Christ's Hospital, the precinct of a great religious house. The Priory of Austin Canons in West Smithfield, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, was begun in the year 1123, and in 1133 the king granted it a charter of privileges. The founder, by name Rahere, and perhaps of Frankish origin, had frequented the dissolute court of William Rufus, and Stow speaks of him quaintly as "a pleasant-witted gentleman, therefore in his time called the King's Minstrel." Be this as it may, not earlier than 1120, having journeyed to Rome, he contracted fever, and during convalescence vowed that he would make a hospital "yn recreacion of poure men." The apostle St. Bartholomew was said to have appeared to him afterwards in a vision, and to have desired the building of a church also, indicating Smithfield as the site. Accordingly, on his return to England, he founded the priory with its church and the hospital, presiding over the latter for some years. He then retired into the priory, where he died in 1144 and was buried on the north



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side of the altar of the grand old priory church, now known as St. Bartholomew the Great. An ancient recumbent effigy of him under a Perpendicular canopy is still to be seen in its original position.

At the dissolution of religious houses the choir was reserved as a parish church, the nave which had been used for that purpose being pulled down, and its site turned into a churchyard. All the rest of the ground and buildings, together with the rights pertaining to the priory, were sold by the King to Sir Richard Rich, then Speaker of the House of Commons. Afterwards, as Lord Rich, he converted the prior's lodging into his town-house, and lived there when Lord Chancellor. Henry II. had granted to the prior and canons the privilege of holding an annual fair at Bartholomew-tide, but it seems to have been in existence previously. To this fair resorted clothiers and drapers not only from all parts of England but from foreign countries, who here exposed their goods for sale, stalls being set up within the priory churchyard, the gates of which were locked at night. The site is called Cloth Fair to this day. By the reign of Queen Elizabeth it had ceased to be commercially important, but became a great pleasure fair, the three days being extended to fourteen; and the

place of assemblage being gradually transferred or extended to Smithfield. The fair used to be opened by the Lord Mayor, and on these occasions it was customary for him, while passing Newgate on horseback, to refresh himself with "a cool tankard of wine, nutmeg, and sugar," handed to him by the keeper of Newgate, a practice which in 1688 proved fatal to Sir John Shorter, whose horse took fright while he was in the act of drinking, and gave him a fall from which he died soon afterwards. In 1708 the period of the fair was again limited to three days. By slow degrees it dwindled away, but was not finally abolished until 1855. Morley, in his *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, says, "The sole existing vestige of it is the old fee of three and sixpence still paid by the City to the rector of St. Bartholomew the Great for a proclamation in his parish." The streets within the old precinct of the religious house still retain an old-fashioned air; some of the picturesque houses evidently date from the earlier part of the seventeenth century, if not before, but they are fast disappearing. On No. 22 Cloth Fair is a relic which carries us back to the time of the Dissolution. This is the armorial shield of Richard Rich, raised to the peerage in 1547, or perhaps of

one of his immediate descendants. It is surmounted by a coronet, and may be described heraldically as, gules, a chevron between three crosses botonnée or. The church of St. Bartholomew the Great, after getting into a bad state of dilapidation, has of late years been elaborately restored. The acquisition by the authorities of St. Bartholomew's Hospital of a piece of the ground lately occupied by the Blue-Coat School will lead sooner or later to a general reconstruction of Rahere's foundation, and the church of St. Bartholomew the Less is fated soon to disappear. It is within the boundary of the hospital, and has a Gothic tower much modernised which contains one or two interesting monuments.

Leaving this classic neighbourhood, we will now revisit, alas! only on paper, a delightful house of entertainment, the old Bell, on the north side of Holborn, one of many formerly to be found in that thoroughfare; it survived, however, to be the last galleried inn on the Middlesex side of the river. The following brief account of it was written when the building still remained intact, being founded on a careful examination of original documents relating to the property.

The earliest mention of this house which appears

in the deeds is on the 14th of March 1538, when William Barde, for £40, sells a messuage with garden called the Bell, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, to Richard Hunt, citizen and girdler. This Richard Hunt, who died in 1569, gave thirty sacks of charcoal yearly for ever, as a charge on the property, to be distributed on St. Thomas's Day to thirty poor persons, now represented by an annual payment of £2:5s. from the ground landlords to St. Andrew's parish. In a deed poll of 1605 it is described as being "in the suburbes of the cittie of London, between the tenement sometime of John Davye on the east, and a tenement heretofore of the Prior and convent of the late dissolved Pryorie or Hospitall of our Ladie without Bishopsgate on the west; one head thereof extending upon the Kinges high waye of Holborne, and the other head thereof upon the garden of Elie place,"—the London house of the Bishops of Ely, the chapel of which, dedicated to St. Etheldreda, still exists. As shown in Agas's well-known plan, drawn probably about the year 1590, the garden of Ely House extended as far as Leather Lane and a considerable distance along it, leaving only space for the houses in Holborn with their enclosures, of which the Bell seems distinctly to be shown.



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Even as late as 1799 the space behind them was still open. After passing through various hands, in 1679-80 the property came into the possession of Ralphe Gregge, whose grandson Joseph finally parted with it to Christ's Hospital in 1722. The front part of the Bell was at that time subdivided, for it is described as "All that messuage or tenement known by the name or sign of the Bell, with all the erections or stables thereupon erected and built, and all and singular other the appurtenances thereunto belonging, and likewise all those two other tenements, on either side next adjoining to the first-named messuage, and fronting the High Street of Holborn—all which said three messuages were formerly one great mansion house or inn, commonly known by the name of the Bell or Blew Bell Inn."

About two years before the sale to Christ's Hospital, the part of the premises facing Holborn had been rebuilt, and on them were placed the sculptured arms of the Gregges quartered with those of Starkyes. They remained on the house until its final destruction in 1897, and are now in the Guildhall Museum. It seems that the owners of the Bell were descended from the Gregges of Bradley, Cheshire, one of whom had married

Anne, co-heiress of Richard Starkey, of Stretton. Sir Humphrey Starkey, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1486, is thought to have belonged to this family. The date of the rebuilding is not recorded in any deed, but may perhaps be indicated from the fact that at the time of the sale the landlord of the Bell was James Trinder, and that carefully incised on a brick near a first-floor window which faced the yard was the name G. Trinder, and date 1720. For their kindness in allowing him to examine the deeds mentioned above, the writer should record his obligation to the authorities of Christ's Hospital.

It may here be remarked that the earlier deeds do not inform one whether or not the house was originally used as an inn "for the receipt of travellers." But in 1637 it was undoubtedly so used, for John Taylor in his *Carriers' Cosmographie* says that "the Carriers of Wendover in Buckinghamshire do lodge at the Bell in Holborne," and that "a Post cometh there every second Thursday from Walsingham." Towards the end of the seventeenth century coaches were plying from here to Berkhamstead, Hampstead, and Hendon, and waggons to Faringdon and Woodstock. From that time until long after the advent of railways the Bell

continued to carry on the same quiet trade, frequented by gentlefolks and commercial men of the higher class, and used as a house of call for coaches, waggons, and carriers. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century the landlord was Mr. C. R. Tinson, who seems to have done a capital posting business; his account-book is before me, which records the prices paid for various post-chaises ranging from £40 to £25 each. About 1836 the coaching business at the Bell was in the hands of Messrs. Horne, the most famous coach proprietors in London except William Chaplin. Then, or soon after this time, it passed to Mr. William Bunyer, who had married Tinson's daughter and succeeded him as landlord. The Bunyers were an old inn-keeping family; one of them had kept the Jerusalem Tavern, Clerkenwell, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The last landlord of the Bell, Mr. A. C. Bunyer, was born here; a little sketch of him appears in one of our illustrations. As late as 1884 the old house retained somewhat of its connection with coaching. Mr. William Black thus introduces it into his *Strange Adventures of a Phaeton*: "Now from the quaint little yard which is surrounded by frail and dilapidated galleries of wood that tell of the

grandeur of other days, there starts a solitary omnibus, which daily whisks a few country people and their parcels to Uxbridge and Chalfont and Amersham and Wendover." This faint echo of the coaching days had latterly died out, but to the end the stables and covered space at the back were constantly occupied, the situation being convenient for various persons who used to drive in from the suburbs to transact their business.

A few words on the architectural features of the old house will, we hope, not be considered superfluous. The Bell was of the usual type of galleried inns (although smaller than many), a type which came perhaps originally from the East and was at one time common on the Continent. Approached through a narrow gateway, and a passage under the front building, the total length from the street to the back was not much over a hundred feet. The ponderous gate had its wicket, with a grating usually closed by a sliding panel. Through this at night the traveller, having announced his presence by the aid of a lion-head knocker, was inspected, and no doubt might be refused admission if unlikely to prove a desirable inmate, reminding me of an arrangement common in the south of Spain in my younger days, when a



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long string fastened to the latch communicated with a convenient spy-hole, whence the servant having asked who was there, paused for the customary reply—"a peaceable person" (*gente de paz*)—before opening the door. The inn contained several buildings more or less distinct, though latterly united by doors and passages. To begin with, there was the red brick structure in front with its coat of arms, so well known to generations of Londoners. The western part of this, latterly occupied as a silversmith's shop, and numbered 124, was quite independent of the inn, and to it belonged the attic, shown in views from the street, and forming a fourth story. Perhaps the quaintest feature about the interior of the front building was the inn staircase with its panelling and turned balusters. A recess in the wall facing the yard contained a little painted statuette of the first Napoleon, dating doubtless from the time when "Boney's" marvellous career filled men's thoughts.

On entering the yard, what struck one was its air of perfect repose, indescribably soothing after the din and bustle of Holborn. Immediately to the left, or on the west side, was a low three-storied building of wood and plaster. Not ancient as regarded the upper portion, though the beams in

the ceiling were of archaic type, the whole of its basement was occupied by a cellar which was built of stone with well-laid masonry; doubtless it was the oldest part of the Bell Inn that survived until our time—a remnant of the “great mansion house” mentioned in one of our deeds, which might have been the private dwelling of some high personage. Next to the building on this basement was another of the same material, somewhat higher, and having its separate staircase like the last. Time had here done its decaying work, and had caused the fabric to lean over as shown in our drawing. It contained in a first-floor room a wooden mantelpiece with a pretty group of figures in relief. Then came the galleries of the inn, which from the picturesque point of view formed its chief attraction. They were at the end, and running partly up the east side of the yard, not on three sides as is often the case. Beyond and beneath was a covered space, where vehicles could stand securely. This galleried portion was of wood, with tiled roof, dating perhaps from the reign of Charles II., and may have replaced a more ancient building similar in style. The rooms were not latterly used as bedrooms, being perhaps too chilly for us degenerate mortals of the present day. But to the last the



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galleries had a cheerful air, and were adorned with a profusion of well-kept plants and flowers. Here was the old coach office; here also and at the end was the stabling. Next to the galleries, towards the street on the east side, stood the brick frontage of what was in part a wooden building, the ground floor containing the coffee-room, with its quaint portraits and green-curtained partitions. A drawing of the room was made on September 24, 1897. In the following week the furniture and fittings of "the old Bell Hotel, No. 123 Holborn," were sold by auction, and shortly afterwards it was levelled with the ground.

Our view of the front of this inn shows on the east or right-hand side, over the entrance to another courtyard, the statue of a large and formidable black bull pawing the ground, or rather his pedestal, as if anxious to leap down and attack all comers. This was the sign of another inn evidently of some age, and mentioned as long ago as 1708 in Hatton's *New View of London*. With regard to fact, it does not seem to have been famous, but undoubtedly it had claims to a high place in fiction, for it *must* have been here, though the colour of the sign is not mentioned, that Mr. Lewsome was "took ill" and placed under the tender mercies

of Mrs. Gamp and Betsey Prig, who "nussed together, turn and turn about." Looking out through a window at this inn the immortal Sairey "was glad to see a parapidge in case of fire, and lots of roofs and chimney-pots to walk upon"; and in this yard, when convalescent, the invalid was assisted into a coach, Mr. Mould, the undertaker, eyeing him with regret as he felt himself balked of a piece of legitimate business. The Black Bull descended peaceably from his pedestal in 1901, and the old house to which he was attached did not long survive the separation, but shortly afterwards came to an end. Many a year had passed since the yard resounded with the neighing of horses, for the stables at the back disappeared and the galleries were rebuilt and turned into tenements long before.

Running to the north out of Holborn, a little west of the site of these inns, is Leather Lane, an ancient thoroughfare which, if narrow and dirty, might also a few years ago have claimed to be picturesque. Stow calls it "Lither Lane," and along this, as we have seen, the water-pipe of the Grey Friars was carried, until reaching the fields it turned west towards the mill of Thomas de Basynges. Here now are the headquarters of the Italian colony,



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members of which earn a scanty living as artists' models, organ grinders, vendors of penny ices, and in other by-paths of industry. On a Saturday evening the market in this street would furnish fine subjects for the artist, but perhaps it would require a Rembrandt to do them justice. Our illustration of Leather Lane, looking south towards Holborn, represents it as it was in 1897. The following year all the houses to spectator's right were destroyed. The plastered one at the corner was an old place of entertainment, known by the sign of the Horse and Groom. According to a statement on the board outside it was founded in 1730, but the building itself was clearly very much older. Another view shows the back of this house, access to which was obtained through an alley or passage on the north side of Holborn, now altogether obliterated, other houses along the Holborn front having been destroyed, among them another old coaching and posting inn called the Bell and Crown.

The next turning out of Holborn, west of Leather Lane on the same side, is Brooke Street, which derives its name from Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, "servant to Queen Elizabeth, counsellor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney,"

for here was his London residence. In Stow's time it had been "the Earl of Bath's inn, now called Bath place, of late for the most part new built." In 1630 Brooke House was fitted up at the expense of the Crown for the French ambassador, and again in 1658 representatives of the French Government were lodged there, and "entertained at the charge of his Highness," Oliver Cromwell. It is marked in Ogilby and Morgan's plan of 1677; but, fashion moving west, Brooke Street (where Chatterton ended his short life) and Brooke Market were formed on the site, the latter described by Wheatley and Cunningham as "now a very low neighbourhood." The writer, however, while sketching White Hart Yard, which opens into it through a passage on the west, was struck chiefly by the quiet countrified air of the old wooden house, where milk "fresh from the cow" may still be bought, also eggs, butter, and other articles of consumption, and a creditable portrait of the cow herself adorns the front of the establishment, which claims to have been opened in 1790.

We will now retrace our steps along Holborn, and turn down Fetter Lane on the south side. Passing two or three gabled buildings on the right



hand, to which reference will again be made, we soon come to the site of another of the old coaching inns with which this neighbourhood once abounded. Marked in the plan of 1677, an interesting glimpse of it in its palmy days, and at the same time of the manners of the latter part of the eighteenth century, has been given by the great Lord Eldon. His story relates to the year 1766; he shall tell it in his own words: "After I got to town," he says, "my brother, now Lord Stowell, met me at the White Horse in Fetter Lane, Holborn, then the great Oxford House as I was told. He took me to see the play at Drury Lane. When we came out of the house it rained hard. There were then few hackney coaches, and we got both into one sedan chair. Turning out of Fleet Street into Fetter Lane there was a sort of contest between our chairman and some persons who were coming up Fleet Street, whether they should first pass Fleet Street or we in our chair first get out of Fleet Street into Fetter Lane. In the struggle the sedan chair was upset with us in it." There is a well-known coloured print by J. Pollard, dated 1814, of a coach called the Cambridge Telegraph starting from the White Horse. Not much more is to be said about this old inn, which gradually

fell into decay, and had a similar fate to others of its class already described. The ground floor in front was used for the purposes of a tavern, while the rest of the building became a cheap lodging-house, known as White Horse Chambers. Our sketch, done shortly before the demolition in 1897-98, shows the back part of the gateway from Fetter Lane, a convenient covered porch or recessed entrance to the inn being on spectator's right. The greater part of the fabric seemed to date from the beginning of the eighteenth century, but there were remains of an earlier wooden structure. The long passage running parallel with the precinct of Barnard's Inn, communicated with a yard which had ample stables at the back. The scheme of rebuilding involved the clearance of all the old property between Fetter Lane and Furnival Street, the greater part of the ground being occupied by this roomy old inn. We are reminded that other establishments with this sign have flourished and disappeared in London. It was not until last spring or summer that the Old White Horse Cellars were involved in the destruction of the Bath Hotel, Piccadilly (where Gustave Doré breathed his last), having survived the New White Horse Cellars on the opposite



side of the street, pulled down in 1884 with Hatchett's Hotel, of which they formed part. If it may have been at the Old White Horse Cellars that, by order of Mr. Pickwick, Sam Weller took five places in the coach for Bath, it was certainly in front of the younger establishment that we have seen Tom and Logic bidding good-bye to Jerry on his return to Hawthorn Hall; and the front of this coach office is also shown in a caricature by George Cruikshank called "a Piccadilly Nuisance." But we are digressing, and must make our way back to Fetter Lane.

A little south of the White Horse in that street there stood until lately a most picturesque greengrocer's shop, and close at hand on the opposite side is Nevill's Court, Fetter Lane. We will not trouble ourselves with the nomenclature of this quaint alley which in most accounts of the district is derived from Ralph Nevill, Bishop of Chichester from 1222 until 1244; but although he built a palace on the *west* side of Chancery Lane, afterwards occupied by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and we have thereabouts hints of episcopal occupation in Bishop's Court and Chichester Rents, there is no evidence, as far as

the writer is aware, of his having owned the land which now forms Nevill's Court, and it is likely to have been named after much later Nevills who are known to have lived in Fetter Lane. Nevill's Court, a mere passage running from Fetter Lane to Great New Street, is interesting to us because in part at least it escaped the Great Fire, and still has quaint old buildings with open space in front, formerly well inhabited, one of them, indeed, occupied by rather famous people. Here on the south side stands a large brick house, No. 10, with garden in front, which from its appearance would seem to have been built in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and as long ago as 1744 passed into the hands of that remarkable sect, the Moravians or United Brothers, who, tracing their origin to the followers of John Huss, were expelled by persecution from Bohemia and Moravia at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and of whom a small number settled on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony about 1722, he himself joining the brotherhood and becoming virtually its leader; he first visited London in 1737. No. 10, when bought by the Moravians, was called "the great house in Neville's Alley." Used for many years as their mission home and



minister's house, it was the residence of Henry, 55th Count Reuss, and of the Rev. C. J. La Trobe, who, besides being eminent as a minister of religion, was also a musical composer. His son, Charles Joseph La Trobe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, was born there in 1801. The earliest account of Moravian missions was issued from this house in 1790. It has, we fear, seen its best days, but although for some time about the year 1897 a board was up announcing that the ground would be let on building lease, it does not appear at present to be threatened with destruction. The Moravians have their chapel hard by, with access from Nevill's Court, and also through the office of their church and mission agency at 32 Fetter Lane. On November 6, 1904, the 162nd anniversary of the congregation was celebrated.

To the minds of those not belonging to the Moravian community, the most famous place in or about London with which they have been connected is Lindsey House, Chelsea, once the home of the ducal family of Ancaster, which was bought by Count Zinzendorf in 1750 and remodelled, a chapel with minister's house being built and a burial-ground laid out at the back on part of the grounds of Beaufort House, another ancient

Chelsea mansion. The Count planned an important Moravian settlement there, but for some reason the scheme fell through. After a time Lindsey House, having been re-sold, was divided into several dwellings, occupied during the last century by several men of mark, among them the two Brunels, father and son, and J. A. M. Whistler. The burial-ground is still held by the Moravians.

The "great house" in Fetter Lane is the most important one to be found there, but an older block of buildings is that at the north-east corner, now numbered 13, 14, and 15. With plastered walls and projecting upper storeys, they might have been built at any time between the middle of the sixteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century, and an examination of old plans confirms the notion of their antiquity, for it is clear that the fire of 1666, although it raged close at hand, spared this particular angle. The quaint little gardens still remaining in front doubtless helped to isolate it. Before quitting the immediate neighbourhood of Fetter Lane, we might mention that an old house, No. 16 in this street, had the following inscription, the chief statement of which was accepted as true by Sir Leslie Stephen: "Here liv'd John Dryden, ye Poet, Born 1631, Died



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1700. Glorious John." It stood near the south end, by Fleur-de-Lis Court, and was pulled down in 1887.

Fetter Lane runs into Fleet Street, and we will now say something about the old houses of entertainment in this historic thoroughfare, one of the main connecting links between the City of London and the west end. Just as Southwark, Bishopsgate Street, Holborn, and Whitechapel were famous for their coaching and posting inns, Fleet Street, which only possessed one historic hostelry of this kind, namely, the Bolt-in-Tun, was for a long time the headquarters of taverns and coffee-houses, where fops and students, men of letters and men of fashion, met and enjoyed that "oblivion of care and freedom from solicitude" which, for most of us, have such powerful attraction. To mention one or two of these old houses of entertainment. It was at the Devil Tavern that Ben Jonson held sway over his literary children; the rules of his club, in golden letters, and the bust of Apollo, are still preserved at Messrs. Child and Co.'s banking-house. The Mitre Tavern is known by name to all who have read Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, the study of which forms part of a liberal education. The

house itself, No. 39, became Macklin's Poets' Gallery in 1788, and lastly Saunders's Auction Rooms. It was pulled down many years ago, on the rebuilding of Messrs. Hoare's banking-house, to enlarge the site. The present Mitre Tavern in Mitre Court has no connection with it. The Rainbow, modernised many years ago, but still flourishing, was opened about 1656 by James Farr, previously a barber, being the second coffee-house established in London. Next year he was prosecuted by the "Inquest" of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West "for making and selling a sort of liquor called coffee as a great nuisance and prejudice of the neighbourhood." In spite of this he soon got together a good connection, among his customers being Sir Henry Blount, who, we are told, from their first introduction frequented coffee-houses, "especially Mr. Farr's, at the Rainbowe." In the next chapter we shall point out how Nando's, early established under the same roof, was at length merged in the Rainbow. It now only remains to say that here the Johnson Club has more than once dined wisely and well, and that it is now the home of "Ye Antient Society of Coggers," which here carries on its miniature parliament.

Perhaps even more famous than the last-named

house of entertainment was the Cock, on the north side of Fleet Street, near Temple Bar. Samuel Pepys, at one time a great frequenter of taverns, records several visits to it, the most memorable one perhaps being that on 23rd April 1668, when he gave his wife just cause for jealousy by entertaining Mrs. Pierce and the fascinating Mrs. Knipp at a lobster supper, and afterwards taking boat with "Knipp" at the Temple, "it being darkish, and to Fox Hall, it being now night." The sign was originally double, as is shown from the following advertisement which appeared in the *Intelligencer* during the Plague time of 1665: "This is to certify that the Master of the Cock and Bottle, commonly called the Cock Ale-house at Temple Bar, hath dismissed his servants and shut up his house for this long vacation, intending (God willing) to return at Michaelmass time, so that all persons who have any accounts or farthings belonging to the said house are desired to repair thither before the 8th of this instant July and they shall receive satisfaction." The allusion to farthings has reference to the trade token issued by this house, which is of extreme rarity, only three specimens being known. The inscription on it reads thus:—

Obverse.—THE · COCK · ALE · HOVSE = a cock.

Reverse.—AT · TEMPLE · BARR · 1655 = H. M. C.

Strype tells us, in 1720, that “the Cock Alehouse, adjoining to Temple Bar, is a noted publick-house.” From that time onwards it was much frequented, especially by lawyers, but most men who have made London their home, and are past a certain age, have been inside the long, low dining-room with its curtained boxes, and know the Jacobean chimney-piece and the carved and gilded chancelier over the door, which might have been fashioned by Grinling Gibbons. These relics indeed can still be seen at the modern Cock on the opposite side of Fleet Street.

It is to Tennyson that we owe the most abiding memorial of the old tavern, in his lines called “Will Waterproof’s Lyrical Monologue, Made at the Cock,” which, as Mr. Percy Fitzgerald has well said, give no actual description, but convey, with extraordinary charm, an idea of the tone of the place, and of the fancies it is likely to engender in some solitary frequenter. It is “only a great poet who could evolve a refined quintessence from the mixed vapours of chops and steaks.” That the late Poet Laureate frequently dined here when a young man is a well-known fact. To give one



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instance. In the *Personal Reminiscences of the late Sir Frederick Pollock*, vol. i. p. 87, he says that he finds recorded in the year 1837, "a visit to the pit of the Olympic with Spedding and Tennyson, after having dined together at the Cock in Fleet Street." Another famous frequenter of the place was Charles Dickens.

The later vicissitudes of the Cock need not long detain us. In the year 1867 there was a rumour of its impending destruction, to make way for the approach to the new Law Courts, but it remained unchanged till 1882, when the buildings in front were taken down, the Cock, like several other Fleet Street taverns and coffee-houses, being at the end of a long passage. Next year a jury awarded £19,698 for the freehold and goodwill of the house, which passed into the hands of the Commissioners of Sewers, and in 1885 the site was purchased by the authorities of the Bank of England, who have here established their branch bank. They did not at once begin to build, the old tavern remaining open until April 10, 1886, and its contents being sold on the 18th of May. One of the tankards was presented as a souvenir to Lord Tennyson. The only house of the kind left in thoroughly genuine condition is the Cheshire

Cheese, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, which is not dissimilar in appearance, and equally picturesque. Long may it flourish in the sympathetic hands of the present proprietor.

We shall, perhaps appropriately, finish our remarks in this chapter by a few words on Temple Bar, which, until the year 1878, was such a prominent landmark, forming as it did the later limitation of the City; the original boundary in this direction had of course been Ludgate. In the words of Strype: "Temple Bar is the place where the freedom of the City of London and the Liberty of the City of Westminster doth part; which separation was anciently only Posts, Rails, and a Chain, such as now are at Holbourn, Smithfield, and Whitechapel Bars. Afterwards there was a House of Timber, erected across the street, with a narrow gateway, and an entrance on the south side of it under a house." This gate, of which a drawing is given by Hollar in his large map of London, came to an end shortly *after* not *in* the Great Fire, and was re-erected from the designs of Wren. It was built of Portland stone, and had on the east side statues of James I. and his wife, Queen Anne of Denmark, and to the west those of Charles I. and Charles II. The room above the gateway was

latterly hired by Messrs. Child and Co., whose bank adjoined it. An old custom always observed at Temple Bar was the closing of the gates whenever royalty had occasion to pass through them from the court end of London. On the arrival of the royal equipage a herald sounded a trumpet, another herald knocked, and after certain words had been exchanged the gates were thrown open, and the Lord Mayor handed the City sword to his Sovereign, who graciously handed it back. This or a similar ceremony was used by Cromwell when he dined in the City on June 7, 1649; the last observance of it was on the occasion of the visit of Queen Victoria to St. Paul's on February 27, 1872, when she attended the thanksgiving service for the recovery of his present Majesty from typhoid fever.

For many years the mangled remains of those who had been executed were exposed at Temple Bar. Its last adornments of this kind are said to have been the heads of Towneley and Fletcher, Jacobites, which fell down, the first in April 1772, and the other shortly afterwards. Towneley's head appears to have been secretly removed. "I remember once," said Dr. Johnson, "being with Goldsmith in Westminster Abbey. While we surveyed the Poets' Corner I said to him :—

“ Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.

“ When we got to the Temple Bar he stopped me, pointed to the heads upon it, and slyly whispered :—

“ ‘ Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur *istis.* ’ ”

This was in allusion to Johnson’s Jacobite tendencies, which, in later life were much assuaged by the mollifying influence of a pension.

It was found at length that Temple Bar was not sufficiently wide for the requirements of modern traffic. For some unknown reason also the newspapers took to decrying this finely proportioned building as an eyesore, and when in addition its foundations began to show signs of weakness, a result of the removal of neighbouring houses, one felt that there was no chance of pleading with success for the preservation of our last City gateway. It was taken down in 1878-79, and after the stones, which number about a thousand, had been lying exposed to the weather for nearly ten years, they were presented to Sir Henry Meux and re-erected at Cheshunt so as to form an entrance to his park there, part of the once regal manor of Theobalds. The “ Temple Bar Memorial,” which blocks the end of Fleet Street almost as much as



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did Temple Bar, was erected in 1880 to mark the old site, being unveiled by the late Prince Leopold, afterwards Duke of Albany. The strange creature guarding its summit is usually called "the griffin," but is said to be a dragon by those who understand heraldic zoology.

CHAPTER VI

ABOUT THE INNS OF COURT AND CHANCERY

“This same starved justice hath done nothing but prate to me of the wildness of his youth.—I do remember him at Clements’ Inn like a man made after supper of a cheese paring.”

SHAKESPEARE, *King Henry IV.* Part II.

THE division of our book into chapters is one mainly of convenience, for the various subjects referred to are sometimes so intimately connected that it is difficult to classify them. Thus incidentally we are now about to describe two old buildings both in or by Fleet Street, and both long used as taverns, but also very much connected with the great legal Societies of the Temple.

Most of those who care for the architectural relics of old London are familiar with No. 17 Fleet Street, extending over the Inner Temple Gate, which, through the energetic action of the London County Council, aided by the City authorities, has been secured, in part at least, from de-

struction. With the exception of Crosby Hall (unless we include part of the Charterhouse buildings) it is perhaps the oldest house in the City and, from its artistic features alone, well worthy of preservation. Besides it has an interesting history, and one not easy to unravel. I shall therefore venture to repeat to some extent what was said by me on the subject in articles contributed to vols. i. and ii. of the *Home Counties Magazine*.

First as to the actual structure. The house, until a few years ago, occupied a considerable space along the east side of Inner Temple Lane, but the back portion with one staircase had already been pulled down before it was suggested that there should be an attempt to save the far more interesting part that remains. The massive rusticated arch, facing the end of Chancery Lane, with the Pegasus of the Inner Temple on the spandrels, is thoroughly Jacobean in character, as are the carved wooden panels between the first and second floor windows, two of which are ornamented with plumes of feathers; but all the rest of the front, as it now appears, is of comparatively recent date. Inside, fortunately, there are fragments which prove to us what was the appearance of the original building. The front of the first story,

overhanging the ground floor and archway to some extent, but not so much as at present, had carved pilasters at the sides, and two bay windows with transoms, which were divided in the middle by a similar pilaster. The second story projected $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches beyond the first, the bay windows being carried up. Here again a fragment of a carved pilaster has been found, and remains of the other two are probably in existence behind the modern house front. There is a view of the building with the windows unaltered, which appears on a map or plan engraved by George Vertue in 1723, and on another issued by Bowles late in the eighteenth century.

When the house was remodelled, now long ago, the old front was completely covered and concealed by a new one, brought slightly forward and projecting equally before the rooms of the first and second floors, the bays being removed. The present flat windows were inserted, and the original panels rearranged. On the first floor there is a space of about 1 foot 9 inches between the old front and the present one. The top story or attic, structurally but little changed, consists of two gables with their tiled roofs slightly hipped. This hipping back, however, is a modern alteration, as is proved by an engraving of Prattent's in the

European Magazine for 1786, where the bay windows have already disappeared, but the points of the gables are not hipped. The gables stand back about 7 feet from the frontage of the second floor; thus there is a platform, which in Prattent's view is shown protected by a railing with turned balusters, and must have formed a pleasant adjunct to the house; but all this is now concealed by a screen of a more or less temporary nature, covered in so as to form a small front room. The old gabled houses near St. Dunstan's Church, numbered 184 and 185 Fleet Street, had platforms of a similar kind. The platform or gallery of the wooden house in Bishopsgate Street Without was mentioned in our second chapter.

Passing through the shop, from which all trace of age has been eliminated, one mounts by a staircase with large turned balusters to the first floor, where is a room facing the street and occupying the whole width of the house. It is nearly square, being about 23 feet in length from east to west, about 20 feet in breadth and 10 feet 6 inches high. This room contains two features of very great interest. The west end has fine oak panelling, while its frieze or cornice, and two carved pilasters of the same material, are good

examples of early seventeenth-century design, but the glory of the room is the plaster ceiling elaborately decorated. Ornament of the kind so well exemplified in this ceiling did not come into fashion in England until the time of Henry VIII., being first produced by Italians at his palace of Nonsuch, the external plaster work of which is mentioned by John Evelyn in his diary, and is also shown in a view by Hoefnagel. The first Englishman, I believe, who is known to have practised this art was Charles Williams, who in 1547 offered his services at Longleat to supply internal plaster decorations "after the Italian fashion," he may have been employed at Nonsuch. Our English plasterers soon learned to excel; they travelled about the country, and most houses of importance built during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. were partly adorned with their work. Some of the late Gothic roofs of Henry VII.'s reign, with their radiating ribs and pendants, at first no doubt helped to give suggestions. In the ceilings, however, geometric patterns of projecting ribs as a rule formed the basis of the designs, which soon became highly varied, emblems, armorial bearings, and personal devices being used to fill up vacant spaces. At first the ribs were plainly



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moulded after the manner of groin ribs, but later their flat surfaces were ornamented. The ceiling of No. 17 Fleet Street is of this kind. In what seems to have been the centre of the chief design, enclosed by a star-shaped border, are the Prince of Wales's feathers, with the motto "Ich Dien" on a scroll beneath, and the letters P. H. Surrounding the centre is a well-arranged system of geometric patterns with appropriate ornament. Along the south side of the room a series of small, oblong panels occur; on one of them are the arms of the Vintners' Company—a chevron between three tuns. There is no record of the Vintners having been connected with the Gate-house; but perhaps its first owner belonged to this Guild, for we know that one of his executors—Ralph Marshe—was a vintner. The ceiling is now coloured throughout, and although the paint has no doubt been renewed again and again, and the delicacy of the ornament is therefore somewhat obliterated, one must bear in mind that there is here something of the original effect, for in the old stucco work colour and gilding were largely employed. Spenser reminds us of this in his well-known lines:—

Gold was the parget, and the ceiling bright
Did shine all scaly with great plates of gold.

A striking characteristic of the Fleet Street ceiling is the marvellous tenacity with which it holds together, although in parts it has sunk many inches. This is owing to the fine quality of the plaster, far superior to any now produced, perhaps also to an admixture of hair and of some glutinous substance. A strip of decorative plaster work at the east end has disappeared, the ceiling in this part being now unadorned. There is, however, just space for sufficient ornament to make it correspond with that which is opposite. The mantelpiece of wood and marble, at the east end of the room, dates from the eighteenth century, which is also the case with the panelling at that end. The panelling on the south side, although not precisely similar, is also of the eighteenth century; the wall here is partly an external one, the room extending over the Inner Temple Gateway.

But it is time to turn to the historical associations of this old Gate-house. That part of the district lying between Fleet Street and the Thames, which is called the Temple, was the home of the Knights Templars in London from 1184 until the early part of the fourteenth century. Not long after their downfall it came to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, by whom the Inner and Middle

Temples were leased to the students of the Common Law. No change in this tenure took place when at the dissolution of religious houses the property passed to the Crown; but in 1608 James I., by letters patent, granted it at a nominal rent to certain high legal officials and to the benchers and their successors for ever. There is a tradition that in Wolsey's young days, when he came to take possession of the benefice of Lymington in Hampshire, Sir Amyas Paulet clapped him in the stocks, and that during his Chancellorship many years afterwards, in revenge for the indignity which had once been put upon him, he ordered Paulet, then treasurer of the Middle Temple, not to quit London without leave, and so the latter lived in the Temple for five or six years. To propitiate Wolsey, when the gate was restored he is said to have placed over the front of it the Cardinal's arms, hat, and other insignia. This tends to show the early existence of the Middle Temple Gate-house, which was rebuilt by Wren as it now appears in 1684.

The Inner Temple Records tell us how at a meeting of the Temple authorities in 1538-39, "hit was agreid that a nue gate shalbe made comyng from the streitt to the Tempell." It does not appear, however, to what gate this applies. In the

plan of London attributed to Ralph Agas, which is thought by the best authorities to have been prepared not earlier than the year 1591, the Middle Temple Gate-house and Lane are marked quite distinctly, but there are no signs of an Inner Temple Gate-house. Nevertheless one probably existed before, as seems proved by the Inner Temple Records, a Calendar of which has within the last few years been printed under the able editorship of the late Mr. F. A. Inderwick, K.C. It therein appears that at a meeting of the authorities of the Inner Temple, held on June 10, 1610, John Bennet, one of the King's sergeants-at-arms, petitioned that the Inner Temple Gate "may be stopped up for a month or six weeks, in order that it may be rebuilt, together with his house called the Prince's Arms, adjoining to and over the said gate and lane, and that he may jettie over the gate towards the street." He seems to have submitted a plan, and offered to renew the gates on condition that he had the old ones. His request having been granted, the work was soon afterwards carried out.

This document therefore shows clearly the age of the present Gate-house, and the circumstances under which it was built, with its stories "jettying" or jutting over the pavement in front. It also

furnishes an explanation of the plumes of feathers, outside and on the ceiling, and of the initials P. H., which apply to Henry, elder son of James I., and Prince of Wales when the house was rebuilt, and would have been put up there in compliment to him. For although it is true that, strictly speaking, a plume of feathers borne in a coronet represents the Prince's badge and not his arms, sufficient reason for their existence here is doubtless supplied by the fact that, as appears from the above extract, the house on this site, even before the present structure, was called the Prince's Arms.

There is, nevertheless, a strong belief that this house, No. 17 Fleet Street, was originally the office and council chamber of the Duchy of Cornwall, and the reason for this, apart from, or in addition to, the presence of the plumes of feathers and initials, is the fact that seventeenth-century documents mention a "Prince's Council Chamber" in Fleet Street. One with this heading is referred to in the *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. x., 1619-23. Perhaps even more important is a proclamation dated 1635, and now at the Record Office, which runs thus:—Our pleasure is "that those of our subjects who seek to have defective titles made good shall, before Hilary term next, repair to our

now Commissioners at a house in Fleet Street, where our Commissioners for our Revenue while we were Prince of Wales did usually meet." There are also copies of minutes of the year 1617 referring to "the Counsell Chamber in Fleete Streete."

It should, however, be said that careful search at the Record Office and at the present Office of the Duchy of Cornwall has failed to reveal a single document connecting this or any other house in Fleet Street with Henry, Prince of Wales, whose death had occurred in 1612, while no records of the kind referred to are dated before the year 1617. On the other hand, there is strong reason for supposing that the Council of the Duchy of Cornwall, during the earlier part of the seventeenth century, had no regular office, but transacted its business in various hired, leased, or lent places. Thus letters and minutes of 1615 and 1616 were written at a house in Salisbury Court (near the bottom of Fleet Street). November 25, 1617, is the date of a meeting at "the Dutchie House" which is mentioned again in the following year, while a letter of February 22, 1619-20, relating to the affairs of the Duchy, is signed at Whitehall, and in 1622 and 1623 papers of a similar kind are dated from "the Counsell Chamber at Denmark

House in the Strand." Some documents relating to the Duchy were issued at Windsor and other places away from London. If the Duchy had possessed a house of its own for the transaction of business, that house would have been sold by the Parliament between 1646 and 1650 as King's or Prince's forfeited property, or at least would have been mentioned in the careful survey of the Duchy's possessions then made and still in existence. But there is no record forthcoming of the Duchy having either owned or rented a house in Fleet Street. The most that we can say at present, pending the possible discovery of further documents, is that on and off, from 1617 to 1625, the Commissioners of the Duchy of Cornwall, afterwards until 1641 or later the Commissioners of the King's Revenue, met at an office in Fleet Street, and that this office, lent or hired, may perhaps have been at times the handsomely decorated first-floor room of the Inner Temple Gate-house, built by John Bennett on the site of his previous house called the Prince's Arms; the sign being accounted for by the fact that until the latter part of the eighteenth century the plan of numbering houses not having been invented, each one had its special designation. I would add that it was

not an uncommon practice at the time to work into the design of a stuccoed ceiling the armorial bearings of Royal personages. Thus, to give but one instance, on the ceiling of the well-known house formerly at the north-east corner of Shoe Lane and denominated Holborn or Old-bourn Hall were (within just such a starlike border as that containing the Prince's feathers in Fleet Street) in the centre the Royal arms encircled by a garter, with the initials of James I., namely, I. R., and a crown above, the date in one corner being 1617, yet this was certainly never more than a manor house. A house of minor importance, which formerly stood in Whitechapel, was decorated externally with the Prince of Wales's feathers and other insignia. One may add that the design of the Inner Temple Gate-house has sometimes been attributed to Inigo Jones, partly because in 1610 he was appointed Surveyor to Henry, Prince of Wales; but as the house was built, not for the Prince, but for John Bennett, this fact does not increase the probability of its being his work.

The Gate-house was from the first a freehold in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. At the same time, owing to the facts that it stood over the Inner Temple Lane and extended for some

distance along its east side, the authorities of the Inner Temple had certain rights over it. Unfortunately no early deeds of this house are forthcoming, nor can much allusion to it be found until the eighteenth century. Long before this, however, there was a shop here, apparently forming part of the structure. Proof of its existence is found in the title-page of Thomas Middleton's Comedy, *A Mad World my Masters*, a second edition of which, published in 1640, was "to be sold by James Becket at his Shop in the Inner Temple Gate."

In 1665 the back part, if not the whole building, must already have been used as a tavern, with a sign which it retained until quite late in its history. During that year one Monsieur Angiers advertises his famous remedies for stopping the plague, to be had at Mr. Drinkwater's at the Fountain, Inner Temple Gate, "down the passage." The Inner Temple Records give various references to the house, chiefly relating to the power of control over the windows. Thus among the Bench orders is one of 1693, that the owner should attend, to make out his title to the windows of the Fountain Tavern that look into the Temple. Afterwards the windows were blocked, but on petition of Edward Dixon, the vintner, who acknowledged

“the right of the Society in permitting the lights of the house that are next the Inner Temple Lane,” the obstruction was removed, and “in consideration thereof,” Dixon agreed to pay 2s. 6d. a year rent, and to set apart for the benchers the use of the best room in his house on the occasion of any public show. This may be accepted as a proof that the room on the first floor, with the fine ceiling and panelling shown in our illustration, then formed part of the tavern, for it must have been the best room in the house facing Fleet Street. There are various records showing that the authorities of the Inner Temple exercised their privilege.

From Browne Willis’s account, I learn that, having first tried the Bear in the Strand and the Young Devil Tavern in Fleet Street, the Society of Antiquaries, or perhaps one should say those who, after a long interval, were engaged in the task of reviving it, about the year 1709, met at the Fountain Tavern, as one “went down into the Inner Temple against Chancery Lane.” In 1739 their place of assembly was the no less historic Mitre.

During many years Fleet Street was noted for exhibitions of various kinds, and the old Gate-house was formerly occupied by one, a short account

of which may here be appropriately inserted. Perhaps the most famous waxwork exhibition before Madame Tussaud's was that first formed by Mrs. Salmon, which in the days of Queen Anne was to be seen at the "Golden Ball" in St. Martin's, near Aldersgate. The *Spectator* for April 2, 1711, No. 28, has the following sentence:—"It would have been ridiculous for the ingenious Mrs. Salmon to have lived at the sign of the trout; for which reason she has erected before her house the figure of the fish that is her namesake." Further allusions to the lady will be found in No. 31, and in No. 609 of the same publication. The waxworks migrated to Fleet Street, where they were shown near the Horn Tavern, now Anderton's Hotel. A handbill describing them mentions "140 figures as big as life all made by Mrs. Salmon, who sells all sorts of moulds and glass eyes, and teaches the full art." The death of the original proprietor is thus recorded:—"March, 1760, died Mrs. Steer, aged 90, but was generally known by the name of her former husband, Mr. Salmon. She was famed for making several figures in wax, which have long been shown in Fleet Street." The collection was then bought by Mr. Clark or Clarke, a surgeon, of Chancery Lane (said to have been the father of Sir Charles

Mansfield Clarke, M.D.), and, when he died, his widow continued the exhibition under the name of Salmon. In 1788 the waxworks were some little distance west of the Horn Tavern, at an old house, No. 189 Fleet Street, the site of which was afterwards occupied by Praed's Bank. At the beginning of 1795 Mrs. Clark shifted her quarters to No. 17 over the way. Her removal is announced as follows in the *Morning Herald* for January 28, 1795 (not 1785, as we are told by J. Timbs):—"The house in which Mrs. Salmon's Waxworks have for above a century been exhibited is pulling down; the figures are removed to the very spacious and handsome apartments at the corner of the Inner Temple Gate, which was once the Palace of Henry, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of King James the First, and they are now the residence of many a royal guest. Here are held the Courts of Alexander the Great, of King Henry the Eighth, of Caractacus, and the present Duke of York. Happy ingenuity to bring heroes together maugre the lapse of time! The levees of each of these persons are daily very numerously attended, and we find them all to be of very easy access, since it is insured by a shilling to one of the attendants." At the door was placed the figure on crutches of a well-known person, Ann

Siggs by name, and, according to J. T. Smith, if a certain spring were trodden on, the counterfeit presentment of Mother Shipton kicked the astonished visitor when he was in the act of leaving. J. Timbs and C. T. Noble both say that Mrs. Clark died in 1812 at an advanced age, but in the parish tithes-book I find the name at No. 17 three years later. In 1814 Mrs. "Biddy" Clark is replaced by William Reed or Read. Next year the name of Clark is seen again, but in the fourth quarter "Biddy" is changed to "Charlotte." The following year Reed's name returns, and so ends the Clark connection. I would add that the apocryphal statement now on the front of the house, that it was "formerly the palace of Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey," probably grew in part out of the more modest claim that it was "once the palace of Henry, Prince of Wales," in part out of the tale, already referred to, of Wolsey's arms having been placed on the *old* Middle Temple Gate-house.

We have reached the time when Mr. Reed became tenant of No. 17 in place of Mrs. Clark, and we can now gather fresh information from documents at the Inner Temple, which prove that after Mrs. Clark's time, the house, or part of it, was known by its old sign, as the Fountain Tavern. In

1823 a petition was presented to the Benchers by Mr. James Sotheby, and in their note of his petition he is described as "owner of the Fountain Tavern, heretofore called the Prince's Arms—part whereof is built over the Gateway." A nominal rent was paid for the use of windows looking on to Inner Temple Lane, and at Lady Day, 1823, the Society's account-book has the following entries:—"Fountain Tavern 3s. 9d., Mr. Reed 1s. 6d.," which prove clearly that there were then two separate tenants. From this and other documents it seems probable that during the time of the waxworks the house was divided, and that part continued to be used as the Fountain Tavern. For more than sixty years a hairdressing business has been carried on here, the present occupant being Mr. Carter.

Before quitting altogether the subject of No. 17 Fleet Street, I should like to say a few words about Nando's Coffee-house, and its supposed connection with this building. We all know what is told about Nando's in books of London topography, namely, that it was at the east corner of Inner Temple Lane, which implies that it was at the Inner Temple Gate-house. Timbs says positively that No. 17 Fleet Street "was formerly Nando's, also the depository of Mrs. Salmon's

Waxwork." Peter Cunningham also places Nando's at the east corner of Inner Temple, and subsequent writers have, I think, invariably copied the statements of these two authorities on the subject, except Mr. Bellot, who has seen my article. No one explains the name, which was probably a contraction for Ferdinand's, or Ferdinando's; it being much the fashion to call a coffee-house after the name of the owner or occupant, as Tom's, Dick's, etc. One calls to mind also how the name of Sir Hans Sloane's servant, Salter, at Chelsea, was transformed into Don Saltero when he started a coffee-house there.

Nando's Coffee-house in Fleet Street, which existed in 1697, and perhaps some years earlier, had, for about a century, a considerable reputation. It may be noted that Bernard Lintot the famous publisher, of whom it has been written,

Some country squire to Lintot goes,
Enquires for Swift in verse and prose.

published various books "from the Cross Keys next Nando's Coffee-house, Temple Bar." Many years afterwards Nando's was frequented by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, when a briefless barrister, the charms of the punch and of the landlady's daughter rendering it at that time popular, and here Thurlow's

skill in argument obtained for him, from a stranger, the appointment of junior counsel in the famous case of *Douglas v. the Duke of Hamilton*.

The evidence indicating the exact position of this historic coffee-house will be found in a *Further Report of the Commissioners for enquiring concerning Charities*, 1823, vol. ix. p. 283. It appears that John Jones of London and Hampton, Esq., by will dated March 26, 1692, devised certain lands for charitable uses in connection with the parish of Hampton-on-Thames, Middlesex, and arrangements for carrying out testator's wishes were entered into, by virtue of which certain deeds were executed. One of these was a conveyance of two-fourth parts of and in

“All that message or tenement with the appurtenances situate in Fleet Street in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West in London, and containing the several rooms therein-after mentioned, viz. on the ground story a kitchen fronting Fleet Street, and a cellar lying behind the said kitchen; in the second story one shop fronting towards Fleet Street, one room used for a coffee-house lying behind the first shop commonly called or known by the name of Nando's Coffee-house with an entry leading out of the said street into the said coffee-house, one room adjoining on the south part of the said coffee-house and lying over part of the said cellar belonging to a message or tenement called or known by the name of the Rainbow Coffee-house “containing from north to south within the walls 16 feet, and from east to west 11 feet

little more or less ; on the third story one dining-room fronting Fleet Street, and one back room or chamber lying behind the said dining-room, and also one room lying in the west side of the said back room or chamber, some part over and some under the rooms belonging to a message or tenement then or late in the tenure of Mary Leslie, widow, and containing from north to south 15 feet, and from east to west 12 feet little more or less ; in the fourth story, two rooms or chambers lying directly over the said room or chamber behind it ; in the fifth story two other rooms or chambers lying directly over the said two last-mentioned rooms ; and in the sixth or uppermost story two garrets lying over the two last-mentioned rooms."

The property was to be held in trust towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster duly qualified to instruct children residing at Hampton in the English and Latin tongues, and to understand the catechism. The Commissioners report that the property so settled consisted in January 1823 of one moiety of a house in Fleet Street, formerly Nando's Coffee-house.

A satirical print called the "Battle of Temple Bar" illustrates an event of March 22, 1769, when some six hundred sober-minded people, merchants, bankers, and others opposed to Wilkes, set out from the Guildhall, headed by the City Marshall, to deliver an address at St. James's. The mob attacked them, took possession of Temple Bar, and drove them out

of their carriages, several taking refuge in Nando's. On the print the name of this house is placed over a doorway, which agrees in position as nearly as may be with the existing entrance of the Rainbow. Again, to repeat two only of several similar statements known to the writer. Hughson, in his account of London, 1807, speaks of "the Rainbow, or Nando's Coffee House"; and in the *Every Night Book, or Life after Dark*, 1827, by the author of the *Cigar*, there is an account of the Rainbow, wherein we are told that "this tavern which stands near the Temple Gate, opposite Chancery Lane, in Fleet Street, once bore the title of Nando's as well as that of the Rainbow." It is to be hoped after this accumulation of evidence as to the true position of Nando's, future writers will cease to domicile it at the Inner Temple Gate-house.

The Rainbow is numbered 15 Fleet Street. A few doors west, a long passage formerly led to another famous old coffee-house, known as Dick's or Richard's, the back of which was in Hare Court, Temple, nestling against a fine old block of chambers, and overshadowed on the east by a high modern structure which seemed to have got in there by mistake. Hare Court is described



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by "Elia" with less than his usual sympathy, as "a gloomy churchyard-like place with trees and a pump in it." At this pump he had often drunk when a child, and the contents later in life he recommends as "excellent cold with brandy." Dick's Coffee-house, with which it was so intimately connected, stood on the site of the printing office of Richard Tottel, law stationer in the reign of Henry VIII., but got its name from Richard Torner or Turner, who was landlord in 1680. From the days of Steele and Addison many eminent men frequented it. In 1737 a play called *The Coffee-house*, by the Rev. James Miller, was performed at Drury Lane Theatre, two of the characters in which were supposed to be aimed at Mrs. Yarrow and her daughter, the former being then landlady of Dick's; in consequence the Templars among whom she was popular, went in a body and damned the piece. Miller in his preface to an edition of it published the same year denied that Dick's was meant, but his frontispiece was an engraving of the interior of this very coffee-house. The champions of Mrs. Yarrow were therefore confirmed in their previous belief, and henceforth they did their best (or worst) to ruin every play which they supposed to have

been written by Miller. Dick's Coffee-house continued to flourish until late in the nineteenth century, being during its last few years in the occupation of an Italian. In front it was a wooden building, as can be seen in one of our illustrations, the back was really half-timbered, the timbering concealed by plaster; inside, the appearance was not unlike what is shown in the frontispiece of Miller's play. The original staircase remained. The whole was swept away in 1899, together with Butterworth's old shop, which stood in front of it at No. 7 Fleet Street. The seventeenth-century chambers on the west side of Hare Court, built after the fire of 1678, had disappeared some time previously.

It would occupy several volumes instead of a few pages to describe the Inns of Court adequately, and that work has already been attempted again and again. We all know that they are four in number. Lincoln's Inn, still distinguished by beautiful old buildings, runs a hard race for pre-eminence with the Inner and the Middle Temple:—

Those bricky towres
The which on Themmes brode aged back doe ryde,
Where now the studious lawyers have their bowers,
There whylome wont the Templer Knights to byde,
Till they decayd through pride.



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Last, not least, Gray's Inn, as picturesque as any of the four, will always be remembered from the many famous men who have been connected with it, but chiefly perhaps to the outer world as the legal foster-mother of Francis Bacon, and as still containing a colony of rooks in its historic gardens. We wonder why the authorities have lately pulled down that north wall along what used to be called the King's Road, destroying for ever the privacy of the place, the air about it of "rus in urbe" which constituted its great charm. And how could they even think of destroying the delightful house in Field Court, with an open gallery like an Italian loggia below?

Doubtless to lovers of the past the Inns of Court are not quite so attractive as they once were. Quiet old buildings have been too often replaced by pretentious modern ones, the sundials look bran new, the Temple fountain has been stuccoed over. Still these delightful precincts remain in a sense intact, and are not likely to be encroached upon. It is far otherwise with the lesser legal Inns which were called Inns of Chancery. In the time of Henry VI., as we are told by a contemporary writer, there were no less than ten of them. Stow, at the end of the sixteenth century,

speaks of the Inns of Chancery as chiefly occupied by officers, attorneys, solicitors, and clerks, who "follow the Courts of the King's Bench or Common Pleas; and yet there want not some other, being young students that come thither sometimes from one of the Universities, and sometimes immediately from grammar schools; and these, having spent some time in studying upon the first elements and grounds of the law, and having performed the exercises of their own houses called Boltas Mootes (disputations) and putting of cases, they proceed to be admitted and become students in some of the four houses or Inns of Court." By the middle of the eighteenth century these Inns of Chancery had not much diminished in number; and although gradually the intentions of the original founders came to be altogether ignored, great part of the buildings, and in most cases the societies which had become virtually their possessors, continued to exist until quite recently.

An Inn of Chancery long ago disestablished was Thavie's Inn, Holborn Circus, which had belonged to Lincoln's Inn, and was sold by that society to a Mr. Middleton in 1771. The north end of it was destroyed in forming the Holborn Viaduct, but on the remainder of the site there is still a double row

of houses called by the name. Furnival's Inn, also in Holborn, and also originally attached to Lincoln's Inn, became after about 1818 a series of chambers wholly unconnected with the law. Until the time that it ceased to be an Inn of Chancery it had a fine Gothic Hall with timber roof, but the whole was rebuilt by William Peto, the contractor, in 1818-20. At No. 15 Furnival's Inn, on the east side of the square, Charles Dickens lived in 1835, the north side being occupied by Wood's Hotel. All these later buildings are now entirely swept away.

Another Inn of Chancery which has been obliterated is Lyon's Inn, an appanage of the Inner Temple. Sir Edward Coke was reader here about 1578, and for two succeeding years; but it seems to be chiefly associated in most people's minds with the victim of John Thurtell, murdered in 1823:—

They cut his throat from ear to ear,
His brains they battered in;
His name was Mr. William Weare,
He dwelt in Lyon's Inn.

It was sold by the members in 1863, the Inn being shortly afterwards demolished, and the Globe Theatre built on its site.

There were two houses of law called Serjeants'

Inn, which cannot be classed as Inns of Chancery, but certainly require a few words of notice. They were set apart for judges and serjeants-at-law, each justice of the King's Bench or Common Pleas having to become a serjeant, if he had not already done so, before being sworn in as judge. The Fleet Street precinct appears to have been deserted by the serjeants in the course of the eighteenth century, but still exists as an ordinary Square. The second Serjeants' Inn, on the east side of Chancery Lane, was formerly called Faryngdon Inn, after the person who gave his name to the wards of Farringdon, and continued to be used until the dissolution of the Society in 1876-77, the property being sold early in the latter year for £57,100, and the proceeds divided among the members; a transaction with regard to which there was a good deal of adverse comment. A part of the old building still remains on the south side of the passage between Clifford's Inn and Chancery. A third Inn, used by the serjeants in early times, was called Scroope's Inn, and stood opposite to St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, but ceased its connection with the lawyers about the end of the fifteenth century. Before quitting this subject I would add that the badge or emblem of the now extinct serjeants, known as the coif, after

going through various changes, was finally a little frill of white silk round a black patch about two inches in diameter, which represented a black skull-cap and was fastened on to the wig. It is said that when Sir Fitzroy Kelly was made a serjeant in order to become Lord Chief Baron, the robe-maker had sent no coif, and that its place was supplied by the Lord Chancellor's pen-wiper, pinned on for the occasion.

We all know the street front of a grand old gabled building close to the site of Holborn Bars, and most of us have seen the charming courtyards and garden at the back of it, some have even peeped into the hall, with its open timber roof, the date 1581 carved on a corbel. This is Staple Inn, the Principal and Ancients of which were the first among those having legal rights over an Inn of Chancery to follow the example of the Serjeants-at-law. The place was sold in 1884 for £68,000, and by an unlooked-for piece of good fortune it came into the hands of the Prudential Assurance Company, which has so far preserved it with the utmost care. We will not dwell at length on the history of Staple Inn, the early part of which is indeed somewhat obscure. Was it in any way connected with the Merchants of the Staple?

For this, as far as one can ascertain, there is no authority except a tradition quoted by Sir George Buc, master of the revels, in his treatise which is appended to Howes's edition of Stow's *Annales*.

When we come to the building as an Inn of Chancery we are still doubtful. Most authorities consider that it was first occupied for legal purposes about 1415; Mr. Worsfold, in *Staple Inn and its Story*, puts back the date to 1378. At least we know that in the twentieth year of Henry VIII. the inheritance of Staple Inn passed from John Knighton and Alice his wife to the Benchers and Ancients of Gray's Inn; and they surely must have been the "Gentlemen of this House" commended by Sir George for "new-building a fayre Hall of brick and two parts of the outward Courtyards, besides other lodging in the garden and elsewhere," and thus making it "the fayrest Inne of Chancery in this Universitie." During the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were at Staple Inn 145 students in term time and 69 out of term, more than attended any other Inn of Chancery.

The management of Staple Inn was in the hands of a Principal, who was elected every third year, a Pensioner, corresponding as regards his duties with a college bursar, and a Council consisting of eleven



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Ancients whose number was kept up by election from the junior members. There was also a Reader, chosen by the members from three whose names were submitted by Gray's Inn. In 1855 the number of Ancients had diminished to eight, and there were twelve Juniors.

Among the famous people associated with Staple Inn was Dr. Johnson, who moved here from the still existing house on the west side of Gough Square on March 23, 1759, and wrote that very day to his step-daughter, Miss Lucy Porter, announcing the fact. He added, "I am going to publish a little Story Book, which I will send you when it is out." This was *Rasselas*. Boswell tells us that he "wrote it, that with the profits he might defray the expense of his mother's funeral, and pay some little debts which she had left." Isaac Reed the Shakespeare commentator was also once a resident, having chambers at No. 11, where Steevens corrected the proof-sheets of his edition of Shakespeare. Dickens places Mr. Grewgious in *Edwin Drood* at No. 10, where over the door are the date 1747 and the initials ^{P.}J. T. which refer to Principal John Thomson. Nathaniel Hawthorne during his first visit to London "went astray in Holborn through an arched entrance over which was Staple Inn :—

in a Court opening inwards from this there was a surrounding seclusion of quiet dwelling-houses, with beautiful green shrubbery and grass plots in the Court and a great many sunflowers in full bloom." He finishes a charming description with the following words, which are fortunately still true. "In all the hundreds of years since London was built it has not been able to sweep its roaring tide over that little island of quiet." Our illustration of the Holborn front of Staple Inn was painted before its sale to the Prudential Assurance Company, before therefore it had been restored, when the timber beams were cleared of their plaster covering and many of them renewed. Of late years the effect of the old building from this point of view has been much injured by the erection of lofty houses on each side of it.

A short distance east of Staple Inn, on the same side of the street, was a sister Inn of Chancery, disestablished not many years afterwards, but in part also saved from destruction. This was Barnard's Inn, originally called Mackworth's Inn, from having been the residence of Dr. John Mackworth, Dean of Lincoln in the reign of Henry VI. His successor and the Chapter of Lincoln leased it to Lyonel Barnard, from whom



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was derived the name by which it has so long been known. As early as the middle of the fifteenth century it was occupied by legal students, for Stow tells us that in the year 1454 there was "a great fray" in Fleet Street between "men of court" and the inhabitants there, in the course of which the Queen's attorney was killed. For this act the Principals of Barnard's Inn, Clifford's Inn, and Furnival's Inn were sent as prisoners to Hertford Castle. In the Gordon riots of 1780 Barnard's Inn had a narrow escape, the neighbouring distillery being destroyed. The rules regulating Barnard's Inn resembled those of the other Inns of Chancery. In 1854 the establishment consisted of a Principal, nine Ancients, and five Companions. The advantage of being a Companion was stated to be "the dining," and the advantage of being an Ancient, "dinners and some little fees." In 1888 the whole was advertised for sale, and early in the nineties it was bought by the Mercers' Company and adapted for the purposes of their school.

The hall is only 36 feet long by 22 feet in width, and faces the narrow passage by which one enters from Holborn. It certainly dates from the foundation of the building in the fifteenth century, but has been altered and renewed from time to time.

A louvre still adorns the roof, and doubtless the fire was laid originally upon an open hearth in the middle of the room; the fireplace at the end is, however, of considerable age, having a Tudor arch. Our painting of the interior, done in 1886, shows the walls adorned with portraits; the full length over the mantelpiece, representing Chief Justice Holt, is now at the National Portrait Gallery. The figure seated at a table is clad in one of the gowns which were worn on certain occasions by the Ancients. The appearance of the hall has since been a good deal altered; beyond it was a somewhat irregular quadrangle, part of which appears in another illustration. The quaint gabled houses therein shown to spectator's right, which were close to the yard of the White Horse Inn, disappeared in the year 1893, but those in the centre part of the illustration remain, their fronts abutting on Fetter Lane. At No. 2 dwelt Peter Woulfe, F.R.S., known as the last true believer in alchemy, who here laboured at the hopeless task of trying to make gold. Sir Humphry Davy said of him that he used to hang up written prayers and recommendations of his processes to Providence. The chambers were then so filled with furniture and apparatus that it was difficult to make one's



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way about them. His remedy for illness was a journey to Edinburgh and back by coach, and a cold taken on one of these expeditions brought on inflammation of the lungs, from which he died. Other houses in the quadrangle have been replaced by the new school buildings. This picturesque and interesting old place was apparently not appreciated by Charles Dickens, for there are references to it in *Great Expectations* of rather an uncomplimentary nature. We would add that between the time of the Inn's disestablishment and its occupation by the Mercers' Company the Art Workers' Guild had its meetings in the hall, and here William Morris and other men of light and leading occupied the chair.

We will now retrace our steps to the neighbourhood of the Law Courts, on the west side of which, until a few years ago, there was one of the most historic Inns of Chancery, Clement's Inn, appertaining to the Inner Temple, and so called because it stood "near to St. Clement's Church, but nearer to the fair fountain called Clement's Well." It is described in a lease from Sir John Cantlow to Will. Elyot and John Elyot, dated 2 Hen. VII. (1486-87) and enrolled in Chancery that year, as "All that Inn called Clements Inn, and

six Chambers without and near the South gate of the sd Inn, and two gardens adjoining, in one of which is a Dovehouse, and in the other a Barn with Stables. A House called a Gate House, and a Close called Clements Inn Close, all which are scituate in the Parish of St. Clement Danes in the County of Middx, between the tenem^t of the said S^r. John Cantlow in the tenure of the sd Will and Jno. Elyot, and the Inn and Garden of the New Inn, and the Inn and Garden of Sir John Fortescue Knight on the West, and between tne Highway opposite the Parish Church of St. Clement on the South, and a Close or pasture belonging to the chapter of St. Giles's Hospital on the north."

The most noteworthy student of Clement's Inn mentioned in literature appears to have been Justice Shallow, to whom reference is made in the quotation heading this chapter. That fine artist Hollar, who was so little appreciated in his lifetime, and died in such abject poverty, lodged "without St. Clement's Inn back door" in 1661. Writing to Aubrey he says, "If you have occasion to ask for me, then you must say the Frenchman limner." This is held by some to be the Shepherd's Inn of Thackeray's *Pendennis*.

The chief entrance to Clement's Inn was formerly



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through a fine gateway to the north of the Church of St. Clement Danes, which was swept away in 1868, to make room for the new Law Courts. The hall, a short distance to the north, was built in 1715, and close at hand near the boundary of New Inn was the dainty little house here depicted, with its trim lawn and the figure of a negro supporting a sundial. Garden House, as it was called, has been carefully drawn and described by Mr. Roland Paul, and a view of it was issued by the Society for Photographing Relics of Old London, with an accompanying note by Mr. Alfred Marks. It had quoins, moulded cornices, and pilasters of rubbed brick, stone being used for the balustrades and about the windows. The second story may have been a later addition. According to Seymour, Clement's Inn came to the Earls of Clare from Sir William Holles, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1539. The kneeling blackamoor is usually said to have been presented to the Inn by a Holles, Lord Clare, which one is not specified. This statement, which appears to have originated with John Thomas Smith in *The Streets of London*, may not improbably be true, as the Holles family were the ground landlords. The story has, however, grown with time, and of late years it has generally

been added that the statue is of bronze, and that it was brought from Italy. On referring to Smith's gossiping book, above mentioned, one finds on another page that during the earlier part of the eighteenth century leaden figures were largely manufactured in London, the original figure yard being established in Piccadilly by John Van Nost, a Dutch sculptor who came to England with King William III. His effects were sold in 1711, after his death, but the business was continued, being taken in 1739 by John Cheere, "who served time with his brother, Sir Henry Cheere, the statuary who executed several monuments in Westminster Abbey. The figures were cast in lead as large as life, and frequently painted, with an intention to resemble nature. They consisted of Punch, Harlequin—mowers whetting their scythes—but above all, that of an African kneeling with a sundial upon his head found the most extensive sale." All this is set forth in Mr. W. R. Lethaby's excellent little volume on lead work (1893). The *leaden* figure which knelt for so many years in front of the Garden House at Clement's Inn, and about which an often quoted epigram has been written, disappeared mysteriously in 1884, the rumour being that the Ancients had sold it for twenty guineas.

Not long afterwards they disestablished themselves and disposed of the Inn with the ground attached to it, which has since been built over. About the same time the figure found its way to the garden of the Inner Temple, to which Society Clement's Inn appertained. The late Mr. Hare, in his *Walks in London*, remarks that "there are similar figures at Knowsley, and at Arley in Cheshire." I have observed three—possibly with slight variations—at Purley Hall near Pangbourne, at Ockham Park Surrey, and at Slindon Park Sussex. Mr. Philipson-Stow has one which came from Cowdray. An illustration of another is given in *Country Life* for April 28, 1900, this time bearing on his head a vase. The writer of the accompanying article believes the original to have been by Pietro Tacca, who modelled the group of galley-slaves at Leghorn, and adds that he has also seen such figures in Italy.

The formation of the new street from Holborn to the Strand, while no doubt increasing public convenience, has swept away, we suppose inevitably, various spots dear to the artist and the antiquary. Among those with the loss of which they must be debited is the New Inn, another Inn of Chancery appertaining to the Middle Temple; a few frag-

ments of it were still standing at the end of the year 1904. It had touched Clement's Inn on the west, and was entered through an archway on the north side of Wych Street. There was an ample square, with trees and pleasant brick buildings, which dated from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Sir George Buc tells us that "Newe Inne was a guest Inne, the sign whereof was the picture of our Lady, and thereupon it was also called Our Ladies Inne; it was purchased or hired by Syr John Fineux, Chiefe Justice of the King's Bench in the raigne of King Edward the Fourth, for 6^{li} per annum, to place therein those students of the Law who were lodged in the little Old Bailey, in a house called St. George's Lane." Sir Thomas More was of New Inn before becoming a member of Lincoln's Inn. When deprived of the Chancellorship, he spoke of being reduced to "New Inn fare where-with many an honest man is well contented."

We have reserved until the end of the chapter our notice of Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street, the most ancient Inn of Chancery, which was not sold until the spring of 1903, and is still almost intact. Like Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and Furnival's Inn, it had first grown up in or near the house of a great nobleman. From an original document,

dated February 24, 1310, we learn that the King on that day granted to Robert de Clifford, fifth Baron Clifford by tenure and the first by writ, a "messuage with the appurtenances next to the Church of St. Dunstan-in-the-West in the suburb of London," which had come into the possession of the King's father, Edward I., and had lately been held by John de Brittany, but was then in the King's own hands. This Robert de Clifford was killed at the Battle of Bannockburn. His son's widow, Isabel, some thirty years afterwards, demised the said messuage to "students of the law" for a rent of £10 a year. Except for a short time after the attainder of John, ninth Baron Clifford, a vehement and cruel Lancastrian, the house continued to belong to the de Clifford family, being however, it is thought, always used as an Inn of Chancery after the original demise of Isabel de Clifford. The famous Coke in 1571, being then nineteen years of age, went to reside at Clifford's Inn, and in the following year, as Fuller tells us, he was "entered as student of Municipal Law in the Inner Temple," to which Clifford's Inn was attached. John Selden followed his example, entering at Clifford's Inn in 1602, and at the Inner Temple two years afterwards. In 1574 the judges ordered that

every utter barrister should for three years after he was called "attend ordinary mootings and other exercises of learning both in Court and Chancery," and no one was then allowed to plead in a Court at Westminster unless he was either a reader or bencher at an Inn of Court, an utter barrister of five years' standing, or had been a reader at an Inn of Chancery for two years at least. But from the earlier part of the seventeenth century the Inns of Chancery began to go out of fashion as legal seminaries, and though they were always connected with the law and almost to the last, traces remained of the former system of legal study, they by degrees left off fulfilling a main object of their original foundation. The earliest record in possession of the Society of Clifford's Inn was a copy and translation of some ancient rules, which, in part at least, dated from the time of Edward IV., but were renewed and written out afresh during Henry VII.'s reign. Some of them are very quaint. Under Rule 11 a member could be fined one farthing for each word of ribaldry spoken in the hall during dinner or supper. Rule 14 ordains that any member striking another member "with his fist, cudgel, knife, dagger, or other weapon, without effusion of blood shall pay for every such offence

twelve pence, and shall make amends; but if he strikes to the effusion of blood he shall make amends to the party at the discretion of the Principal, and shall pay to the Society six shillings and eight pence, and repeating such behaviour shall be expelled and put out of y^e Inn." A fine is also fixed for any member who shall persuade or compel another member to sally forth from the Inn for purposes of revenge. Each member is to pay thirteen pence for vessels of pewter, and is bound to have in the kitchen "two plates and dishes of pewter every day for his own use. He shall not break into the buttery, or through the gates after they have been shut, or disgrace the Inn by bringing into it or concealing therein any common woman." Members were not to play at or keep "any dice, cards, tables, piquet, or any ridiculous amusements in metalls, coites, or other unlawful game within the same Inn or without, privately or openly, at any time, or in the times of Christmas or Candlemas without the consent of the Principal and the whole of the Council." No member was to lend money on usury, or "receive, keep, or bring into the Inn any dog called a greyhound, grey bitch, spaniel or mastiff," under penalty for a first offence of forty pence; or to write or scratch upon the tables in

the hall, or take fruit or herbage growing in the garden without leave of the Principal. Other rules relate to the system of education, being chiefly a list of fines for non-attendance at lectures and moots or legal discussions.

On March 29, 1618, the Society of Clifford's Inn purchased for the sum of £600 from Francis, fourth Earl of Cumberland, and Lord Clifford, his son and heir, "the capital messuage commonly called Clifford's Inn." There are three reservations in the grant. On the west side of the garden, adjoining Serjeants' Inn, Chancery Lane, and where it touched the borders of the Rolls House property, a strip of land 22 feet wide, and 134 feet long, with the trees upon it, was to be "kept and maynteyned by the Earle and Lord Clifford, their heirs and assignes," and this strip was afterwards sold to the representatives of Serjeants' Inn. A rent charge of £4 a year was also reserved, and the Cliffords kept for themselves or their representative a set of chambers. Francis, Earl of Cumberland, who thus sold Clifford's Inn, was ninth in descent from Robert de Clifford, the original grantee. The Earldom became extinct in the next generation, but his son Henry left a daughter, who married Richard Boyle, first Earl of Burlington. From the daughter

and heiress of the third Earl, who is so well remembered for his taste and knowledge of architecture, the small rights retained by the Clifford family were conveyed to the Cavendishes. The rent charge on Clifford's Inn of £4 a year, with the nomination for the chambers, continued to belong to them until the year 1880, when it was bought by the Society from the father of the present Duke of Devonshire.

Want of space forbids our dwelling at length on the customs and constitution of the Society in later times. Here, as elsewhere, it was governed by a Council, the members of which were latterly called Rules, though the term Ancients was also sometimes applied to them. There were also junior members called Fellows, the junior table in hall being latterly for some unexplained reason known as the Kentish Mess. From an entry in the minutes for the year 1613 there seems to have been then a hearth in the centre, the smoke no doubt escaping by a louvre, such as that at Barnard's Inn. On February 11, 1670, Francis Reading and John Anderton, Fellows, were fined 2s. 6d. each for making default in the exercise of "inner barristers" at a moot in the hall, but on their humble suit the fines were reduced to one shilling each. On June

24 of the same year, at the request of Sir John Howell, Recorder, the authorities of Clifford's Inn agreed to allow the judges to use the hall for the purpose of hearing and determining causes ; as they were empowered to do by Act of Parliament. Accordingly Sir Matthew Hale and other principal judges sat there to settle all disputes about boundaries, etc. arising out of the Great Fire.

In 1766 the question of building a new common hall was considered, and after more than a year's deliberation the plan of Mr. Clarke, bricklayer to the Society, was accepted, the price agreed on being £600. The old walls and foundations were utilised to some extent, but it was afterwards found necessary to take down the north wall to the ground level. Later in the year it was arranged with Clarke that "the porch and cupola of the Hall be made after the plans drawn by Mr. Gorham, and now produced, being in the Gothic style and more agreeable to the windows and the rest of the building than the porch and cupola in the original drawings, and Mr. Clarke agrees to do the same for £10 beyond the estimate." The Hall thus evolved, though one can hardly say that it has architectural merit, is a pleasant structure, and incorporated in it there is doubtless much mediæval

work. The old wall is distinctly visible at the east end where one passes through what is perhaps a fourteenth-century arch, descending by several steps into the narrow chamber once used as a buttery. Outside are the date 1767 and the initial letters $\text{W.}^{\text{P.}}\text{M.}$ referring to the then Principal William Monk. The Clifford Arms are over the Fleet Street entrance. Since they migrated from Barnard's Inn at the beginning of 1894 the Hall has been used as the meeting-place of the Art Workers' Guild, which claims to have done something for the furtherance of true art in this country.

The rest of the precinct consists of brick buildings, courtyards, and a pretty garden adorned by plane trees. The buildings vary in date, the most ancient in part at least being No. 12 on the south side, which first saw the light in 1624, and was originally known as Fetherston's building. Nos. 8 and 10 at the east end of the Hall are also of considerable age. On what appears to be the oldest part of the latter, facing the garden, is a stone with initials $\text{J.}^{\text{P.}}\text{F.}$ referring to Principal James Foster, and the date 1719; this, however, was put up, not at the time of the original building but of a subsequent repair. On the east side of the garden is the range of chambers numbered 14 to

16, forming a delightful group and all dating from about 1663 except the first named, which was built in 1669-70. In fact this part of the block, together with the adjoining buildings immediately to the east of it right up to Fetter Lane, seem to have been seriously damaged if not destroyed in the Great Fire, which certainly burned down No. 13, across the courtyard a little further south, though it missed the two old gabled houses in Fleet Street east of St. Dunstan's Church, which were pulled down quite recently. At No. 16, where Mr. Emery Walker is fitly housed, the London Topographical Society also has its headquarters. At No. 3, in the first court from Fleet Street, was some finely carved woodwork of the Grinling Gibbons style, but this has now found a home in the Victoria and Albert Museum. No. 3 was rebuilt in 1686, No. 1 in 1682, and No. 2 in 1690. Nos. 5, 6, and 7 no longer exist; the ground on which they stood was required for the present St. Dunstan's Church, and they were destroyed in 1830. The chief entrance to Clifford's Inn is the passage from Fleet Street immediately west of St. Dunstan's.

To return for a short time to the history of the Inn. A serious dispute took place in 1833 as to

the election of Principal, Mr. Jessop, a barrister, trying to turn out a solicitor named Allen, who had been elected. It ended in a law suit, which was tried at the King's Bench in the following year, when Jessop failed, although he had to some extent the support of the Benchers of the Inner Temple. Clifford's Inn was indeed nominally dependent on that Society, but it was then declared in court by one of the judges that no instance had been adduced of the governing body of the Inner Temple having exercised authority over it by compulsion. For many years prior to 1884 the Society of Clifford's Inn was composed of twenty-five members; namely, the President, twelve Rules and twelve junior Fellows, or members of the Kentish Mess. Until that year the Principal and Rules carried on the management, but in 1884 the Rules and members of the Kentish Mess were amalgamated. After 1877 no new member was admitted into the Society. Latterly, until the letting of the Hall when they ceased there altogether, the dinners in Hall were reduced to two in each term. On these occasions it was the custom to perform a curious ceremony. The President for the time being took up four little loaves baked together in the form of a cross;

he knocked them thrice on the table and then slid them down the middle of it. Finally they reached the hands of the porter, who, arrayed in his gown, was standing at the lower end, and by him they were removed to the back of the screen. The meaning of this ancient custom is forgotten; the three knocks may have been symbolical of the Holy Trinity, and the four loaves of the Gospels. Perhaps it was in part originally meant to imply that the fragments of the meal should be given to the poor. Once a year there was a set speech by the Bursar to the Principal, who replied. The last vestige of the old educational system was the appointment of a reader. As we have seen was the case at Staple Inn and was perhaps usual at other Inns of Chancery, the Benchers of the parent Inn of Court used to send up the names of three men for this office. From them the Principal and Rules selected one, but finally he performed no function beyond dining in Hall. The appointment died a natural death in 1845, although many years afterwards the Benchers of the Inner Temple offered to suggest the names of gentlemen as readers.

Of literary men who have made Clifford's Inn their home, the names of two are not likely to be

forgotten. First in point of time, though not of talent, was George Dyer, Lamb's innocent friend, so charmingly depicted in the *Essays of Elia*, who lived here "like a dove in an asp's nest." His slovenly condition excited the pity of one Mrs. Mather, widow, whose third husband, a solicitor, had occupied chambers opposite to Dyer. She took him in hand, married him, and by her care is said greatly to have improved his appearance. In 1841, however, she again became a widow, and Crabbe Robinson saw her as late as December 7, 1860. She was then in her 99th year, and "vigorous for her time of life." His friends are still deploring the loss of Samuel Butler, author of *Erewhon*, and of other able works—a highly-gifted man and a delightful companion, who lived for many years at No. 15, finding the seclusion of the old Inn thoroughly congenial to his tastes. That it may survive its tenant at least for a few more years, if not for all time, is the earnest wish of the writer.

CHAPTER VII

WESTWARD, HO

What's not destroyed by Time's devouring hand?
Where's Troy, and where's the Maypole in the Strand?
Pease, cabbages, and turnips once grew where
Now stands New Bond Street, and a newer square.
Such piles of buildings now rise up and down,
London itself seems going out of town.

JAMES BRAMSTON, *The Art of Politicks* (1729).

IMMEDIATELY west of Lincoln's Inn and the Law Courts great changes have taken place in recent years. First came the displacement caused by the building of the latter. Then followed the disappearance of Clement's Inn, and the almost complete destruction of the region usually named Clare Market; and now the most sweeping change of all is in progress, namely the formation of the London County Council's new thoroughfare from Holborn to the Strand. It is earnestly to be hoped that those in authority will not allow the approach from the south to be spoilt by the

erection of lofty buildings close to the two Strand Churches. We here want quiet harmony, not what is called by the "Improvement Committee" "an imposing effect."

A source of very great regret to the writer is the fact that almost all the houses on the west side of that noble square, Lincoln's Inn Fields, have been scheduled for destruction, the line of new street running perilously near to them. An oil picture of this side preserved at Wilton, the home of the Earl of Pembroke, shows it as originally planned by Inigo Jones, acting under a Commission appointed in 1618. It was then called Arch Row, from the archway leading into Duke Street, now Sardinia Street, and the most conspicuous object in the picture is Lindsey House, its stone front standing out prominently amidst the other buildings, which appear to have been all in similar style, of brick, with engaged pilasters having stone capitals, and bands of the same material with roses and fleurs-de-lys in relief.

By degrees most of the original brick houses have disappeared, and those that remain are stuccoed or plastered over. Less than a year ago, however, there was one brick house more or less in its

original condition, which, although not latterly reckoned as a part of Lincoln's Inn Fields, being numbered I think 2A Portsmouth Street, and having a mean shop in front of it on what had been the fore-court, was really the southernmost of the buildings designed by Inigo Jones. I was fortunate enough to get a sketch of this (here reproduced) immediately before its demolition by the London County Council in the early autumn of 1904, and since then have taken considerable pains, so far with poor success, to find out its history. Locally known as Portsmouth House, and thus named in the 5 feet Ordnance map of London, it was said by tradition to have been connected with Louise de Keroualle, Charles II.'s naughty French Duchess, but for this no authority is at present forthcoming, and her chief place of residence in London, if not the only one, was the splendid lodging at Whitehall, which, according to Evelyn, was "twice or thrice pulled down to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures." Whether or not she at any time occupied this house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, it must have been built a generation before she came to London. One should note, by the way, that Nell Gwyn, the Duchess's English rival, undoubtedly lodged for a



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time in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there she gave birth to the future Duke of St. Albans.

In connection with Portsmouth House the question naturally arises, why was Portsmouth Street (running in front of its site) so called? and to this question no publication, as far as the writer is aware, gives any satisfactory answer. In Lea and Morden's map of 1682 the lower part of the street is marked as Louches Buildings, and the present name does not occur on any plan to which access is obtainable, until in 1746 Rocque gives to the upper portion the name of Portsmouth Corner. The street was formerly in the parish of St.-Giles-in-the-Fields, but is now in that of St. Clement Danes. The rate-books of St. Giles have been searched from 1740 to 1789, and Portsmouth Street is therein first mentioned in 1783, having been treated before as part of Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Failing Louise de Keroualle, it has been thought that the house (and hence the street) was named after a predecessor of the present Earl of Portsmouth, whose title was created in 1743. This at first sight appears to be probable, as the Wallops undoubtedly lived in the immediate neighbourhood. The third Earl had a house on the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and, within the

memory of man, a lady was alive who remembered dancing with him at a great ball given there. But alas! those fatal rate-books of the parish of St. Giles reveal the fact that his title does not appear in connection with Lincoln's Inn Fields until in the year 1800 he succeeded Lady Grantley in the occupation of a house to the *north* of the archway leading into Duke Street, which from further examination proves to have been No. 63, bought in 1758 by Mr. Norton, who became Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards first Baron Grantley. Enough, perhaps, has been said to prove that the name was not derived from the Wallop family. If some one will trace its origin as connected with this site, by contemporary evidence, he will do a useful piece of topographical work. One may add that a wooden mantelpiece from Portsmouth House has found its way to the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill.

It would require many pages to write a detailed account of the various buildings on the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, but we will briefly allude to a few of the more interesting ones yet standing. Newcastle House at the north-west corner is an important mansion of brick and stone now divided into two, numbered 66 and 67, and was built in

1686 for William Herbert, Marquis of Powis, by an architect known as Captain William Wynde, who had held a commission in the Dutch army, and is said to have studied under Webb, the pupil and executor of Inigo Jones. Lord Somers, when Lord Chancellor, for a time inhabited the house. It was sold to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, before 1708, and came into the hands of his nephew, Thomas Pelham - Holles, Duke of Newcastle, who was so prominent a politician throughout much of the eighteenth century. It has been for years in the occupation of legal firms, James Farrer, grandfather of Sir William, having bought the southern part in 1795. Until 1868, besides being an office, this was used as a residence. There are some fine rooms here with plaster ceilings. One on the ground floor in front has in the centre an oval design with delicate Adam mouldings; outside this are four peacocks in relief, which, with all the remaining plaster work, are of much older date, and, although not "in their pride" (as heraldically they should be) because in that case they would not fit into their respective spandrels, they doubtless represent the Pelham crest. There are also some excellent carved over-doors. On the north side the building projects on arches over the footpath of

Great Queen Street, forming a short arcade or covered way. It is most satisfactory that this fine mansion, which now belongs to Sir William Farrer, is being admirably repaired, the modern division into two being done away with. This and the stone house adjoining, which was designed by Thomas Leverton in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, are the only buildings on the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields not scheduled for destruction.

Perhaps a still more famous mansion is that now numbered 59 and 60, which has been already mentioned as Lindsey House, and although of stone is now plastered and painted. Colin Campbell, the architect, who published a drawing of Lindsey House in the *Vitruvius Britannicus*, states that it was designed by Inigo Jones in the year 1640. It originally had in front six massive brick piers, two of which remain, and was built for Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, who commanded the forces of Charles I. at the outbreak of the Civil War. He died in 1642, of wounds received at the battle of Edgehill. The fourth Earl was created Duke of Ancaster in 1715, hence for a time it had the name of Ancaster House. The Duke sold it to the "proud" Duke of Somerset, who married the widow of Mr. Thynne, Count

Königsmarck's victim. The inside of the house has been much altered, the party-wall which divides it into two running up behind the central windows. It has, on the ground floor in front, at No. 59, a fine mantelpiece which has been attributed to Jones, but is probably of much later date, perhaps by Isaac Ware. As Mr. Alfred Marks has pointed out, the room contains an alcove bearing the arms of the Shiffner family, a member of which appears, from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1759, to have then resided at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

It may be mentioned that the next house, also originally one, and numbered 57 and 58, although comparatively modern is of some architectural merit, having a stone front and semicircular portico supported by four fluted columns; it is thought to have been designed by Sir William Chambers. At No. 58 John Forster lived, and there he was often visited by Dickens, who, in a room on the first floor, read his Christmas book, *The Chimes*, to a select and critical audience. He indicates it as the residence of Mr. Tulkinghorn in chapter x. of *Bleak House*. Here also James Spedding had rooms, and is known to have put up his friend Alfred Tennyson in the attic. But from the memoir of the latter by his son one gathers that

he only stayed now and then in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and that in early life his favourite London lodging was at the south end of Norfolk Street, Strand, "the last house at the bottom on the left." That street is now altogether rebuilt.

None of the houses north of the passage to Sardinia Street now have the roses and fleurs-de-lys, but they occur on Nos. 51 and 52, and on 54 which is partly over the archway; their brickwork, however, is concealed by stucco. No. 55 has a similar cornice and pilasters, but at present no roses and fleurs-de-lys. The archway into Sardinia Street from Lincoln's Inn Fields still has over it a stone inscribed with the date 1648, and the former name, "Duke Street," which was changed to Sardinia Street in 1878, after the Roman Catholic Chapel of S.S. Anselm and Cecilia, in its earlier days the chapel of the Sardinian Minister. Here in 1793 Fanny Burney was married to General D'Arbly. In this street lived Benjamin Franklin when employed as a journeyman printer at Watt's office in Wild Court. The greater part if not the whole of it will shortly be obliterated.

To return for a moment to Portsmouth Street. No. 14, the quaint little structure with a high-



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pitched roof, on the north side, nearly opposite the site of Portsmouth House, is quite worthy of record on account of its age and picturesque appearance, but its claim to be the original of Dickens's Old Curiosity Shop, a claim which has been also urged for a house in Fetter Lane, will not, we fear, hold water. In the first place Dickens himself says that "the old house had been long ago pulled down, and a fine broad road was in its place." An even stronger argument against the legend is contained in an article contributed to the *Echo* during December 1883, when the still existing house in Portsmouth Street was said to be threatened with destruction, and in consequence crowds were flocking to the spot. The writer, Mr. Charles Tesseyman, makes the following clear statement:—"My brother, who occupied No. 14 Portsmouth Street between 1868 and 1877, the year of his decease, had the words 'The Old Curiosity Shop' placed over the front for purely business purposes, as likely to attract custom to his shop, he being a dealer in books, paintings, old china, etc. Before 1868—that is before my brother had the words put up—no suggestion had ever been made that the place was the veritable 'Old Curiosity Shop' immortalised by Dickens." The

late Mr. C. W. Heckethorn in his book on Lincoln's Inn Fields boldly affirmed that it was a relic of the Duchess of Portsmouth's dairy-house.

In 1897 a curious tavern, the Black Jack, on the opposite side of the way, disappeared. It was known in the neighbourhood as "the Jump," the story being that Jack Sheppard on one occasion escaped capture there by jumping out of a first-floor window. The house was also connected by tradition with Joe Miller of the *Jest Book*, who was buried in the churchyard of Portugal Street, now absorbed and obliterated by King's College Hospital, which in its turn will soon be "improved" away from this site, and be more or less forgotten. Miller's tombstone (the second one), still in existence, describes him as "a tender husband, a sincere friend, a facetious companion, and an excellent comedian." It may be mentioned incidentally that Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre stood on the south side of the Fields at the back of what is now the Royal College of Surgeons. Until 1816 a club called "the Honourable Society of Jackers," to which John Kemble and Theodore Hook belonged, used to meet at the Black Jack. The adjacent George the Fourth Tavern, which stood at the north-east corner of Gilbert's Passage (the site



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now occupied by the west end of Portugal Street), was distinguished by a row of pillars supporting the upper floors, and some enthusiasts identified it as the "Magpie and Stump" of Pickwick. Between the two houses was Black Jack Alley.

Working our way back to the space cleared about the east end of the Strand for the great scheme of reconstruction now in progress, we would say a few words about Holywell Street, a narrow lane which extended parallel with the Strand, between the Churches of St. Clement Danes and St. Mary-le-Strand, and got its name from the "holy well" hard by. There was not much of historical association about Holywell Street, its charm consisting in the picturesque appearance of the gabled houses built of timber and plaster work, which showed us more or less what old London must have looked like before the Great Fire. Their beauty was not appreciated by the painstaking Allen, who, in his *History of London*, dismisses it as "a narrow inconvenient avenue of old ill-formed houses." Opening into it from the north was Lyon's Inn, which has been referred to in a previous chapter. At the corner of a house on the opposite side a grotesque carving of a lion was to be seen some years ago; it is now in the Guild-

hall Museum. Almost the whole of the south side is shown in our two illustrations, the carved projecting sign of a half-moon, one of the last surviving early shop signs, appearing in each. In Strype's day, when Holywell Street was sometimes called "The Back Side of St. Clement's," it was tenanted by "divers salesmen and piece-brokers," later silk-merciers were the chief occupants, and they in their turn were by degrees displaced by second-hand booksellers. For a time it had an unsavoury reputation, hence the modern effort, not very successful, to rename it Booksellers' Row.

From the point west of St. Clement Danes where Holywell Street began, another street branched off to the north-west, known as Wych Street, which was a continuation of Drury Lane. The name was a corruption of Aldewych, the old name for Drury Lane; the London County Council has wisely reintroduced it. Wych Street, like Holywell Street, was formerly full of old gabled houses. From the Angel Inn at the east end, on the site of which Danes Inn lately stood, Bishop Hooper was taken to die a cruel death at Gloucester in 1554. A more cheerful recollection is that of Mark Lemon, the well-known editor of *Punch*, who had been previously



for some time landlord of the Shakespeare's Head, No. 31 Wych Street, his presence attracting many actors and journalists to the house. We doubt, however, if either the saintly bishop or the genial writer left quite such well-remembered traditions here as Jack Sheppard, criminal, most of whose exploits, like that at the Black Jack, are associated with this neighbourhood. The gabled house on the left in one of our sketches was sometimes called Jack Sheppard's house, having been perhaps the residence of the carpenter to whom he was apprenticed. Beyond it, on the same side, the back of the Opera Comique can be discerned, its entrance was in the Strand, an underground passage beneath Holywell Street connecting it with the theatre.

Wych Street was of no great length, being soon merged in Drury Lane. Close to the point of junction, on the right, were Craven Buildings and the Olympic Theatre, built where once stood the residence of the valiant Earl of Craven, whose devotion to the ex-Queen of Bohemia has suggested to some a possible secret marriage. On the Strand side, the two thoroughfares were divided by a narrow street called Drury Court, once Maypole Alley :—

Where Drury Lane descends into the Strand.

Immediately past this, in Drury Lane, there stood until the autumn of 1890, two picturesque old buildings. The plastered one, shown to the right in our illustration, was for many years known as the Cock and Pie public-house, and appears with that name in a frontispiece to the *European Magazine* for 1807. It was turned to other uses long ago, but the old sign still existed (although not in situ) within the writer's memory. Apart from its quaintness, the house is worthy of record as having been possibly, one may say probably, that in which Nell Gwyn resided, as Pepys tells us in the following words:—"May 1, 1667. Saw pretty Nelly standing at her lodgings' door in Drury Lane in her smock sleeves and bodice looking upon one; she seemed a mighty pretty creature." Peter Cunningham, in his *Story of Nell Gwyn*, places these lodgings at the top of Maypole Alley over against the gate of Craven House, a position quite coinciding with that of the old Cock and Pie. After 1838 the well-known second-hand bookseller, George Stockley, occupied the house. He convinced himself of Nell's connection with it, and his opinion was shared by the late Edward Solly, F.R.S., who wrote an interesting letter on the subject to *Notes*



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and Queries. In spite of assertions to the contrary, the building was not older than the reign of Charles I., it appears to be marked in Faithorne's map of 1658. The panelled wooden house next door, probably coeval, was of a kind now almost extinct. Drury Lane, which in the greater part of the seventeenth century had been aristocratic, gradually became disreputable, beginning (metaphorically) to go downhill about the time of Dutch William. Gay sums up his opinion of it in the well-known couplet :—

O may thy virtue guard thee through the roads
Of Drury's mazy courts and dark abodes.

And Pope, to whom poverty appeared a crime,
has satirised the man,

Who high in Drury Lane,
Lull'd by soft zephyrs through the broken pane,
Rhymes ere he wakes, and prints before Term ends,
Obliged by hunger and request of friends.

A few years ago it had not much improved, but, owing to recent clearances and rebuildings, what is left of it is fast becoming highly respectable and commonplace.

We will now say a few words about the Strand and its immediate neighbourhood before noting a few houses farther west. The Strand, one of the

main thoroughfares which connect the City with the west end, was once a rough country road, deriving its name from the fact that it ran alongside the river, like Strand-on-the-Green near Kew Bridge. A petition of the inhabitants of Westminster in 1315 declared that the way from Temple Bar to Westminster Palace was interrupted by thickets, and thirty-eight years later it is declared to be "dangerous both to men and carriages." Even in the reign of Henry VIII. it was "full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noisome." Nevertheless great personages early took up their quarters on the south or water side, most of them before the Reformation being bishops. They were followed by the leading noblemen, whose mansions must have presented a splendid appearance, with their gardens running down to the river. But in course of time fashion moved west, and except Northumberland House none of them survived the eighteenth century, though the present Somerset House, built by Sir William Chambers between the years 1776 and 1786, occupies the ground of the Protector Somerset's old palace. A relic of the much older Savoy palace remains, in the chapel of the Savoy, which, however, after the fire of 1864 was almost entirely rebuilt.

If we journey along the Strand to-day, we shall find nothing aristocratic except here and there a name, but a few old buildings still linger, and its irregularity has hitherto given it a picturesque charm. Those who wish to learn something of the history of this famous street will find the main facts connected with it admirably set forth in Wheatley and Cunningham's *London Past and Present*; we will merely point out something of what can still be seen.

Opposite the Law Courts, a very short distance west of the site of Temple Bar, are a couple of old houses, one of them, No. 229, with its upper stories projecting over the street, and surmounted by a railed-in platform, has a very quaint appearance. As late as the year 1732, the road from Temple Bar to Essex Street was called Temple Bar without, as appears in the Parish Clerks' Survey. Essex Street has a tavern numbered 40 and 41 and called the Essex Head, where, towards the end of his life, Dr. Johnson established a little evening club, the landlord of the house being Samuel Greaves, an old servant of the Thrales. It was rebuilt not many years ago. At the south end of Essex Street are steps leading down to the Thames Embankment, with a building overhead which has,

attached to it, pilasters of some architectural pretension, relics apparently of old Essex House. Returning to the Strand, and making our way westward, we shall find, beneath a house numbered 162A, a passage which leads to a narrow lane winding down towards the Thames and to what is announced on a board as "the old Roman Spring Water Plunge Bath." Strand Lane is said to mark the course of a streamlet which crossed the great thoroughfare under Strand Bridge, and until the formation of the Thames Embankment, it used to lead to a landing-place. On its east side in a small house or cottage is an ancient Roman bath, which in almost any other country would have been preserved with the utmost care. It is, or was, composed of small Roman bricks, is some 13 feet long by 6 feet wide, and has a constant supply of clear cold water. It seems incredible, but is unfortunately the fact, that some years ago, not apparently in any spirit of vandalism but simply through ignorance, this unique relic was, from the archæological and artistic points of view, almost completely ruined. Those who knew it before that time will remember that on entering the house there was a room to the right containing a bath called the marble bath, said to have been

built for the Earl of Essex. In the year 1892 or early in 1893, the site of the Earl of Essex's bath having been sold, the owner of the Roman bath took out the marble lining and placed it in the latter, his work being finished off by a liberal application of Portland cement, so that now only a square foot or so of the once highly interesting Roman bath remains uncovered. A row of terrible modern tiles has also been placed along the adjoining wall.

In the Strand, immediately east of the Strand Lane Passage, and almost opposite to the east end of Gibbs's Church which more or less marks the site of the great maypole erected in 1661, there used to be a group of four interesting old wooden houses. Two of them, Nos. 164A and 165, still remain, but those to the east were pulled down in 1893. They must have been built, one imagines, before the Great Fire, for after that event a proclamation forbade, under severe penalties, the building of timber houses in London. Perhaps even more picturesque are two gabled houses on the north side, farther west, with projecting bays round which the fine eave cornice has been carried. They adjoin the Adelphi Theatre, being numbered 413 and 414. Beneath is the passage to Heathcock

Court, the entrance to which, as Peter Cunningham tells us, was distinguished by a heath-cock in a handsome shell canopy, taken down in July 1844. Almost immediately to the west, over the entrance to Thatched House Court and New Exchange Court, stand old buildings soon to be cleared away, and here are the headquarters of the excellent Corps of Commissionaires, founded by the late Sir Edward Walter, K.C.B. The name of the latter court recalls the former existence of the New Exchange or Britain's Bourse, which really stood on the opposite side of the Strand, covering the ground previously occupied by the stables of Durham House. The first stone of it was laid in 1608, and there the wife of General Monk, who died Duchess of Albemarle, had, in the time of her first husband Thomas Radford, carried on business as a dealer in wash-balls, powder, gloves, etc., and taught plain work to girls. An engraving of the New Exchange, by John Harris, is in the Crace collection. Thatched House Court took its name from a half-timbered building, which stood between the two alleys and was called the old Thatched House Tavern. It was also occasionally spoken of as Nell Gwyn's dairy, and after being taken over for official purposes by the Commissionaires was rebuilt

some years ago. Immediately north of Thatched House Court and New Exchange Court is Maiden Lane, where stood the Cider Cellars Tavern, which, likely enough, Thackeray had in his mind when he portrayed the Cave of Harmony, or was it the Back Kitchen? Doubtless, however, he chiefly drew his experiences of this particular phase of tavern life from Evans's at the north-west corner of Covent Garden, which he frequented during the reign of "Paddy" Green, perhaps earlier. That fine old mansion, once the residence of Edward Russell, Earl of Oxford, is still standing apparently intact, but not much else is left of old Covent Garden; the destruction in 1889 of the east side, which contained the Bedford Hotel with the Inigo Jones piazza below, being from the artist's point of view a sad loss. Having touched on Evans's and the Cider Cellars, one is reminded that a house which provided entertainments of a somewhat similar class stood formerly in Fountain Court on the south side of the Strand, now quite modernised and called Savoy Buildings. This was the Coal Hole Tavern, previously the Unicorn, where about 1826 the Wolf Club used to meet, of which Edmund Kean was a leading member. Finally it became the Occidental Tavern, and fell down in

1887. Fountain Court was called after the Fountain Tavern, the predecessor of the now gorgeous Simpson's which gave its name to a political club opposed to Sir Robert Walpole. At No. 3 Fountain Court William Blake, that strange man of genius, resided during his later years, and there he died in 1827.

A bare enumeration of one or two other changes in the Strand and its neighbourhood must suffice. The Adelphi, an interesting experiment of the Adam brothers, is still to some extent as they left it, though the Adelphi Buildings, which originally encroached on the Thames, are now divided from it by the Embankment Garden, and look dwarfed alongside of the huge Savoy and Cecil Hotels. At No. 5 of the terrace (now No. 4) David Garrick lived for some years, and his widow continued to occupy it until her death in 1822. The ceiling of the front drawing-room was decorated by Zucchi.

Buckingham Street is a memento of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, under whose direction it was built with the adjoining streets, about 1774-75, on the site of York House and grounds. Strype calls it "a spacious street with good houses, well inhabited by gentry, especially those on each side fronting the Thames. The large house at the

bottom of the street on the east side was occupied by Peter the Great, and here is a room on the first floor with a fine plastered and painted ceiling ; a smaller painted ceiling decorates a room on the ground floor. At the top of this house David Copperfield lodged for a time in "a singularly desirable and compact set of chambers with a view of the river," and he then occasionally had a plunge in the Roman bath. It was thought by the late Mr. F. G. Kitton that Charles Dickens, who thus alludes to the rooms in Buckingham Street, had himself stayed there. On this floor William Black the novelist certainly resided. An ominous board lately put up in front of this building seems to foretell that it may not long survive. Opposite, in a house since rebuilt and numbered 14, Samuel Pepys, the Diarist lived, succeeding his friend, William Hewer. W. Etty, R.A., occupied chambers and a painting-room in the present house ; and Stanfield, the marine and landscape painter, also had rooms there. At the end of Buckingham Street, in the Embankment Garden, stands that good piece of architecture, York Watergate, all that is left of the house which seems to have been chiefly designed for the first Duke of Buckingham of the Villiers family. This watergate, a well-

proportioned structure, was built by Nicholas Stone, master mason, who claimed the design, which has been attributed to Gerbier, and oftener to Inigo Jones. Being now in a hollow and some distance from the river, it is seen to far less advantage than was originally the case.

Before our arrival at Charing Cross it may be observed that, at the time of writing, No. 59, the unpretentious house in which for so many years Messrs. Coutts and Co. carried on their business, is being altered by the London County Council into whose hands it has come. It was designed by the brothers Adam for old Mr. Coutts, the banker, who married Miss Mellon, afterwards Duchess of St. Albans, and contained some marble mantel-pieces of the Cipriani and Bacon schools. Here the New Exchange had previously stood. It is perhaps needless to add that the house lately built for this historic firm occupies the site of the Lowther Arcade, which had been formed in 1830-32.

One may still say of Charing Cross what was said by Dr. Johnson a hundred and thirty years ago, that here is "the full tide of human existence." But if he could come back to life and revisit this spot, the only object he would recognise is Le Suer's fine statue of Charles I. Until 1874,

Northumberland House, the last of the great Strand mansions, remained. It was originally built for Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, about the year 1605, and passed by marriage to the Percy family. The lion which formed so prominent an object on the Strand front was erected in 1752, and now adorns the river front of Syon House.

Our work is now drawing towards a close, and, as we make our way west, we feel more and more how impossible it is within the limitations of a single volume to describe the vast majority of interesting London buildings which have been destroyed of late years or are now threatened. In Craig's Court, within a stone's throw of Charing Cross, is that fine eighteenth-century mansion Harrington House, which at the time of writing is in imminent peril. The Spring Gardens which we remember, descendant of a veritable garden, has ceased to exist, the Mall has been transmuted, the once delightful region of Great College Street, Westminster, where gentlefolks of moderate means could dwell in peace among congenial surroundings, is almost entirely swept away. In Pall Mall, Schomberg House, now part of the War Office, can hardly long survive, Gloucester House has

just disappeared. The list might be continued almost indefinitely.

All that we can now do is to give an account of the particular buildings which here are figured in this volume, and we will begin with one which fortunately is not at present threatened, but we must not forget that from time to time attacks have been made on it because it is said to be old-fashioned and inconvenient. In any case, a most historic house is No. 10 Downing Street, facing the Foreign Office, which has been the official home of the first Lord of the Treasury ever since Sir Robert Walpole moved into it from St. James's Square in 1735. It had belonged to the Crown, and had been granted by George I. to Baron Bothmar, the Hanoverian minister, for life. The residence really consists of two houses with a covered way between them. That which looks towards the street is a plain structure, resembling No. 11. The building with which it is incorporated stands in a garden which had once no doubt formed part of St. James's Park, and on a misty morning in spring, one might imagine it to be on the outskirts of some peaceful country town. In the second volume of the *Record* published by the London Topographical Society, Mr. Walter Spiers, now Soane



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Curator, has proved that this house was designed originally by Wren, it has since, however, been much altered. At the back was the famous Cockpit, its site now covered by Kent's Treasury buildings. In the year 1888, when Mr. W. H. Smith was occupying No. 10 Downing Street, I was privileged to do a series of paintings there, two of which have been reproduced for this book. The first view shows the south side, the part which faces Downing Street being discernible behind a tree on the right; the building to the left is the Treasury. I have ventured to clothe the little figures in costumes which harmonise more with the old place than the frock coats and trousers of the present day. The windows opening on to the terrace belong to the famous cabinet room, where Pitt and Sir Robert Peel, Disraeli, Gladstone, and Palmerston, have often sat. Of late years, however, the cabinet councils have been held elsewhere. The second illustration shows the garden, the house being on the left side, and the Foreign Office in the middle distance. In the large reception room on the first floor are a series of interesting portraits, the best perhaps being that of Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, Lord High Treasurer in 1633. In his speech delivered at the Lord Mayor's banquet,

November 9, 1900, Mr. Choate, the American ambassador, gave an interesting account, by no means complimentary, of Sir George Downing (partly educated at Harvard College) who built the street named after him, which Mr. Choate described as "the smallest and, at the same time, the greatest street in the world, because it lies at the hub of the gigantic wheel which encircles the globe under the name of the British Empire."

Westminster was formerly endowed with various quaint almshouses which have gradually been altered or improved away. One of the last, and perhaps the most attractive, was Emanuel Hospital (sometimes called Dacre's almshouses), on the west side of James Street, Westminster, founded pursuant to the will of Anne, Lady Dacre, widow of Gregory, last Lord Dacre of the south, and sister of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, the poet, "towards the relief of aged people, and bringing up of children in virtue and good and laudable acts in the same hospital." On the death in 1623 of the last surviving executor of Lady Dacre, the guardianship of the hospital descended, by the Charter of Incorporation, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London. The hospital was rebuilt during the reign of Queen

Anne, and afforded protection to a varying number of old men and women (formerly twenty-four) who belonged to Westminster, Chelsea, or Hayes in Middlesex. The schools had been disconnected with it, and formed a portion of the Westminster United School after 1873. In spite of much opposition from those who loved the picturesque group of buildings, Emanuel Hospital was closed in 1892. The site was afterwards sold for £37,500, a new scheme being drawn up for the regulation of the charity.

Our illustration gives a general view of the hospital. In the centre, surmounted by a little clock turret and showing a pediment with the Dacre arms, is the chapel whence people are issuing or have issued, the front figure, with staff, gown, and gold-laced hat, being that of an almsman who officiated as warden. According to the original Statutes, the warden had to "keep the key of the porch or foregate of the hospitall," which was to be "locked at eight of the clock at night, and kept locked untill six in the morning, from the feast of All Saynts untill the purificaçon of the blessed Virgin Mary, and at nyne in the night, untill fyve in y^e morning, for the residue of the whole year." He was also to keep the key of the chapel "to

foresee that fyre or candle bee not dangerously used, to require and exact of each one of the poor bretheren and sisters th' observaçon of the ordinances and statutes, and from tyme to tyme gently to admonish such as bee negligent and faultie, or (if the qualitie of the fault or their perseverance in disorder so require) to complayn of the delinquents to the governors of the said hospitall." The master, the last of whom was the Rev. Joseph Maskell, historian of the Church of All Hallows, Barking, lived close to the chapel, and the old men in the tenements to the left, with a garden of their own behind. The women were housed on the right hand side. The entrance, facing James Street, had handsome wrought-iron gates. In the old church at Chelsea there is a stately monument, with recumbent figures, to Lord and Lady Dacre.



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CHAPTER VIII

THE WESTERN FRINGE

The City's sure in Progresse I surmise,
Or going to revell it in some disorder,
Without the Walls, without the Liberties,
Where she neede fear noe Mayor nor Recorder.

THOMAS FREEMAN, *London's Progresse* (1614).

THIS, our last chapter, must be even more fragmentary than the previous one. We hope that it is a mere instalment of further efforts to set forth in detail the vast changes which have taken place since the speculative builder conquered and annexed what were a few years ago the western suburbs. The following brief notes relate chiefly to houses of which there are illustrations. We will begin near the river, working our way west and north.

Macaulay reminds us that, towards the end of the reign of Charles II. Chelsea was "a quiet country village, with about a thousand inhabitants, the baptisms averaging little more than forty in

the year." It was, however, or had been, a village of palaces. Now, although still numbering famous people among its inhabitants, it is merely a part of the huge mass of London. The picturesque wooden bridge has gone, old taverns and wharves have been cleared away for the Embankment, Cremorne Gardens no longer furnish subjects for "nocturnes" or "harmonies," but evening mist still "clothes the riverside with poetry as with a veil," and something of the history of the region may still be read in the ancient Church, the Physic Garden, in Chelsea Hospital, and various private dwellings, such as Lindsey House, like the house of similar name in Lincoln's Inn Fields, a former home of the Berties.

Our mission, we feel, is here to record the less known buildings which are in danger of being forgotten. One of these was the old Six Bells public-house in the King's Road, the back of which, with its still extant bowling-green, was very picturesque. The present ambitious structure, with the same sign, replaced it in 1901. Another quaint building was the old fish shop in that part of Cheyne Walk which used to be known as Lombard Street. It was four doors west of a tavern called the Rising Sun, and in



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former years had been a freehold with right of pasturage on the long extinct Chelsea Common. In front of the gable was a plaster or terra-cotta medallion, with a head in relief which might have been copied from a classical coin. This belonged to a style of decoration common in the seventeenth century. The writer has before him a view dated 1792 of a building then on Tower Hill with similar medallions. Sometimes the heads of Roman emperors were thus placed, sometimes the Cardinal Virtues and other emblematic figures. The medallion here depicted is now in the Chelsea Free Library. The fish shop in Cheyne Walk, long kept by Mrs. Elizabeth Maunder, was pulled down in November 1892. There is an etching, also a lithograph, of the lower part, by J. M. Whistler, who spent so many years of his life in Chelsea, and did so much of his finest work there. It is a touching fact that he came back at the end to a place he must have loved, and died, July 17, 1903, in a house built on this very site.

Farther west, no great distance from the site of Cremorne Gardens, and next but one to a tavern called the Aquatic, which is now, we believe, the goal of the race for Doggett's Coat and Badge, stands a cottage, one of a pair now joined together

and numbered 118 Cheyne Walk, to which in his old age, J. W. M. Turner, the great landscape painter, used to retire from his house in Queen Anne Street. He, no doubt, selected the humble dwelling at Chelsea chiefly because from its low roof, still protected by a wrought-iron railing which he caused to be placed there, he got a fine view of Chelsea Reach, now obscured by the modern house next door which projects in front. For the sake of privacy he took the name of the landlady, and was known in the neighbourhood as Mr. Booth, Admiral Booth, or "Puggy" Booth. The cottage is now somewhat below the level of the roadway; an old inhabitant, formerly a waterman, told the writer that fifty or sixty years ago it was only separated from the Thames by a raised path. Turner died here December 19, 1851, in a room, the window of which is immediately below the railing. Afterwards, for many years, the place remained outwardly in much the same condition as when he left it. By degrees it became dilapidated, the little trees in front disappeared, and in 1895 there was an ominous announcement that the property was to be sold for building purposes. The late Mrs. Haweis made efforts to save it, and there was a correspondence on the subject in the



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Times. After remaining empty and dilapidated for some months, the two cottages were bought and judiciously restored by one who valued Turner's memory. The accompanying sketch represents them some years before the restoration, and very much as they were in his time.

Continuing west along the river one soon comes to the Cremorne Arms tavern, close to which is the site of Cremorne Gardens, mostly built over, in part absorbed by a firm of nurserymen, on whose premises, it is said, the entrance to the "hermit's cave" may still be seen, to explore the mysteries of which we have before now expended a superfluous shilling. Farther on at no great distance is Sandford Creek, connected with the river and separating the parishes of Chelsea and Fulham. Another form of the name occurs in Stamford Bridge, not far off, which now spans the railroad. A rivulet or watercourse which, according to Mr. Fèret, rose somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Kensal Green Cemetery, once found its way into the Thames at Sandford Creek. In its southern part it divided Fulham Parish first from Kensington, and south of Stamford Bridge from Chelsea. In 1827-28 this lower portion was widened and formed into the

Kensington Canal, about two miles in length, and giving passage to vessels of 100 tons burden. In 1845, except for a short distance at the mouth, it was drained and turned into a railway line. By the creek, at Sand's End as it was called, the most noteworthy building was Sandford House, not yet destroyed though now partly shut up and dilapidated, which belongs to the Gas Light and Coke Company (formerly the Imperial Gas Company) and is included in their premises. Mr. Fèret, whose *Fulham Old and New*, published in 1900, is a monument of patient industry, with the help of former historians has told us what is worth telling about this ancient manor house. In 1549 the Dean and Chapter of Westminster conveyed Sandford Manor to King Edward VI., whose sister Mary sold it in 1558 to William Maynard, citizen and merchant of London. In 1630 Sir William Maynard, son of the last-named person, died in Ireland, being then possessed of this manor. A halo of romance has attached itself to the house because of Nell Gwyn's supposed connection with it. We have already mentioned the fact that she undoubtedly lodged in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane, but the best authorities fail to trace her to Sand's End,

for although Faulkner says positively that she resided at Sandford Manor House, his only evidence is that when he wrote in 1812 "a medallion in plaster of the fair Eleanor" had some years previously been found on the estate and was then in possession of the owner. An archaic thimble was later found there with the initials N. G., and various other relics.

The *Domestic Intelligencer* for August 5, 1679, contains the following item of information:—

"We hear that Madame Ellen Gwyn's mother, sitting lately by the water side at her house by the neat-houses, near Chelsey, fell accidentally into the water and was drowned."

Mr. Fèret suggests that this accident may possibly have happened here, and not on the low ground near the Thames side at Pimlico, as is generally supposed. A public-house near this spot still recalls Nell Gwyn's name, and her memory is cherished in the neighbourhood.

Another tradition connects Sandford Manor House with the famous Joseph Addison, and doubtless he lived occasionally at Sand's End, the hamlet by the creek, but there is no evidence whatever that his dwelling was actually the Manor House. From "Sandy End" in 1708 he wrote

several letters containing pleasant proof of the then rural character of the neighbourhood, to the young Earl of Warwick and Holland, whose mother he afterwards married. That year Sir Richard Steele in a note written at Sand's End to his wife, says, "I am come hither to dinner with Mr. Addison and Mr. Clay."

The Manor House remained in the possession of the Maynard family until Robert Maynard died without issue in 1756. It afterwards passed to female relatives and became identified with trade and manufacture. In 1762 a factory for the making of saltpetre was established here, the managers being apparently Frenchmen. In 1790 a pottery business was moved to this house from Little Cheyne Row, Chelsea; it continued until 1798, shortly after which date the premises were adapted for the purpose of manufacturing cloth. Afterwards they were successively used for the business of cooperage and of bleach and dye works, until in 1824 the Imperial Gas Company purchased the Sandford Manor House property, the gasworks now covering no less than twenty-eight acres. The ancient house is now plaster fronted, and is divided into two dwellings, being approached through a short garden. In the more interesting portion,



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dismantled some time ago, dwelt the late Mr. McMinn, an official of the Gas Company for over fifty years. It has a fine well staircase, here shown, which from the character of the woodwork seems to be as old as the first half of the seventeenth century. This staircase is handsomely panelled; a twisted iron rod has been inserted in one of the newels for strengthening purposes. The front of the house was modernised about the year 1844, but the back with its tiled roof is still quite old fashioned. Of this we have given a view from the pretty back garden, which a few years ago was well kept up. The house is oblong in plan, but this side may originally have had shallow wings, the brickwork in the centre being comparatively modern.

Kensington, although quite as interesting as its southern neighbour, perhaps emerged from obscurity at a somewhat later date. One seems naturally to apply to it Leigh Hunt's appropriate phrase, "the old court suburb." It is, however, mentioned in *Doomsday*, as Chenesitun, when it contained vineyards, and Aubrey de Vere held it of the Bishop of Coutances. Lysons, writing in 1795, says that the parish contains about 1910 acres of land, about half of which is pasture and

meadow, about 360 acres are arable land for corn only, about 230 in market gardens, about 260 cultivated sometimes for corn, sometimes for garden crops, and 100 acres of nursery ground.

The parish register begins in the year 1539, and some of the more interesting entries are given in Faulkner's *History of Kensington*, among them the baptism in 1647 of John and William, sons of Colonel John Lambert, "at Sir William Lister's house of Coldhearne," Earl's Court. This was the General Lambert who cut such a conspicuous figure during the Commonwealth. He married Sir William Lister's daughter, and, after the death of his father-in-law, resided in the house until about the year 1657. After the Restoration he was exiled to Guernsey and died a prisoner in 1683. The house, latterly known as Coleherne Court, with its extensive garden, survived until the year 1900. Its last occupants were members of the Tattersall family. Another interesting house was that built by John Hunter, the famous surgeon, on land bought of the Earl of Warwick. It was destroyed in 1886. The writer was once privileged to glance at the Kensington parish books, and failed to discover an earlier assessment than that of June 28, 1683, which produced £62 "towards the

maintenance of the pension poor." There were then eighty-five ratepayers, the one who paid most being the Countess of Holland and Warwick, who was rated at £3:6s., while Lady Campden of Campden House had to pay £2:10s., the next being Lady Sheffield assessed at £1:11:6; Lady Grace Pierrepont, £1:10s.; and the Earl of Craven, whose house was at Kensington Gravel Pits, £1. Later, losses by "clipt" money are recorded. In 1698 we read of Kensington Wells, where water was supplied for medicinal purposes, and the name appears for some years. They were in what was called the West Town. By the year 1713 the assessment for the parish had been raised to £381:6:9. Kensington Palace, which is really in the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, was bought for 18,000 guineas from the Earl of Nottingham, son of the Lord Chancellor, by King William III. very soon after he came to the throne. It has apparently remains of the original house, but the most interesting portion is that designed by Wren. There are large subsequent additions by that mediocre architect, William Kent.

Modern South Kensington sprang, in fact, from the Great Exhibition of 1851. It is mostly in the old hamlet of Brompton which always belonged to

Kensington, but part is in St. Margaret's, Westminster. A large sum having been made out of the Exhibition, afterwards supplemented by parliament, the commissioners bought landed property on which the chief public buildings of South Kensington stand. The Victoria and Albert Museum, now, after many years, being completed on an important scale, is partly on the Villars and partly on the Harrington estate. This latter came to the Earls of Harrington by marriage, being part of the land attached to the ancient Hale House, sometimes called Cromwell House. The Gore House estate was also acquired from the Commissioners, and a small piece of land from the trustees of Smith's Charity. It is perhaps superfluous to add that for thirteen years, until her financial ruin in 1849, Gore House was the home of the "most gorgeous" Countess of Blessington, and there she gathered round her many distinguished men. She spoke of it as her "country house," and said that the grounds, three acres in extent, were "full of lilacs, laburnum, nightingales, and swallows." The nucleus of the museum was the group of iron buildings vulgarly known as the Brompton Boilers, thus foreshadowed in Sir Henry Cole's reminiscences:—"June 14, 1855. To Buckingham Palace. Met



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Lord Stanley, Sir William Cubitt and Bowring, who came about erecting an iron house at Kensington." As time went on the old houses here depicted were taken over and absorbed by the establishment. They stood in a garden shaded by fine trees, and one of them had on a rain-pipe the date 1716. Doubtless, if their walls could have spoken they might have told us some interesting tales. Nothing, however, of special interest has come to the writer's knowledge concerning their earlier history. In later years various officials there found a home, among them Captain Fowke and Sir John Donnelly, who occupied the central house known as the "Cottage," which had a good staircase and other pleasant architectural features. These buildings were destroyed about the end of 1899.

In his book called *Four Generations of a Literary Family*, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt thus speaks of the district in which the museum stands. "The region now incorporated in South Kensington, but formerly known as Old Brompton, was once and long a country village or little more. The ancient mansions which abounded there (in my youth), the historical sites or records, the delightful residences in grounds, the market gardens, and best of all the quaint old Vale have vanished like a dream." The

parish, however, is still rich in the possession of Holland House, which for generations after it came into the hands of the Fox family was such an important social and political centre, and is to-day the most stately of London residences. Campden Hill even now contains large private gardens and a few historic houses, while until quite recently several old mansions in the town itself remained intact. Of these Scarsdale House was perhaps the most interesting. It stands, or stood, a little way back, near the north-east corner of Wright's Lane, within a stone's throw of the Kensington High Street railway station. Of its early history little is known, but the main part of the building was perhaps coeval with Kensington Square. If called Scarsdale House in its earlier days, the name may have come from Nicholas Leke, Earl of Scarsdale, of whom Pope wrote :—

Each mortal has his pleasure—none deny
Scarsdale his bottle, Darty his ham-pie.

One would prefer, however, to connect it always with the Curzon family. I am told by a descendant that in all probability the house first belonged to John Curzon, who is perhaps best remembered as having owned a horse of Eastern blood, one of the progenitors of the modern racehorse. For a short



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time Lord Barnard occupied it ; in 1721 William Curzon was living here, and was one of the largest contributors to the parish poor-rate. Early in last century it was occupied by a ladies' boarding school, but many years ago became the residence of the Honourable Edward Curzon (second son of Mr. Robert Curzon and Lady de la Zouche), who bought it from his cousin, Lord Scarsdale. The Jacobean mantelpieces, formerly in the drawing-room, once graced the historic mansion of Loseley. Those who desire to call to mind this ideal dwelling and its surroundings, as they existed a generation ago, had best consult Miss Thackeray, for Scarsdale House must always live in the pages of *Old Kensington*. This was Lady Sarah's home, "with its many windows dazzling as the sun travelled across the old-fashioned housetops," and here was the room with the blue tiles which Lady Sarah's husband brought from the Hague the year before he died. The garden is now no more, though part of its ground can still be traced, and the house, or a mutilated remnant of it, forms part of a great commercial establishment facing the High Street. On the opposite side of Wright's Lane stood the old-fashioned "Terrace," facing the High Street, with delightful gardens at the

back, all swept away in 1893. At No. 6 John Leech lived and died.

As time goes on Kensington Square is somewhat losing its look of old-fashioned seclusion. It has had many notable and a few notorious inhabitants. The Duchess of Mazarin seems to have been among the earliest of the latter class; she was here apparently in 1692, but by 1695 she had migrated to Chelsea, where she had a house in Paradise Row, and in that and subsequent years was a defaulter to the parish rates. Her death occurred in 1699. We are tempted to refer to a very different inhabitant of Kensington Square—Thomas Herring, successively Bishop of Bangor, and Archbishop of York and Canterbury, who occupied a house, now destroyed, at the east end next to the south side. He was a bachelor, but his cousin Harriet, co-heiress, married Sir Francis Baring, ancestor of the various members of that distinguished family. The Earls of Cromer and Northbrook quarter the Herring arms. Her sister married a Stone, from whom the writer is descended. Talleyrand was said by the late Dr. Merriman to have lived in this house. In 1793 he dates a letter to Lord Grenville from Kensington Square. Among regrettable losses is that of the little

Greyhound Tavern, also on the east side, with sculptured figures of greyhounds above the porch, which as Thackeray tells us, was "over against my Lady Castlewood's house." In Young Street, hard by, at the house with the double bow windows, once called "the Cottage," Thackeray himself lived for some years, and there he wrote *Vanity Fair*.

Next to Holland House, the most important residence in Kensington was formerly Campden House, named after Campden in Gloucestershire, from which Sir Baptist Hicks, its first owner, when raised to the peerage, took his title. By marriage with his daughter it passed to a Noel, from whom the Earl of Gainsborough is descended. Here the Princess, afterwards Queen Anne, with her son, the young Duke of Gloucester, lived for a time, the place being selected on account of its healthy situation. In 1862 the old house was almost completely destroyed by fire, about the origin of which there was so much suspicion that a lawsuit followed on the question of insurance money. Afterwards the house was rebuilt more or less in the old style, and came into the hands of Mr. Alexander Elder, a gentleman connected with Australian trade, after whose death in 1885 his family continued to reside there. The site

of the house and the large and beautiful grounds are now covered by flats and chambers. An adjoining residence, known as Little Campden House, Gloucester Walk, is said to have been built for the reception of the Princess Anne's suite when she was at the larger mansions. It is now occupied by Mr. Arthur Cope, A.R.A., of the family of Sir Walter Cope, from whom Sir Baptist Hicks originally obtained this land—in payment of a gambling debt, if tradition may be believed. Another old dwelling, known as Bullingham House, which stood a short distance to the south-east, near Church Street, and is described in Loftie's *Kensington*, was destroyed in 1895. It is chiefly famous from the fact that Sir Isaac Newton died there, after a short residence. The entrance was in Pitt Street, with a back entrance close to the old George Tavern in Church Street. Of late the site has been covered by Bullingham Mansions.

Our account of Kensington appears to be little else than an obituary notice of delightful old houses standing in what auctioneers would call "their own grounds" which of late years have died a violent death at the hands of the speculative builder. The process is still going on and will perhaps continue until every available foot of space



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is covered with bricks and mortar. We will conclude our melancholy list with York House and Maitland House on the east side of Church Street, their grounds extending from the site of the old vicarage to the passage which leads to Palace Green. They were in appearance pleasant Georgian buildings, standing back a short distance from the roadway, with fine trees in front and gardens in the rear. York House, the more northern of the two, was for some years the residence of the Princess Sophia, a daughter of George III., and here, in the presence of the Duchess of Kent, the Duchess of Cambridge, the Duchess of Gloucester, and the Duchess of Inverness, she breathed her last on May 27, 1848. For a few years, from 1884 onwards, it was occupied by Mr. Richard Potter, father of Mrs. Leonard Courtney; the last resident there was Mrs. John Jones, after whose death the house remained untenanted. The most famous occupant of Maitland House was Sir David Wilkie. James Mill, father of John Stuart Mill, had previously lived there, he first occupied it in the year 1830.

To complete our volume we will say a few words about three or four isolated buildings, here portrayed. One of these, a humble public-house

called the Red Cow, was in the Hammersmith Road, just beyond St. Paul's School on the same side. Albeit, very picturesque and of considerable age, it had, as far as the writer is aware, no story worth the telling. He has sometimes amused himself with the idea that Addison, when living at Holland House, after his apparently rather uncongenial marriage to the Countess of Warwick and Holland may have dropped in there occasionally ; but his regular house of call appears to have been the White Horse Inn at the bottom of Holland Lane. The Red Cow, once dear to the heart of Charles Keene the artist, disappeared in the autumn of 1897. The brick house next to it, still standing and formerly called Fairlawn, was, from 1786 to 1793, occupied as a school by Dr. Charles Burney, son of the famous musician and author, and brother of Fanny Burney, afterwards Madame D'Arblay. It is now John Barker's auction mart.

In Queen Street, Hammersmith, on the east side of the church, stands a remarkable building called Bradmore House, now divided into two. Quite independent of this modern partition, which converts it into a north and south residence, there is a structural division, the part facing west, which



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stands back a short distance from the roadway, being much older, though less interesting, than the eastern portion, which, with its balustrade and handsome pilasters, has no small architectural merit, reminding one somewhat of the work of Wren. It faces a garden, and is still intact, although the whole site of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres has been, and perhaps still is, to let on building lease.

This structure stands on what formed part of the Butterwick estate, which once belonged to Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, and took its name from a village in Lincolnshire with which his family was connected. Faulkner tells us that his residence here was pulled down in 1836. The accounts of the property by Lysons and Faulkner are somewhat difficult to follow, there being apparently some confusion between this and the house destroyed in 1836. It seems, however, clear that what we call Bradmore House, which may have been the same as the Manor House or Farm of Butterwick, or "Great House" of old deeds, in 1700 came into the hands of Henry Ferne, receiver-general of the customs, who added the more modern part which forms the subject of our illustration, intending it, according to Lysons, "for the residence of Mrs. Oldfield, the celebrated actress,

to whom he was at that time much attached." It was afterwards bought by the father of Sir Elijah Impey, who was probably born here. Whilst owned by the Impeys it got the name of Bradmore House. It was sold by the representatives of that family in 1821, and divided into two residences not many years afterwards.

We will conclude our travels by visiting the once rural village of Paddington, where Mrs. Siddons had her country home, and there we will say a few words about an old thatched cottage with which she was probably familiar, for in her day houses hereabouts were few and far between. It stood on the west side of the former burial-ground of St. Mary's Church (now a public garden), and behind No. 12 St. Mary's Terrace, Paddington Green, and in 1895 was occupied by Welsh-speaking people connected with a temporary Welsh chapel hard by, who, strange to say, could hardly utter a word of English. The walls of this cottage were composed of pebbles and broken flint plastered over, it was shaded by pleasant trees and had some vacant space around it. The date of its erection is not known. In the *Bayswater Annual* for 1885 there was a statement that in 1820 the cottage



belonged to a Mr. Chambers, "a banker of Bond Street." The occupants then commanded an uninterrupted view of the Harrow Road as it turned northward. Claremont House, within a short distance of Chambers's Cottage, was remarkable for the "Claremont Caverns" about which many strange tales were told. They were the work of Mr. Southgate Stevens, who here carried on, in secret, processes for extracting or attempting to extract gold from quartz and other minerals. He was said to have spent some £30,000 in this fruitless quest. An illustration and a short account of Chambers's Cottage will be found in the *Builder* for May 18 and June 8, 1895; it was demolished a year or two afterwards, to make room for St. David's Welsh Church, and was then generally thought to be the last building of the kind in London. At the time of writing, however, there is still, I believe, a thatched cottage in the now metropolitan borough of Camberwell.

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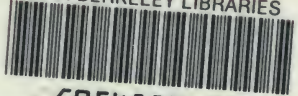
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