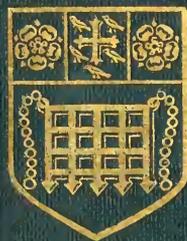




HISTORY OF LONDON



H. DOUGLAS-IRVINE



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LONDON



LONDON IN 1758
From Faithorne's Map

HISTORY OF LONDON

BY

HELEN DOUGLAS-IRVINE

LONDON

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CHAPTER I

LONDON BEFORE THE CONQUEST

IN the history of a town the first fact is its site. Our knowledge of the situation of the city is what we know of the earliest Londoners, the men of the dim ancient ages who made their settlement on the roadway of the Thames.

The Thames valley stretches between the hills of Hertfordshire on the north and the North Downs on the south. The channel of the river must once have been both broader and straighter than it is at present; and it flowed through a marsh which at high tide was flooded. On either side it had tributary streams. The Westbourne, from the slopes north of Hyde Park, followed a path suggested by the Serpentine, and reached the Thames by way of the district now Belgravia. The course of the Tyburn is indicated by the pond in St. James's Park, and near its mouth it formed the island of Thorney, the site of Westminster Abbey. The Fleet or the Holburn had its source in the slopes of Hampstead and Highgate, and crossed modern Fleet Street and Holborn: in the twelfth century it was navigable at least as far as Fleet Street. Walbrook cut the city in two, roughly along the line of the street which has its name; and the river Lea flowed on the outskirts of the site of greater London.

On the left bank of the Thames the ground forms a terrace,

some two miles broad, which consists of flint gravel, more or less sandy, and which rests on London clay. Its level was broken chiefly by the Fleet, eastwards of which the land sloped upwards in what is now Ludgate Hill. It was on this gravel terrace to the east of the Fleet that the first Londoners settled: there, by sinking shallow wells, they could obtain a water supply; there they escaped the malarial vapours of the swamps of Essex and Kent; no hill was near to provide a vantage point for their enemies; and the Thames connected them with the rest of the world.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote an account of the origin of London, in the twelfth century, recognised the importance of its site. He told that Brutus, after he had named his kingdom of Britain, "entered upon a design of building a city, and in order to it, travelled through the land to find out a convenient situation; and coming to the river Thames, he walked along the shore, and at last pitched upon a place very fit for his purpose. Here, therefore, he built a city which he called New Troy, under which name it continued a long time after, till at last by corruption of the original word it came to be called Trinovantum." Subsequently King Belinus made in the city a gate "of wonderful structure, which the citizens call after his name Belingsgate to this day. Over it he built a prodigious large tower, and under it a haven or quay for ships. . . . When he had finished his days his body was burnt and the ashes put up in a golden urn, which they placed at Trinovantum with wonderful art at the top of the tower above-mentioned." And finally King Lud, who was famous for the building of cities, rebuilt the walls of Trinovantum and surrounded them with innumerable towers. "He likewise commanded the citizens to build houses, and all other kinds of structures in

it, so that no cities in all the foreign countries to a great distance could show more beautiful palaces. He was withal a warlike man, and very magnificent in his feasts and public entertainments. And though he had many other cities, yet he loved this above them all, and resided in it the greater part of the year, for which reason it was afterwards called Kaerlud, and, by corruption of the word, Caerlondon; and again, by change of languages in process of time, London; as also by foreigners who arrived here and reduced this country under their subjection, Londres. At last he dying, his body was buried by the gate which is to this time called after his name Porthlud, and in the Saxon Ludesgata."

This is the story which the men of old London believed of their city, and which has historic value to the extent of its effect on their imagination. Mr. Lethaby holds that the legend of New Troy is the explanation by mediæval etymologists of the memory of the Trinobantes, that tribe of Essex and Middlesex whom Cæsar found to be "the strongest state of those regions." There is in the myth evidence of the extreme traditional antiquity of the walls of London.

Geoffrey is probably right in concluding from the city's name that it had a pre-Roman origin. But when he assigns to so early a date the beginning of London's greatness he is guided only by the chronicler's desire to exalt the honour of his subject. All knowledge of London previous to the Roman occupation is conjectural; and warranted conjecture cannot even base itself on a certainty of the permanent occupation of the site in the first century before the Christian era. It is remarkable that Julius Cæsar, who, during his second attempt on Britain, was in the neighbourhood of the Lower Thames, does not mention London. Therefore it cannot have been in his time an important town. Possibly

the impenetrable nature of the surrounding country had prevented it from becoming anything but an occasional camping ground for the Trinobantes or other tribes.

In A.D. 62 occurs, in the pages of Tacitus, the first mention of the city. The Roman General Suetonius was quelling the rebellion of the eastern Britons under Queen Boadicea. He marched along the Watling Street and entered Londinium, "uncertain whether he should choose it as a seat of war." It was still a place of comparative insignificance, and evidently unwallled, but as a trading port it had risen to some importance; "though not distinguished by the name of colony, it was much frequented by a number of merchants and trading vessels." The inhabitants were sympathetic to the Romans; but Suetonius "as he looked round on his scanty force of soldiers, resolved to save the province at the cost of a single town. Nor did the tears and weeping of the people, as they implored his aid, deter him from giving the signal of departure and receiving into his army all who would go with him. Those who were chained to the spot by the weakness of their sex or the infirmity of age or the attractions of the place were cut off by the enemy," who had for booty all the riches possessed by this early London.

In the two succeeding centuries the city arose again, and appears to have enjoyed peace and prosperity. It would seem to have consisted of houses which stood in gardens and orchards and were irregularly disposed. Because it was conveniently situated on the Thames the Romans made it the chief centre of their road system, a circumstance which was to give it an unrivalled place in the mediæval kingdom.

From the Kentish ports the Watling Street, not to be confused with the city street of that name, led by Greenwich,

Deptford and St. George's Fields, across the river at Westminster, and then to the south end of Park Lane, where it made an angle, and subsequently followed the line of the Edgware Road, to lead to Verulam and Chester. From Colchester another road crossed the Lea at Old Ford, passed to the north of the city, and, keeping roughly along the line of Oxford Street, intersected with the Watling Street near Marble Arch, and thence, by way of Brentford and Hounslow, led to the west, crossing the Thames near Staines. Ermine Street, the road from Chichester, actually traversed the city; it crossed the Thames to the east of modern London Bridge, and passed northwards near the line of Bridge Street, Gracechurch Street, and Bishopsgate, and thence by a straight road, of which parts are now Kingsland Road, High Street and Stoke Newington Road, on to Lincoln. Another Roman highway seems to have branched off from the western road near the site of Brentford, and thence, keeping to the north bank of the Thames, to have crossed the Watling Street at the angle near Hyde Park Corner, and thence to have led to Ludgate; and yet another and a shorter way, of which Newgate formed part, connected the river bank of the city with Watling Street.

In the year 297 London was held by a company of Franks who had been in the service of Allectus, the usurper of the imperial throne. They were ejected when part of the fleet of Constantine arrived in the river.

The fact that the city had at this time become an object to invading barbarians goes to justify those who hold that the wall around it was built at the close of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. According, however, to another and an ably supported theory its origin is no later than the middle of the second century. It was this Roman

wall, frequently heightened and repaired, which mainly guarded London throughout the middle ages, which had eventually the gates of Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Moorgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Newgate and Ludgate, and which was demolished only in 1766. A portion of it was removed in the reign of Richard I. in order to allow the construction of Tower Ditch; and in 1297 Edward I. gave permission for its rebuilding from Ludgate to the river in such manner as should include the precincts of Blackfriars monastery.

In 367 a mixed force of Franks, Picts and Scots, and Saxons attacked London, but were driven away by Theodosius, then in command of the forces of Valentinian I., and afterwards emperor. To the late Roman period, when there was constant danger of barbarian incursions into the Thames, the construction of a wall of the city along the river bank has been ascribed.

The fact that Roman London unmistakably aroused the cupidity of invading hosts is a proof of its wealth. Such is otherwise attested by evidences of the culture and luxury of its inhabitants which excavators have discovered. While it would seem never to have been an eminent place in the military system, it was probably a very important trading town. Its dignity was such that it received the title of Augusta, apparently in the period of Constantine the Great, the early fourth century.

The Roman protection was withdrawn from London about the year 410, and then a dark period supervened in the history of the city. Probably trade and population dwindled almost or quite to nothing. There may have been many attempts, successful and otherwise, on the part of one or another force to hold or to acquire the walled town which commanded the Thames. A hint of such a course of events

is given by the record that in 457 the Britons fled from Kent to London. There is indeed a theory that the history of London has been exceptionally continuous from Roman until modern times; but this presupposes in the Londoners after the departure of the Romans very unusual and unattested strength and organisation. The hypothesis is moreover unnecessary to the explanation of later conditions. There is no absolute proof that the Romans influenced the mediæval and modern city except in so far as they had made the wall and the roads. The gap in knowledge was in a less critical age filled by Arthurian legends.

In the beginning of the seventh century London is, through the writings of the Venerable Bede, rediscovered. As in 62 its commercial importance is emphasised: it is described as an emporium of many peoples to which men travelled by land and by sea. It was also the metropolis of the East Saxons, and one of the two archiepiscopal sees instituted in 601 by Pope Gregory. St. Augustine in 604 ordained Mellitus bishop of the East Saxons, and their king, Ethelbert, made on the site near the west gate of his chief city the church of St. Paul, for the bishop and his successors. Thus Saxon London, a city built of wood within the area which the Romans had enclosed, and partly along the lines of their streets, was a centre of trade, the capital of a kingdom, and a cathedral town. Its life probably centred in the cathedral precincts, for there, where until the sixteenth century stood the city belfry, was the meeting-place of the folkmoot. This institution was called in later mediæval times a thing of ancient custom, and it is so Saxon in character that there is little hardihood in asserting its existence when London was the capital of Essex. Under the pious King Ethelbert a bell must have rung to bring the people together outside the

cathedral; and there they must have assembled in arms, shaken their spears in dissent, or clashed their shields in applause, and responded with cries of approval or condemnation, as the proposals of their rulers were laid before them.

After the death of Ethelbert in 616 London relapsed into heathendom, but was again converted in the second half of the century.

There are fairly continuous records of the part played by London, from the ninth century onwards, in the struggle with the Danes. From the reign of Alfred the increasing independence and importance of the city is apparent; it acted as a unit, and as one which wielded much influence in English politics. It played moreover a very gallant part. From all this follows that it possessed an efficient form of government and was inhabited by an intelligent people.

But in the first part of the ninth century the history of the city is sad and chaotic. The war of defence was being waged in the Thames valley: in 839 a great slaughter occurred in London; in 851 the town was sacked by a host of pagans who brought three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames. Then came a time of confusion, "down and up, and up and down, and dreadful." In the winter of 872-3 the Danish army wintered in London. At last in 885 the partition of the country between Alfred and Gruthrum gave the city to the English king; and he restored it, and committed the "burh" to the keeping of his son-in-law, Ethelred ealdorman of Mercia.

Thus security and order returned in some degree to the Londoners. There has been discussion as to the king's exact measures: by some he is held to have built a citadel, perhaps on Tower Hill; by others only to have restored the

wall. At all events, when in 893 the Danes again attacked the city, Ethelred led out the Londoners and they obtained a victory outside the walls. In 897 the men of London seized on certain Danish ships in the river, and such as were stalwart they brought up to their city.

In 912 Edward the Elder took possession, apparently without violence, of London. This must mean either that he secured the immediate rule delegated by his father to Ethelred, or that the city had fallen away from the English supremacy. In 982 there occurred the first of the many fires of London on record; the chronicler does not state whether the town was burnt by accident or by the Danes. A reference in the description of the event is to a suburb which was evidently situated along the Strand. That street was probably a Roman way, and it is likely that the settlement which at this date existed on it was that one of the Danes which caused it afterwards to be called "Viculus Dacorum," and which named the church of St. Clement Danes. In 992 the Londoners saw a fine sight on their river, for all the ships that were of any worth were gathered together beside the city by decree of Ethelred the Unready and his witan. Two years later, on the 8th of September, ninety-four ships of the Northmen were brought to London by Olaf, King of Norway, and Sweyn, King of Denmark, who would have set the city on fire. "But they there sustained more harm and evil than they ever weened that any townsmen could do to them. For the Holy Mother of God, on that day, manifested her mercy to the townsmen and delivered them from their foes." Again, under the year 1009, the chronicler states that the Danes "often fought against London, but to God be praise that it yet stands sound; and they there ever fared ill;" and in the winter of that year the

Danes avoided the city because they heard that a force was there gathered against them.

In 1013 the city yielded to the Danes. King Sweyn had received the submission of Oxford and of Winchester, and he marched to London. As he crossed the Thames many of his force were drowned, apparently because they tried to swim their horses across the river. King Ethelred was in the city, and this is given as a reason for the determined resistance offered by the townsmen. They withstood King Sweyn in battle until he abandoned his attack and marched westwards. In the course of the year all the nation acknowledged him as king, and then the Londoners realised that by further obstinacy they would doom themselves. They tendered their submission to Sweyn and gave him hostages, and Ethelred took refuge with the fleet on the Thames, whence at midwinter he passed to the Isle of Wight on his way to Normandy.

A contemporary poem tells how Holy Olaf, King of Norway, broke down London Bridge about the year 1014 in an attack on the Danes made in the interest of Ethelred, evidently after the death of Sweyn. As the result Ethelred was restored to the city, and in 1016 he lay there sick unto death. He died on the 23rd of April, and then the townsmen and all of the Witan who were in London assembled, and chose Edmund for their king. This was to give remarkable prominence to the city.

In the same year another event had illustrated the high place held by the citizens. Edmund, as the king's son, had summoned the Mercian fyrd, but they had told him that "it did not please them to go forth unless the king were with them, and they had the support of the burgesses of London."

The struggle between Edmund and Cnut, King of Denmark, centred round London. In May the Danish ships came up the Thames, and by means of a great ditch dug on the Southwark side they dragged their ships from London Bridge to the part of the river above it. Evidently therefore the bridge had been rebuilt. Then by ditches the Danes prevented any passage in or out of the city; and they repeatedly engaged in fights with the townsmen, but were boldly withstood. Edmund raised the siege and drove the Northmen back to their ships. But later in the year they returned to London, "and beset the city around, and obstinately fought against it both by water and land. But almighty God saved it," and the Danish army departed. After Cnut's great victory at Assendune the country was divided between the kings: Wessex fell to Edmund, and Mercia with London to Cnut. And then the Londoners bought peace from the Danes, and the Danish army took up their winter quarters in the city. "Ever since the hard fight was fought," wrote a Danish poet, "we sit merrily in fair London." The whole kingdom accrued to Cnut after the death of Edmund on St. Andrew's day.

On Cnut's death in 1035 London again had a voice in the selection of a successor to the throne. At an assembly of the Witan held in London, Harold Harefoot was chosen king by "Earl Leofric and nearly all the thegns north of the Thames and the sailors of London." London must therefore, as in Roman times, have been distinguished by merchantmen who travelled over seas.

Again, at the death of Harthacnut in 1042, the citizens of London joined with others of the Witan who were able to be present, and chose Edward the Confessor king.

On the 15th of September, 1052, a great assembly of the

English people met in the open air outside the walls of London. The king was reconciled with Earl Godwin, Gytha his wife, and his four valiant sons, Harold, Tostig, Gyrth, and Leofwine, and afterwards the king and the earl walked unarmed down to the palace of Westminster.

The palace made first by King Cnut had been burnt, but it had been built again by Edward the Confessor. In the half century which preceded the Conquest it was the principal residence of kings, and its proximity to the city caused Witanagemots frequently to be held in London. Under Harold son of Godwin Westminster was a more constant dwelling-place of the court than ever it had been before, and concurrently London became in some degree the capital of England.

It is most probable that many of the parish churches of London were founded not long before the Conquest; some must have an earlier origin. The population in the eleventh century, as afterwards, had a cosmopolitan element, due to the power of commerce, the church, and the court. The men of Rouen and the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent owned property in the city; the Flemings, the French, and the emperor's men were free to come to the port of London; many ecclesiastics had French or Norman names. It is natural that the continental influences which Edward the Confessor brought to bear upon England should have had much effect in his principal town.

CHAPTER II

UNDER THE NORMAN KINGS

“**W**ILLIAM the king friendly salutes William the bishop, and Godfrey the portreeve, and all the burgesses within London, both French and English. And I declare that I grant you to be all law-worthy, as you were in the days of King Edward; and I grant that every child shall be his father's heir after his father's days; and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep you.”

This charter, by which William I. sealed his peace with the Londoners, followed on stirring events.

In 1066 some fugitives brought to the city the news of the Conqueror's victory and Harold's death at Senlac. Then the Witan met in London to choose a king; and the citizens are especially mentioned among the electors of Edgar Atheling. Preparations for another battle, for which the Londoners in particular were desirous, followed. But it appears that William did not march on London; he aimed rather at isolating it.

The defence was commanded by Staller Esegar, sheriff of Middlesex, who had been wounded at Senlac, and is said to have been carried about the city on a litter. He, according to a later chronicler, finally summoned an assembly of the “elders” of London, and these sent a messenger to carry a feigned peace to William. But the envoy brought back so

rich gifts and promises that they decided indeed to desert Edgar and to submit to the Conqueror. The fact of such a decision is certain, and some men of London were among those who offered the English crown to William at Berkhamstead.

Before he came to the city he sent before him to make preparations suitable to his "royal magnificence," and to build a fortress. This, probably a hasty wooden structure, was the beginning of the Tower of London. William's coronation took place at Westminster on Christmas Day. It is recorded that in the second year of his reign he solemnly entered the city, and that he then granted the charter at the instance of William, the Norman bishop of London.

The true significance of the Conquest for London seems to be that its progress towards independence was checked, that it was relegated to a fitter place in a country which had a strong central government. Henceforth, except during periods of disorder, this city which had chosen kings, which had constantly exercised initiative, the action of which had in times of war done much to decide the course of general events, was a political force of a less eminent rank. So strong a city was like the over-independent barons and the over-catholic church an element of disintegration which the Norman kings strove to bring into bounds. In this process the building of the Tower was the first step, and the granting of the charter, which rested the claims of Londoners to law-worthiness on the king's grace, was the second.

The charter makes clear that a portreeve was a leading official of London, and a very probable theory identifies him with the shire reeve or sheriff. The part borne by the sheriff of Middlesex in the defence of the city seems to prove that the later connection between city and shire, when the sheriffs

of London were the financial officers of both London and Middlesex, dates from Anglo-Saxon times; and it may be that Godfrey the portreeve succeeded Staller Esegar the sheriff.

The men of London were in 1069 part of a force led by Bishop Geoffrey de Coutances against the insurgents of Dorset and Somerset. In the later years of the reign of William I., and in those of his sons, London suffered from calamities of the class known as visitations. On the 15th of August, 1078, it was burnt, more extensively, it is said, than ever before; in 1087, another fire destroyed the cathedral and much of the city; in 1091, on the 17th of October, a storm blew down seven churches and more than six hundred houses as well as the wooden roof of Bow Church; in the following March the greater part of the city was burnt once more; in 1114 the Thames for a time ran dry; and again in 1132 a fire destroyed London to a large extent.

But these disasters were counterbalanced by the skill of the builders whom the Normans brought to England. Under William II. some great works were undertaken: a wall was built round the Tower, and a London Bridge of stone was made in place of the old wooden structure. Maurice, Bishop of London from 1086 to 1107, began that church of St. Paul which, enlarged and beautified by succeeding generations, stood until 1666. Moreover at Westminster Rufus built the famous hall which, as the meeting-place of parliament, was so greatly to affect London's position. In the modern city Norman work still survives in two buildings: in the chancel, now a parish church, of the marvellous church of the canons of St. Bartholomew's Smithfield, and in the nave of the parish church of All Hallows Barking.

William Rufus is responsible for another event of many

consequences, the foundation of Jewry in London ; for the Jews of Rouen followed him to his English capital.

From Henry I. the city received the second of its great charters. It was customary for the kings to compound for the royal dues in the several shires, to let for a yearly rent all that was payable to them in a shire to the official called sheriff, and he, at the court of the exchequer, annually accounted for this farm or rent. Any disbursements he had made on the king's behalf were set to his credit. As the burghs grew in importance they strove to obtain exemptions from the sphere of the sheriff, to compound themselves with the king for his dues, and separately to pay a farm. But in London, because the town was greater than the shire, a different thing happened : the sheriff of Middlesex was the sheriff or sheriffs of London. Henry I. granted to the city the county of Middlesex to hold at farm : in other words the sheriffs of London collected the royal dues of town and county, and paid in return a yearly sum to the royal exchequer. In all the counties of England the sheriff was appointed by the king : he represented the element of the crown in local government. But in London Henry I. gave to the citizens the right of themselves electing to their shrievalty.

He empowered them also to choose from their own number a justiciar who should hold the pleas of the crown. This office was probably created by Henry I.

Moreover the Londoners were declared in this charter not liable to the Danegeld nor to certain other payments, and they received a privilege very favourable to their trade, free passage for them and their goods throughout England and the seaports. Their tenure of all their possessions in the city and without it was confirmed. And they acquired for their property a valuable immunity. The rights exercised by

kings and other magnates of quartering themselves or their retainers on householders were very burdensome: it was decreed that none might henceforward exact hospitality from the Londoners by force.

Besides such privileges and rights of property the charter was concerned with jurisdictions. It conferred on the city jurisdiction independence, exemption from the sphere of external jurisdictions and the acknowledged validity of its own law. All existing jurisdictions of churches, barons and citizens were confirmed; the hustings court was empowered to meet every Monday, and injustice was forbidden in that court and in the folkmoot. Lesser benefits conceded were exemption from the unpopular Norman custom of trial by battle, and the confirmation to the Londoners of the chases their ancestors had held in the Chilterns, Middlesex and Surrey.

The charter should be read rather as confirming and defining a state of affairs than as innovating it. It probably legalised old claims of the citizens which the centralising measures of Norman kings had tended to override. It discovers to us a city of which the constitution resembles that of a shire. There has been much discussion as to the origin of the wards into which London is divided: Portsoken, Tower, Aldgate, Limestone, Bishopsgate, Broad Street, Cornhill, Langbourn, Billingsgate, Bridge, Candlewick Street, Walbrook and Dowgate to the east of the course of the Walbrook; and on its west side Vintry, Cordwainer, Cheap, Colman Street, Bassishaw, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Farringdon, Bread Street, Queenhithe and Castle Baynard. It has been surmised though not proved that as geographical areas some or all of them are of Roman origin. But in their political aspect they had, in the twelfth century,

approximated to the hundreds which are subdivisions of counties.

An alderman presided over each ward and over the assembly of its inhabitants, the wardmoot; and within each ward, though seldom with conterminous boundaries, were parishes. The general assemblies of citizens, the folkmoot and the court of husting, corresponded roughly to the shiremoot held in each county. In this period the folkmoot met at Michaelmas to hear who was sheriff and receive his orders, at Christmastide to arrange for the special watch kept during that holiday, and at Midsummer for the guarding of the city from fire. Much business had passed to the less unwieldy court of husting, generally believed to have had a Danish origin. And side by side with all these popular courts, limiting their sphere to some extent, were private franchises, the courts of religious houses and of individuals. A like confusion of principles was reproduced throughout England. No essentially municipal forms of government, such as obtained on the continent, had as yet been introduced into London.

It has been surmised that the king's charter was given to obtain the support of the Londoners for the succession to the throne of the Empress Matilda. At London, in 1126, Henry summoned a council; and there he made the great men swear that if he left no son to be his heir they would receive his daughter Matilda as their lady. The archbishop of Canterbury first took the oath, then the other bishops and then the abbots; and of the laity the first to bind himself was David, King of Scotland, and there followed Stephen, Count of Mortain and Boulogne, and after him Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the king's natural son. But Stephen and Robert had disputed as to which of them should swear first.

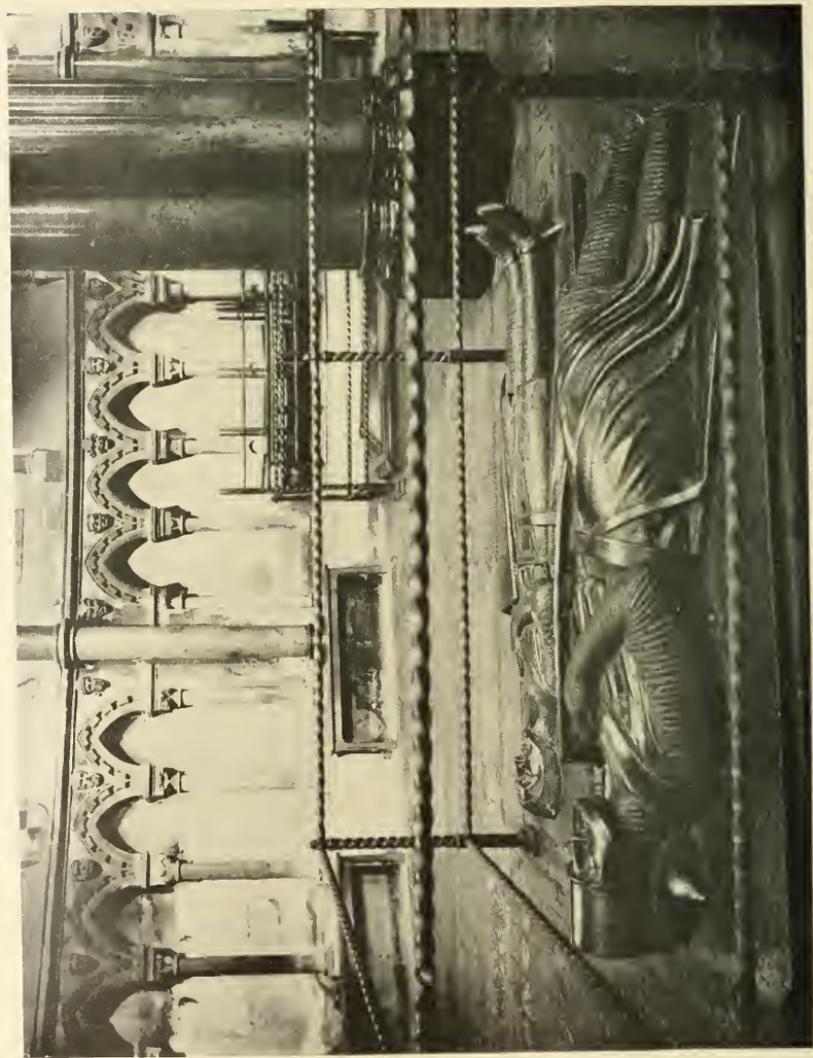
Stephen's reign is often described as a period of reaction. During it all those disintegrating forces which the Conqueror and his sons had kept in check revived, not only because the central government lacked strength to curb them, but also because it was insecure, and therefore suppressed no force but sought rather to make use of all available means of support. Stephen and Matilda in turn recognised the claims of Londoners in order to enhance the value of the aid which the Londoners afforded them. Thus the city returned to a position something like that which it had occupied before the Conquest. But there was a new element in the situation: each claimant to the throne strove to procure not only the adhesion of the citizens but also the military command of London, the command of the Tower.

In December 1135, after the death of Henry I., Stephen hurried to England, and he directed himself first to London. The citizens had endured the miseries of a period of anarchy, and were probably eager to welcome a ruler: they met him with rejoicing. Then they summoned a council at which they swore to maintain him with their wealth and guard him with their strength; and he took oath to pacify the realm. The conception of government by contract has seldom been more accurately realised. The compact made, the citizens chose Stephen for their king; and at the same time they specifically claimed a right to elect successors to the throne. He was crowned at Westminster on the 22nd of December. He held several courts at Westminster; and in 1138 he advanced from London to the siege of Bristol.

The hereditary wardenship of the Tower of London was held by a famous adventurer, Geoffrey de Mandeville. Probably in the Spring of 1140 Constance of France, the bride of the king's son and heir Eustace, was in London with her

mother-in-law, Queen Matilda; she was kidnapped by Geoffrey and imprisoned in the Tower. It is said that for this outrage the king ever afterwards owed Geoffrey a grudge, but its immediate effect was that which its perpetrator must have intended. Stephen appears to have seen the necessity of coming to terms with the keeper of the Tower. He kept Whitsuntide of 1140 at that fortress, and in a charter assigned by Mr. Round to the latter half of the year he granted the earldom of Essex to Geoffrey.

Stephen in February 1141 became the captive of Robert of Gloucester. On the 7th and 8th of April the empress was chosen queen by an assembly at Winchester; and on the 9th a deputation summoned from London was informed of the fact. This may have been a second acknowledgment of the city's claim to participate in elections of a sovereign. But London would not at once accept the empress; there was a period of tumult and bloodshed, during which the opposing parties, of Stephen and of Matilda, must have been in conflict. Eventually, however, the citizens sent to St. Albans certain of their number who made a treaty with Matilda, and she entered London by way of Westminster shortly before Midsummer, and was received with all honour. One of her first acts was to regrant to Geoffrey de Mandeville the custody of the Tower and the earldom of Essex, and to bestow on him also lands and offices which made her gifts much more magnificent than the previous one by Stephen. Her stay in London was a matter only of a few days. The citizens had hoped by receiving her to regain their lost prosperity with peace. But she demanded from them a great sum of money; and when they urged their impoverishment by the dissensions of the realm she taunted them with reminders of the many subsidies they had granted to Stephen.



EFFIGY OF GEOFFREY DE MANDEVILLE IN THE TEMPLE CHURCH.

The chronicles are full of allusions to her pride, her intolerable anger and her lack of all womanly gentleness. Meanwhile Stephen's queen arrived with her army on the Surrey side of the river, and sent her men to ravage "with rape and fire, violence and sword," the neighbourhood of London. And the citizens saw their country thus laid bare, when they had lost all hope in their new lady who, in the very beginning of her rule, had so transgressed bounds, and they judged it wise to enter into a peace and compact with the queen, and to conspire with her to release Stephen. The empress was tranquilly awaiting the answer to her demands; she was about to seat herself at table, when all the bells of the city rang out together to call to arms, and the citizens issued from their doors like bees that swarmed from a hive. She heard the tumult, and a secret warning of treachery was conveyed to her, and at once she betook herself to flight. She and her suite had hardly mounted their horses and ridden past the buildings before the walls, when the citizens entered and plundered the houses they had left. In panic the followers of the empress fled in different directions; she with Gloucester and a few others reached Oxford. The king's party in London, who had of late been depressed, regained ascendancy, and the queen was received into the city, where it is said that she bore herself manfully and virtuously. To command the Tower was a necessary mean to the security of her position; and Mr. Round has proved that by another and a lost charter to Geoffrey de Mandeville she procured his adherence. The empress had betaken herself to Winchester and was besieging the episcopal palace; the queen marched southwards to besiege the empress, in her turn, and a contingent of well-armed Londoners, a thousand strong, reinforced the queen's army.

When Winchester had fallen the Londoners were conspicuous among the pillagers.

At Christmastide, 1141, King Stephen was no longer captive, and he granted a charter to the custodian of the Tower which must have confirmed or increased the benefits his queen had conferred, and in which he competed in liberality with the empress. He once more bestowed the earldom of Essex and the constabulary of the Tower, and moreover the justiciarship and shrievalty of London and Middlesex, to be held for a yearly farm. Further he conceded lands and offices greater in value than those which Geoffrey had received previously.

But next year the empress made a yet higher bid for the earl's support. She conferred again all that Stephen had given, she made yet more extravagant assignments of lands and offices, she promised that neither she nor the Count of Anjou, her lord, nor her son, should make peace or concord with the burgesses of London, the mortal enemies of Geoffrey, without his consent, and she gave extravagant guarantees for the performance of her promises. This charter proves that the natural antipathy existed between the keeper of the Tower, the military adventurer with all the lawlessness of unbridled feudalism, and the townsmen of London. It displays a new policy: the empress was seeking to make her profit of the antipathy; she had abandoned the citizens as hopelessly sympathetic to Stephen.

But the move failed to win for her London, although the king did not again compete for Geoffrey's adherence. Geoffrey's last act of treachery had been committed against the party of rising fortunes, and in 1143 the king caused his arrest and brought him to London. And then the earl, when confronted with the alternative of the gallows, ordered

his garrison at the Tower to surrender to Stephen. Deprived of all his commands, he turned freebooter, and was slain unshriven in the following year. Some Knights Templars brought his body to their house in Holborn; but a sentence of excommunication forbade his Christian burial until the removal of the ban some twenty years later.

In the Temple Church his stone effigy lies to this day among the other Crusaders. Bold and pitiless, too bold and eager to be held in check by a law weak and confused, guided only by the rule of his own advantage, quick to perceive and to lay hold of the opportunities which disorder gave to the man of concentrated purpose, like all the single-minded a strong commander, he is typical of many heroes of his day. It was an age barren of ideals; Geoffrey's high qualities could serve only his cunning; his religion, since he had not been born a mystic, could be little more than superstition.

The last years of Stephen were not eventful in London. There was another fire during the reign which burnt the city from London Bridge to the church of St. Clement Danes.

CHAPTER III

THE GRANTING OF THE COMMUNE

HENRY II., before 1161, granted a charter to the citizens which was mainly a confirmation of that of his grandfather, but which lacked several clauses of the earlier instrument. It had no reference to the justiciarship of London, which appears at this time to have become extinct. It did not grant again the right of election to the shrievalty; that office had been given by Stephen and Matilda to Geoffrey de Mandeville, and appointments to it continued under Henry II. and Richard I. to be by the Crown. Both these omissions tended to increase the power of the king to the detriment of civic independence. A third difference must have been a result of changed conditions. The charter of Henry II. has no mention of the private jurisdictions within the city of churches, barons and citizens, for these, while in the country they still were important, had, owing to a greater intensity of public life, become comparatively negligible in London.

While their independence was thus to some extent impaired, Londoners during the reigns of the early Angevin kings were struggling to acquire greater facilities for corporate action than were afforded by the loose machinery of shire government. On the continent the period is that in which communes were granted to towns, in which, in other

words, townsmen were permitted to form sworn associations, organised under officials and capable of independent action ; and the trade of London brought it into close connection with continental places. It was especially liable to influence from Rouen, which city received a commune probably from Henry II. But a chronicler states that neither that king nor Richard I. would, even for a million marks, allow a sworn union of the citizens of London. They learnt abroad the danger of independent municipalities.

Their government however maintained loyalty. It is related that when the bishop of Winchester, in 1174, brought to Henry in Normandy the news of the Scottish invasion and the attendant rebellion, “‘Fair lord,’ said the king, ‘tell me the truth. How are the brave men of my city of London acting?’ And the bishop replied, ‘So may the Lord God who rules in Trinity help me, they are the most loyal people of all your kingdom. There is no one in the town of an age to bear arms who is not well-armed. You would wrongly believe any evil of them.’”

At the coronation feast of Richard I. the office of the butlery was performed by the citizens of London. In 1188 a tenth of their property was exacted from the two hundred richest Londoners for the furtherance of the Crusade. Nor was it only with their wealth that the townsmen upheld the wars of the Cross. In September 1189 men of London were among those who besieged the Saracen city of Silvia in Spain. A ship of the Londoners, in which were more than eighty well-armed youths, was overtaken by a storm in the Bay of Biscay ; but St. Thomas of Canterbury appeared to three persons on board and assured them that he, St. Edmund the Martyr, and St. Nicholas the Confessor had especial charge of the king’s fleet. The tempest ceased, and

the ship arrived at Silvia, where it was hospitably received by the bishop, clergy and people. It carried William FitzOsbert.

Meanwhile events prepared for the citizens at home an opportunity to gain constitutional independence. King Richard, before his departure for the East, had granted the Tower of London, no longer held by hereditary keepers, to his chancellor William Longchamp, who in the next year surrounded it with a moat. In October 1191, when his struggle with John had paralysed the administration, Longchamp shut himself up in the Tower. On the 7th of the month John arrived in London. Once more, as in 1135 and in 1141, the support of the citizens might turn the scales that were balanced between the rival parties, and therefore London could again name her price. A meeting was held at St. Paul's on the 8th. The Chancellor was deposed, and a commune was conceded to London, which all the magnates of the kingdom and bishops of the provinces swore to maintain. Immediately afterwards Longchamp agreed to surrender the Tower to John.

Mr. Round has discovered the oath which, as a consequence of the grant of the commune, became obligatory for citizens. They swore loyalty to the king, faithfulness to the commune, obedience to the mayor, his eschevins and the other honest men who should be with him, and incorruptibility by bribes.

Thus we know the import of the concession of 1191. In the first place it bound the citizens together with the force and the distinction of a common obligation, and thus gave them a collective personality. Secondly it endowed them with a new machinery of government, continental and essentially municipal in character. Henceforth their presiding

official was the mayor, who, from the time when particulars of his election are known, was chosen from the number of the aldermen, and who eventually held his place for one year only. The word *eschevin* has in old French the significance of a holder of municipal office, and is often used in connection with mayor; sometimes the personality of a town is expressed in the term "*li maire, li escheviz, et li commune.*" From the form of the oath it appears that by the charter of 1191 authority in London was given to the mayor, his *eschevins* and the honest men who should be with him; and it seems likely that this phrase corresponds to that later one which was the usual official style of the city, "the mayor, aldermen and commonalty." If it be supposed that the aldermen were the *eschevins*, it may be concluded that the honest men were the commonalty, and that they had acquired some governing power. Thence may be deduced that already there was in existence a germ of the Common Council, that the city was ruled by the mayor and aldermen in conjunction with some of the commons.

The new institutions did not supersede the older ones; the folkmoot, the hustings court, the wardmoots and the parochial constitutions, the ancient officials of the city, subsisted, but in varying degrees they lost importance.

In 1193 the mayor of London was appointed one of the five keepers of the king's ransom. Richard, after his release from captivity, entered London on the 16th of March, 1194. He was received "with greatest pomp of rejoicing," and the whole city was decorated in honour of his advent. On the 23rd of April he granted a charter to the citizens which was mainly a confirmation of that of his father.

Certain events of importance occurred in 1196. It is related that the people of London had suffered by the

imposition of taxes for the levy of the king's ransom, and that these fell more heavily on the poor than the rich classes. The iniquities of the civic administration thus became apparent, and a certain William FitzOsbert or Longbeard, probably identical with the crusader, constituted himself champion of the oppressed. He originated a sworn association against the richer classes in which fifty-two thousand poorer citizens are said to have been enrolled. Their methods were doubtless those common to rioters; but there is special mention of their collection of instruments for the breaking down of houses. FitzOsbert, "Saviour of the Poor," harangued like any popular orator. He crossed the Channel to obtain the king's support, and on his return acted as one who enjoyed royal favour. To procure peace the Justiciar, Hubert Walter, exacted hostages, and this may explain the fact that at Stamford Fair, which was held in Mid-Lent, he caused the arrest of certain of the poorer London merchants. FitzOsbert was summoned to the courts of justice, but appeared in the company of a mob, and when two citizens with an armed band were sent to capture him, he and a few followers took refuge in Bow Church. Eventually, in despite of all privileges of sanctuary, the Justiciar ordered him to be smoked out of the building. He was taken to the Tower, condemned to be hanged, and then dragged through the streets to the gallows, where the sentence was executed on him and eight associates.

It is impossible to disconnect this sedition of the poorer Londoners, which was evidently important and general, from the grant of the commune five years previously. That event had conferred great powers on the aldermanic class; this rising must have been on the part of those who had received from it no benefits. It evidently was not a movement of the

unpropertied rabble, for its professed cause was the unequal distribution of burdens. The discontented were taxable; some of them are called merchants; their leader is said to have held an office in the city's government. Clearly there was already a middle class within the city, a cleavage between the greatest and the less wealthy citizens. The conclusion is that the concession of the commune had in practice confirmed the arrogation to themselves of all power by the richest class: it had favoured a civic oligarchy.

The questionable right of John to succeed his brother to the throne was favourable to the liberty of London. In June 1199, some three weeks after his coronation, the king regranted the rights conferred by Richard and by Henry II. On the 5th of July a far more important charter restored to the citizens the concession of Henry I., the right to hold Middlesex at farm and themselves to elect to the shrievalty.

The great fire of 1212, which was very destructive to London, arose at the church of St. Mary Southwark, on the site of St. Saviour's cathedral. Londoners in great numbers set out to watch its progress and to help in its extinction, and at a moment when London Bridge was crowded the fire broke out on the north bank and caught the bridge itself, so that many persons were entrapped between two flames, and were burnt or drowned.

In 1215 Londoners were on the side of the barons; but the king's forces held the Tower. John, on the 9th of May, sought to conciliate the citizens by a charter which confirmed to them the right to choose annually a mayor who must take an oath of allegiance to the king, and might hold office for a year or longer at the pleasure of his electors. Yet on the 17th of the month the barons entered the city, and

subsequently they besieged the Tower. On the 15th of June the mayor of London was a signatory of Magna Carta. In accordance with its provisions the king surrendered the Tower; its hereditary custody was claimed by Geoffrey de Mandeville, a descendant of the notorious keeper, but it was temporarily delivered to Stephen Langton. The barons returned to London after the signing of the charter. In September the ban of excommunication was incurred by the citizens together with the other opposers of the king. On the 26th of October the barons issued from London in a vain attempt to relieve Rochester, whence they returned to the city. It received many fugitives after the fall of Rochester before John's forces. Before Christmas the marshal of France and a garrison occupied London on behalf of the dauphin Louis, and in the ensuing spring the city was the chief place of refuge for those who fled before John's army. Louis was received in London with much rejoicing, on the 2nd of June, and the barons and the mayor there did him homage. He left soon afterwards to pursue his campaign, and the allegiance of London was, like that of the barons, continued to him little longer than the period of John's life.

It is possible to visualise to some extent the London in which these men lived. The houses were almost all of them made of wood; but after the fire of Stephen's reign, and again after that which occurred in 1212, the administrators encouraged building in stone. At the same time they tried to procure the substitution of tiled for thatched roofs: in 1212 it was ordered that the roofs should be covered not with reeds, rushes, straw or stubble, but with tiles, shingles, boards, or lead. Many of the buildings were only one storey high; but some of them had an upper chamber, called a

solar. This in some cases overhung the streets, when it was required that its height should allow a man to ride underneath it. Buildings were often or usually whitewashed as a precaution against fire. The slightness of the structures is vividly illustrated by the fact that each alderman was obliged to have a crook or a cord, evidently for the demolition of houses which transgressed the rules laid down for building. The shops were stalls attached to the houses, and might not exceed two and a half feet in breadth. Signposts marked the taverns. The rearing of swine, oxen, and cows within houses was forbidden, and pigs and cows might not be kept at all to the annoyance of the neighbours. Doubtless these regulations were necessary because pigs and cattle were suffered too freely to roam in the narrow streets. Scavengers appointed in each ward kept the roads clean; and the deposit of dirt and refuse in public ways was forbidden.

A citizen of the time, William FitzStephen, has described London as it appeared to him. He speaks of the thirteen religious houses and the hundred and twenty-six parish churches, the Tower and its walls, the great river full of fish, Westminster Palace on the west side of the city, and the spacious gardens, planted with trees, of the citizens who lived in the suburbs. He brings before us a picture of a city bounded by massive walls and by a river as yet unpolluted, in which many towers rose high above a mean level of whitewashed gabled houses. He does not mention another fortress of London, Castle Baynard, which stood on the river bank near St. Paul's and was held by Robert FitzWalter, who in 1212 plotted against the king and forfeited his castle to the crown.

The city contained at this time three schools, the school

of St. Mary-le-Bow, and two schools attached to religious houses, those of St. Paul's and St. Martin's le Grand, and the pupils sometimes held public disputations. By the riverside, not far from the present site of Southwark Bridge, were cook shops in which a meal might at any time be obtained. Ships "of every nation under the sun" brought traders up the Thames to London.

On the outside of the town were fields, grazing lands, and a great plain of meadow-land watered by streams which turned the wheels of mills; and near it was a forest in which were deer, boars and bulls. To the north were excellent wells, Holywell, Clerkenwell and St. Clement's Well. Near Smithfield, also outside the wall, a horse fair took place, and earls, barons, knights and citizens came thither to buy noble steeds and to witness their trials.

The citizens are described as warlike, virtuous and well-dressed; and their amusements certainly testify to tastes in keeping with the bold part which London played in politics. They show too how the mediæval town dweller, whom only a wall separated from the country, shared many of the pursuits of the rural population. The schoolboys of the city on Shrove Tuesday held cockfights and games of ball which were watched by the older inhabitants. After supper on Sundays in Lent the youths, armed with lances and shields or with spears, engaged in tilting matches the courtiers, the members of the bishop's household, or the nobles, in knightly sports which are a token of rank. In the Easter holidays the young men tilted from boats at a shield hung above the river; and in summer they exercised themselves in archery, running, leaping, stone-throwing and the hurling of other missiles, while the maidens danced until the moon came up. In winter, when the great marsh to the north of the city was

frozen, there were many games. Some made slides, others were drawn on sledges, and yet others skated. They "tie bones to their feet and under their heels," says FitzStephen, "and, shoving themselves by a little picked staff, do slide as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a cross bow."

But most of all the citizens loved to hunt with their hounds or their hawks in the woods; and they had hunting rights in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, the Chiltern Hills, and Kent as far as the Cray.

Their amusements, other than athletic, were supplied by the pageants which accompanied state ceremonials, municipal usage, and the rites of the church. Moreover there were already not only dramatic representations of "miracles which holy martyrs have wrought" and of "torments wherein the constancy of martyrs appeared," but also other "shows upon theatres" described as "comical pastimes."

The biographers of Thomas à Becket give a vivid glimpse of a Londoner's life. They relate that after the Norman Conquest many natives of Rouen and Caen emigrated to London, attracted by its commercial advantages. Of their number was Gilbert, surnamed Becket, a citizen of Rouen, distinguished by his industry and his powers. He came of an honourable but a burgher family, and was a man diligent in business, who ruled his household in a manner appropriate to his station in life. He lived without quarrel among his neighbours and all spoke well of him. His wife, Roesia, was a native of Caen, of a burgher family, in body seemly and in conduct even more praiseworthy. She was well placed over her house, and, under the fear of God, was faithfully subject to her husband. Gilbert is known to have been a portreeve of the city, and to have founded a chantry

at St. Paul's. His house stood in Cheapside, on the site now occupied by the Mercers' Hall. After the birth of Thomas his mother, that she might have leisure for prayer and works of piety, had the assistance of a nurse.

The child was dedicated in infancy to the service of the church, and was sent for his education to the canons of Merton. His parents, who were impoverished by the frequent fires of the city, died within a short time of each other while he was yet young. There is record of his friendship with the "rich and noble" Richard de l'Aigle, in whose company he made riding and hawking expeditions.

Gilbert Becket is an instance of a Norman who attained to full citizenship of London, even to a magistracy. The population of the city was indeed largely cosmopolitan. In the twelfth century the leading families were the Bucuintes, and the Bokerels from whom Bucklersbury was named. Both were probably of Italian origin, and bore names corrupted from "Bucca Uncta," or "oily mouth" and from Bokerelli. The accession of Henry II. brought London into connection with his dominions in southern France. Especially Gascon wine merchants came in large numbers to the city and were many of them absorbed in its population. The town of La Réole in Gascony gave its name to the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal and to Tower Royal in Vintry ward.

The church bound together these men of varied nationalities who became the citizens of London. St. Martin was the patron of the vintners of Bordeaux as of those who had vineyards in Essex, and was worshipped by all alike in the church of St. Martin Vintry in Thames Street. But there lived also in London members of another and a truly alien people.

Jewry in London was to the north of Cheapside and bounded, roughly, by Wood Street on the west and Old Jewry on the east. The Jews lived around Gresham Street, then Catteaton Street, and in Wood Street, Milk Street, St. Lawrence Lane, Ironmonger Lane, and Old Jewry. They were outside all the ordinary arrangements of state and city because they were the king's chattels, whose every right depended on his grace. Their very tenure of their property was by his sufferance; they were subjected to frequent, heavy and unregulated taxations for his convenience. In London, as elsewhere, they observed the ritual of their faith, but the existence of synagogues recurrently presented itself to the citizens as a scandal. A chief rabbi was appointed by the crown. Socially Jews and Christians were entirely separate; their intermarriage, the employment by Christians of Jewish servants, were forbidden. The two races were held apart moreover by a different outlook on life, different culture, different customs, dress and food. Therefore the race of the Londoners acquired no Jewish element. The one important relation between the members of the two faiths was financial; the business of money lending was practised by the Jews to such an extent that they were able to undermine the property rights of very many citizens. Resentment of the yoke thus incurred by the Christian Londoner did much to fan the ardour of his religious zeal against the unbelievers.

On the occasion of the coronation of Richard I. the feeling against the Jews broke the bounds of restraint. An excuse was provided by a rumour that the king had ordered the extermination of the race; and "then the Jewish citizens, of whom a multitude is known to dwell in London, together with those who had flocked together from all parts, withdrew

into their own houses. These were surrounded by a clamouring multitude and stoutly besieged from nine o'clock until sunset. As, owing to their stout build, an entrance could not be forced into the houses, and the madmen had no tools, fire was thrown on the thatched roofs, and there arose quickly a terrible conflagration, fatal to the Jews as they strove to extinguish it, and a light to the raging Christians at their night work. And the fire kindled against the Jews did not hurt them alone, but caught hold likewise of the neighbouring houses of Christians. But the Jews were either roasted in their houses or, if they came out of them, were received with swords. Much blood was shed in a short space. But soon avarice got the better of cruelty. Thereupon they left their butchery, and their greedy rage betook itself to stripping the houses and snatching their riches. But this in turn made Christians oppose Christians . . . and they forgot all natural ties and spared neither friend nor comrade." It is said that almost all the citizens, as well as nearly the whole number of the nobles who had attended the coronation and were not present at the royal banquet, took part in this massacre and plundering. Its history shows the superior culture of the Jews, who appear to have dwelt in stone houses, and whose treasures evoked such ungovernable rapacity.

The Romance tongue, Norman French, was probably spoken by mediæval Londoners as commonly as English; and there is evidence that it was the language of the Jews.

From Richard of Devizes we have an account of London in the twelfth century which mitigates the rosy impression conveyed by FitzStephen. A Jew is represented as advising a French serving lad to seek his fortune in wealthy England. "When thou enterest England," he says, "if thou come

to London thou wilt quickly pass through it, for that metropolis displeaseth me much. All kinds of men flow into it from every nation under the sky. Every nation brings its own vices and its own customs into the city. None lives in it free from crime, not a citizen that does not abound in sad obscenities; a man is there to be reckoned the better, the deeper he is in crime. I know whom I am talking to; thou hast beyond thy age a fervid intellect and a cold memory, things contrary to one another, and a temperate reason. I have no fears for thee unless thou dwell with evil livers, for manners are formed by communication. Well, well, thou wilt come to London. So I forewarn thee that whatever ill or malice is in all and each part of the world thou shalt find in that single city. Avoid the band of pimps, mix not with the crowd of gamesters, avoid the dice and the gaming table, the theatre and the tavern. Thou wilt come across more bullies than are in all France; the number of parasites is infinite. Actors, buffoons, eunuchs, garamanters, flatterers, pages, cowards, effeminates, dancing girls, apothecaries, favourites, witches, vultures, owls, magicians, mimes, mendicants, dancers and other such fill every house. Therefore, unless thou wilt live with the wicked thou shalt not inhabit London. I am not speaking against the learned, whether clergy or Jews, although from their communion with the wicked I should think them less perfect there than elsewhere."

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF THE CRAFTS AND THE BARONS' WAR

THERE is in all the history of London no more important period than that covered by the reigns of Henry III. and the Edwards. Under Henry II. and his sons London acquired constitutional machinery; under their immediate successors motive forces were adjusted.

It has been seen that the rising of FitzOsbert had causes economic and social, those which indeed exist inevitably in a growing community. Ruling power was retained exclusively by men established in the foremost place after others had come to share the capacity to wield it. The governors of London were an official class, few in number, wealthy, not only merchants but also holders of landed property within and without the walls. They were connected by the closest of all the ties which can bind together a caste, that of kinship, for they consisted of several families who frequently intermarried, and who, in view of London's small population, must have lived in much intimacy. But the trade and the industry of the city, more than ever an "emporium of many peoples," could not be appropriated to the advantage of any narrow oligarchy. A middle class had all the intelligence and the independence of the

prosperous, and, as ever, they did not lack the oppression of their superiors to excite them to action.

They were moreover no disorganised body. It is a fact in universal history that when important classes have had no means of necessarily influencing their governors, they have formed voluntary associations capable of great consistency and strength. This is the significance of guilds and fraternities and companies: they have covered ground as yet unreached by the government. In the thirteenth century the middle class of London were the members of the crafts or mysteries, the tradesmen distributed in groups of those who followed the same calling. Some of their trades were those also of the aldermanic class, who were especially goldsmiths, mercers, fishmongers and vintners, but who were apt to pursue composite avocations, to be interested in more trades than one.

The crafts have left an abiding mark on London place names, for they came to be associated with certain localities. Their organisation was helped by the circumstance that members of one craft usually lived near to each other. In the thirteenth century the streets of London followed much their present lines. If in a modern map of the city King Street and Queen Street and Queen Victoria Street be blotted out, if the courses of the Fleet and of the Walbrook be traced, if the lesser streets be multiplied, and if it be remembered that some of them were as yet private ways, while others were in the transitional stage between private and public ownership, a fairly accurate representation of London in the reign of Henry III. is obtained. The mercers lived in Cheap, near their existing hall; the ironmongers and cutlers, as well as some of the armourers and members of other allied trades, in and near Ironmonger Lane; the

pepperers, afterwards the grocers, were in Soper Lane, which has been included in Queen Street; the vintners named Vintry, the cordwainers, Cordwainer Ward. Pancras Lane was Needlers Lane; Goldsmith Row was at the west end of Cheap; the fishmongers were in Old Fish Street, now a part of Knightrider Street; the drapers were to the east of Walbrook, near Cannon, then Candlewick Street. The saddlery was at the west end of Cheap, close to the present Saddlers' Hall. There were bakers, brewers, fleshers, tailors, fripperers or vendors of old clothes, haberdashers, girdlers, weavers, fullers, dyers, tapicers, carpenters, pewterers, braziers, bowyers, lorimers, chandlers, hatters, cofferers and others. The list gives some notion of the state of civilisation.

It was these men who, in the reign of Henry III., formed an opposition to the class who held sway in the city. The parties in London and the parties in England sought mutually to derive power from their respective divisions; king and barons attempted to attach to themselves the oligarchy or the craftsmen.

The king, on his accession, could not be crowned at Westminster, for that place, like the city, was held for the dauphin. And when, in 1217, Louis left for France, the Londoners gave him 5,000 silver marks. It would appear that after he had made his peace with the English king there was still a French party in the city, and it was evidently in order to suppress it that in 1222 a great persecution was undertaken by Walter Bukerel. Of this the culminating act was the hanging, without a trial, of Constantine FitzAlulf, who must have led the French faction. It may be that on this, as on later occasions, the aldermanic class supported the crown, while the discontented craftsmen naturally adhered to

Louis as one who would introduce a new order. The Bukerels were indeed a leading family of the oligarchy, but, on the other hand, Constantine himself and others of his surname had held the office of sheriff.

The king when, in 1227, he attained his majority, made the Londoners' farewell gift to Louis an excuse for his exaction from the city, as from the remainder of his realm, of one-fifteenth of all movables. There followed a royal grant of several charters by which the citizens received once more the shrievalty of London and Middlesex to be held for a rent, together with the power of themselves choosing sheriffs, and the right annually to elect a mayor, who must be presented to the king or justices and swear fealty to the king. The liberties bestowed by Henry II. were regranted, and a new benefit was a prohibition against all weirs in the Thames and Medway, presumably because they interfered with trade.

Since the grant of the Conqueror's charter the principle of the dependence of civic liberties on the crown had become well established. By each regrant the privileges of the city were better established, yet the king retained the right of suspending their exercise. Such a suspension had been the omission in the charter of Henry II. of the right to elect sheriffs; and such power was the weapon of Henry III. in his dealings with the city.

In 1233 a certain Simon FitzMary was superseded in the shrievalty by the citizens because he had misspent the public money. He, in 1239, obtained royal letters which ordered that he should again be admitted to the office; and the citizens considered that their liberties had been infringed and refused to comply. For this disobedience the mayor was deposed, and for some time his office was vacant. In

1240 Gerard Bat was elected mayor, but when he went to Westminster to be presented to the king he offended by his freedom of speech. Henry swore an oath on St. Stephen's altar, "Thou shalt not be mayor this year, and for a little I would say that thou shouldst never be mayor. Go now." Gerard was frightened into resignation, and one Reginald de Bungaye filled his place.

In this instance Henry would appear to have acted against the whole body of the citizens. Yet he was sensible no less than his predecessors of their importance. In 1246, before he went to Gascony, he summoned all the Londoners to the cross in St. Paul's churchyard, and asked their leave for his expedition.

From the morrow of the feast of Holy Trinity in 1243, until St. Luke's day in the next year, the city was in the king's hands and without mayor or sheriffs. On a slight pretext he had committed its custody to his nominees. His real motive appears in 1244, when he received from the citizens £1,000 as the price of their restored independence.

In this year a further development in the situation can be perceived: the king had become allied to the oligarchy; Simon FitzMary was still a royal favourite, but he was now supported by the magnates of London. In the week before Michaelmas the citizens were gathered at the Guildhall for the business of electing the sheriffs. There was a proposition to choose for another year an existing holder of the office, Nicholas Bat, and to this continued tenure Simon FitzMary objected. He declared, with truth, that it would transgress a former resolution of the aldermen, made with the assent of all the citizens. Yet on Michaelmas eve Nicholas was elected sheriff by the mayor, Michael Tovy, and certain described as "men of the crowd"; and the aldermen, after

they had obtained the other sheriff's place for Adam de Benetleye, goldsmith, left the Guildhall protesting. The king however ordered the deposition of Nicholas, and on the presentation to him of Michael Tovy, refused to admit him to the mayoralty, because he had assented to the election. Two men of ancient magisterial families filled the vacant places, and in 1246 Simon FitzMary was one of the sheriffs.

The craftsmen had undergone a reverse but one that was only temporary. An appeal on the question of the legality of a will gave the king an occasion to take the city into his own hands in 1246. His action was probably a mere exhibition of power, for he rendered their functions very soon to the mayor and sheriffs, yet its unpopularity would appear again to have given ascendancy to the more democratic party. In 1247 Michael Tovy was once more elected mayor, and he deprived Simon FitzMary of his aldermanry, on the plea that as sheriff he had acted against the interests of the city in the matter of the appeal.

There are other like indications of two parties in civic politics, balanced against each other and allowing to the king the profit of one who could turn the scales. The city was again in royal custody in 1254 and 1255, and was subject to more royal exactions. In 1252, before Henry went to Gascony, he once more summoned all the citizens to St. Paul's churchyard, and there they swore fealty to Prince Edward.

In 1257 the king was giving his support to the craftsmen. The story goes that before the feast of Purification a roll, sealed with green wax, was found in the royal wardrobe at Westminster. None knew who had placed it there, but it contained accusations against the mayor, Ralph Hardel, a

wealthy and influential wine merchant who had held office for three consecutive years. He and his advisers were stated in the roll to have levied the tallage unfairly and otherwise to have acted oppressively. Thereupon, on a Sunday late in January, Henry caused the folkmoot to be summoned; and John Mansel, the Earl of Gloucester, and others of the royal council, informed the assembled people that the king would not suffer his city to be oppressed, that the burden of paying tallage would not be allowed to fall heavily on the poor while the rich escaped from it. An enquiry was ordered to be made on the morrow in each ward into the alleged injustice, and in every ward accordingly the citizens, in the absence of the aldermen, chose to represent them thirty-six of their number who had paid tallage, and sent them to report to the king's councillors. But a difficulty arose because an enquiry on oath was projected, and by their laws the citizens might not swear in any inquisition in which life or limb was not at stake, and which did not concern the ownership of land. The oath of fealty which all had taken to the king, and the faith which bound to God and to the sovereign, were declared to be sufficient guarantees of the true report of the representatives of wards. A meeting in the bishop's hall, and another in the Guildhall, were entirely occupied by altercations on this point.

On Wednesday before the feast of Purification the king was on the road to Westminster, and, according to their custom, the mayor and citizens set out to meet him at Knightsbridge, and there to salute him. But he sent an esquire to forbid them to come into his sight, and they were obliged to ride home again, sensible that they had incurred his wrath. It is evident that the point of the illegality of

the enquiry by oath had been brought forward by the aldermanic class, who always were jealous guardians of civic usages, and who had, in this instance, a motive for obstructing business. Now the king had indicated to them that in further persistence they must reckon with him. There was a crowded meeting at the Guildhall on the morrow, and thither Henry sent the champion of the craftsmen, Michael Tovy, with Adam de Basing. They brought a royal message: the king wished all liberties of the city to be conserved inviolate, but he desired also that an enquiry on oath should be made into the grievances. None but offenders would be punished, and the commune would suffer no loss. These words were confirmed by John Mansel and other royal councillors, who added to them, according to the aldermanic chronicler, alluring promises to the populace. And then the proposal to hold an inquisition by sworn witnesses was carried by popular acclamation; the people, in the ancient English manner, responded to it by shouts of "Ya, ya." John Mansel, in the king's name, removed the mayor and sheriffs, the king's chamberlain, and the constable of the Tower, and one of the new sheriffs who were appointed was Michael Tovy.

A prolonged enquiry into the alleged oppressions ensued, and resulted in the temporary degradation of a number of aldermen. These had again sought protection from the customs of the city, and to defeat such plea the folkmoot was, at a certain point in the proceedings, summoned to the cross in St. Paul's churchyard. John Mansel and other royal emissaries then asked the Londoners whether it were indeed their law that an officer accused of bringing evil on city and on citizens should be quit, if he defended himself as the accused aldermen had succeeded in doing. And the people replied by shouts of "Nay, nay, nay."

In the contemporary account of these incidents they are described as an attempt to bring in a new order. Previously great questions had been determined by a conference of the "discreet men of the city"; now the decision was by the voice of men of various birth, some born without the walls, some of lowly estate. It does indeed seem that for a time, and to suit the purpose of Henry III., there was a reign of the mob. But in this mob the leading element, and that which found expression, was constituted by the men of the middle class, the craftsmen.

The Provisions of Oxford received the assent of the mayor and aldermen and other chief citizens. In 1261 the king again assembled the Londoners beneath St. Paul's cross in order to obtain their leave to cross the sea to France, and at Mid-Lent in the next year they repeated their oath of fealty to Prince Edward.

These appeals to the citizens, which were made by Henry in the weakness of his position, combined with the events of 1257 to revive the importance of the folkmoot. And the king was to regret that he had helped in such revival.

In 1262, the year of the outbreak of war, he was with the queen, his brother Richard, and Prince Edward, at the Tower. The aldermanic party were not revolutionary; they consented to unite with the barons for the maintenance of laws only when they had protected by a saving clause their fidelity to the king, and they refused to allow within their walls any fighting men. But the barons entered London; the royal party were forced to remove to Westminster, and the Tower was occupied by the rebels.

It is at this moment that the craftsmen became supreme. The mayor was their champion and leader, a certain Thomas FitzThomas, who acted on the maxim that the first voice

belonged to the people, that they were the commune. He sought for his measures not the authority of the aldermen, but the sanction conveyed by the "Ya, ya," of the folkmoot.

The time was one of many events. It is evident that the craftsmen were actuated by strong feeling; they took the attitude so frequent among oppressed classes, that of men robbed of their birthright. The commune was theirs, it had been stolen from them by the aldermen. In the narrow streets of the city men led stirring and dangerous lives. The aldermen were intriguing with the court party outside the walls, but the craftsmen were strong in the support of the barons who held the Tower, and who assured them that they would extract from the king the restoration of all their rights. Some members of magisterial families became their leaders. Thus Stephen Bukerel was chosen marshal, and he led the people, when St. Paul's bell had summoned them, to attack Richard Plantagenet's manor at Isleworth. They were joined by Hugh le Despenser, who kept the Tower, and Richard's property was burnt, plundered, and laid waste. The obstruction for their own convenience of certain public ways had been an offence of the richest citizens, and these lanes were now forcibly cleared by the Londoners.

There is one among their revolutionary acts which stands out because it was an outcome of real tendencies and therefore anticipated later conditions. At a certain meeting of all the citizens Thomas FitzThomas told them "that the men of each craft should make such provisions as would be useful to them, and he himself would cause these to be proclaimed in the city and firmly observed." This was to incorporate the crafts in the constitution, to give them as well as influence direct political power.

The rule of the craftsmen, their constitutional power, and

the mayoralty of Thomas FitzThomas ended alike with the defeat of Simon de Montfort in 1265. After that event the Londoners found, in the words of a chronicler, that "it is evil to fall into the hands of a king." Henry threatened to besiege the city, and there were some determined men who wished to hold out against him. But his success in the field had given the ascendancy to the court party. Messengers were sent to implore his forgiveness, and he was received within the walls. Already he had imprisoned Thomas FitzThomas, Michael Tovy, Stephen Bukerel, and two others. These he presented to Prince Edward; there were further imprisonments; more than six hundred citizens were forfeited; and the city was given into the keeping of royal nominees. At last by a fine of 20,000 marks the Londoners bought forgiveness: it is said that to pay it a quarter of all the rents due to clerics and laymen for one year were collected. Liberties were restored which included the right of electing sheriffs but not a mayor, and all prisoners except those given to Prince Edward were set free.

But the apparent submission of London was in fact no more than another party victory. The craftsmen were not subdued. When an election of sheriffs was held in 1266 the poorer citizens protested against it. "We will have no mayor but Thomas FitzThomas," they cried, "and we will that he and his fellows be set free from prison." The king, in fear of a rising, sent a company of men-at-arms who made more than twenty arrests. When the earl of Gloucester again raised the banner of revolt the lesser citizens once more proclaimed themselves the commune, and assumed the ruling place. The Londoners were included in the peace made between the king and the earl. There was in 1267 a dispute between the goldsmiths and the

tailors which caused a battle to be waged for three nights in the streets, and which was punished by many executions, and the chronicler who gives an account of the affair comments on the powerlessness of repeated precepts of the king to prevent the sworn associations of the people, the redoubtable crafts.

At the very end of the reign the craftsmen renewed their old claims. It was only in 1269 that Londoners received back from the king their right to elect a mayor, and two years later a determined struggle was made to secure the office for the new leader of the popular party, Walter Hervey. FitzThomas, although released from prison in 1268, had been banished from the city.

The citizens were gathered at the Guildhall to elect a mayor for the ensuing year. The choice of the aldermen fell on Philip le Tayllur, one of the wealthiest of their number, but the crowd who filled the hall cried out "Nay, nay, nay, we will have no mayor but Walter Hervey," and the aldermanic party could not prevail against their numbers and their energy. They betook themselves to the king at Westminster, and thither Walter Hervey followed them at the head of a mob to whom he had promised a lightening of burdens and an improvement in the conduct of civic finance.

The royal council heard from the aldermen of the manner in which the election had been impeded, and were besought to prevent such disaster as had followed on the supremacy of the people under Thomas FitzThomas. But the people meanwhile had penetrated into the royal hall, and their noise could be heard even by the old king as he lay dying in his bed. They were crying, "We are the commune of the city, and to us belongs the election of the mayor of the city, and we will that Walter Hervey be our elected mayor."

The council were unwilling to affront either party, and the king was ill and must not be disturbed. The representatives of both sides were asked to return on the morrow, and Walter was told to bring with him no more than ten or a dozen men.

He came again however at the head of all his adherents, an innumerable company on horse and on foot, who again entered the royal hall and repeated their tumultuous demand that he should be their mayor; and they came thus day after day, from the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude until Martinmas. The aldermen also visited Westminster daily.

At last the council announced its decision; the city was taken into royal custody until the citizens could agree upon a mayor. Some fruitless negotiations occupied the end of Henry's reign. After his death the Earl of Gloucester caused the folkmoot to be convened in St. Paul's churchyard. In the chapter house of the cathedral the aldermen were won over by Gloucester and other magnates of the realm, and then the assembled people heard it proclaimed that Walter should be mayor.

CHAPTER V

THE VICTORY OF THE CRAFTS

IT is with a victory of the craftsmen that the reign of Edward I. opens in London; they wrung from their opponents assent to the election of a popular mayor. But while the opposition to them included a majority of the aldermen their success could not be permanent. They were the constituents of Walter Hervey; but it was only by high-handed action that he could carry measures favourable to their desires.

In his time of office he granted charters to some of the crafts. In 1274 certain men appeared at the Guildhall and demanded from a mayor of the more usual type and from the sheriffs the enforcement of regulations contained in these charters, and Walter, now a mere alderman, acknowledged and defended the rights he had bestowed. Then Gregory de Roquesle, another and a leading alderman, repudiated the charters as conferred without the consent of the aldermen and the more discreet citizens. He added an accusation which was new: the grant had aimed, he said, at the advantage of the richer men of the crafts and the exclusion from their numbers of the poor. There was in the presence of the assembled people a wordy and a recriminative dispute between Gregory and Walter. Walter went from the hall to the church of St. Peter Westcheap, and there convened the craftsmen who had benefited by his charters, and told

them that only by adhering firmly to him they could prevent the mayor and his friends from depriving them of their newly acquired rights. He intended evidently to overwhelm the aldermanic class. All that day and the next, in the streets and the open spaces of the city, he harangued the people on the iniquities of the mayor and his supporters.

His defeat was however easy. His opponents obtained a royal brief which condemned his charters, as well as the "congregations and sworn associations" of citizens permitted in his mayoralty. He was committed for trial; the charters were surrendered to the mayor and declared invalid; and it was proclaimed throughout the city that men of all crafts might sell when and where they would, so long only as their wares were good and conformed to legal standards.

Thus an insight is gained into the ambitions of the craftsmen. Their object in fighting for political power was to secure trade monopolies defended by the civic authorities. They were a democratic party only in so far as they were much more numerous than the men they would have dispossessed.

Their reverse in this instance was complete. Walter was condemned, chiefly on charges of taking bribes, and deprived of his aldermanry. Next year one of their older champions, Michael Tovy, was convicted of treason and hanged.

There followed some years during which the aldermanic class held sway, apparently years of strife. In 1284, a certain Laurence Duket, goldsmith, wounded in Westcheap a clerk named Ralph Crepyn. He was pursued, evidently by Ralph's friends, and he took refuge in Bow Church. Thence for four days he was not suffered to escape. After the fifth night he was found dead, having, it was alleged, hanged himself, and his enemies dragged his body as far as St. Paul's. But the authorities ordered an enquiry into the

matter and took a fierce vengeance on those accused of complicity. Ralph himself, a clerk of Bow Church, and one of the sheriffs were imprisoned in the Tower; Ralph's mistress was burned; and some dozen others who included his servant and his nephew were hanged.

It was probably such sanguinary and disorderly events which provoked the king to take the city into his custody in 1285. Robert Fabyan states that Edward's action was ascribed to the fact that Gregory de Roquesle, then mayor, had been bribed by the bakers to allow bread to be sold underweight; but he adds justly, "to me it seemeth no convenient cause to cease the liberties of the city for the offence of one man."

A knight, Ralph de Sandwich, was made royal keeper of London; and for sixteen years no more is heard of party strife in the city. Sheriffs were elected as usual in 1287 and subsequently.

It was soon after this date that by the action of Edward I. an important section of the population of the city was eliminated.

For two centuries the Jews of London had lived with the other inhabitants, side by side with them and yet always apart. The barrier which prevented social community between them and Christians was strengthened by regulations of church and of state. Archbishop Stephen Langton in the reign of Henry III. ordered that all Jews should wear a badge of linen, two inches broad and four fingers long. It was at first white and afterwards yellow, and was attached to the upper garment.

Inferior as the Jews were in warlike qualities to the people among whom they lived, and superior to them in culture and in intellect, that attitude of false humility which has

come to be associated with them was an employment of their only weapon: to meet force they had guile. Yet before the reign of Henry III. it was not the familiar cringing Jew who was to be met in the streets of London. In John's reign and previously the Jew was so strong in the king's support that he was feared far more than he was despised. Cœur de Lion was roused to much anger by the massacre which took place at his coronation, for the king would have his Jews plundered by none but himself. He guarded them jealously as lucrative possessions; and they had an established position defended by their own judicial and financial courts and officers. When citizens congregated they could be moved to uneasiness, some of them were probably induced to flee, if Jews walked boldly into their midst in search of creditors.

The crusading spirit added to the virulence with which Jews were hated, and economic causes contributed to produce a changed attitude to them. Henry III. squandered their wealth as recklessly as his other resources; in his reign they were mortgaged wholesale first to Richard Plantagenet, then to Prince Edward, and finally to the Caturensian merchants. With the same lack of foresight the king protected them less than his predecessors had done from the greed and the prejudice of his subjects. The Jews of London complained much of poverty; and it is probable that their losses made them the bitterer masters. Usury had rendered them masters indeed of many of the citizens, but in their manners nothing masterly was left. They walked as men who ever expect a blow, and yet they never were beaten from their chosen path. They must have been animated by extraordinary contempt for their persecutors or by a dominant obstinacy, for while they cringed beneath persecution it never made them change their pursuits.

They had in their capacity as moneylenders come to be lords of manors, and thus to have power over tenants and obligations to the state. The position was scandalous to the moral sense of the time, and it was moreover politically inexpedient, for Jews had neither patriotism to England nor any of the other qualities which made up the mediæval ideal of citizenship. The history of England would have been changed had many English manors remained in the tenure of Jewish financiers in London and the rest of the towns which had a Jewry. In London and other centres of commerce the Jews were able more and more to direct trade and absorb its profits.

It is these political and economic conditions which justify the expulsion of 1290. By their contemporaries the Jews were held guilty on narrower charges of coinclipping, and forestalling trade, of the less attested crimes of circumcising Christians and practising crucifixion, and of their old sins, usury which Holy Church had forbidden, blasphemy, and the rejection of Christianity.

Their banishment was final and complete. The graveyard in Red Cross Street, granted to them by Henry II., became "fair garden plots and summer houses for pleasure," known in the sixteenth century as the Jews' Garden. It has named Jewin Street and Jewin Crescent. There was in 1271 a synagogue in Coleman Street; but the neighbouring Friars Sack complained to the king that they were disturbed by the howlings which took place during Jewish services, and they were suffered to annex it and add it to their house. Other synagogues were in the same part of London. In 1232 Henry III. founded in Chancery Lane, then New Street, a hospital for converted Jews known as the House of the Converts. It had at one time some hundred inmates, but

they naturally dwindled in number after the expulsion. The house was appropriated to the Master of the Rolls and its site is now occupied by the Public Record Office, but down to 1873 the official style of the Master of the Rolls was Keeper of the House of Converts.

In these years of the suspension of the mayoralty the crafts were gradually winning their way to power. The wealth of the craftsmen increased, and they came to share the place of leading men of the city with the class which had engrossed magisterial office. An oligarchy of the old type was not fitted to the newer economic conditions, for there was an irresistible tendency to specialisation in trade and to monopolies. In 1299, when the king was in Scotland, the Londoners garnished their streets with hangings of tapestry and cloth of arras and "other clothes of sylke and of richesse in most goodly wyse," and then some six hundred of them, clad in livery of red and white, rode four miles out from the city to meet the queen and to escort her to Westminster. Each bore upon his sleeve the emblem of his craft.

In 1301 the citizens were again allowed to elect a mayor. But the strong rule of Edward I. was still able to keep order; and until the end of his reign London has little internal history. Some events of wider interest were connected with the city. The divisions of the Hundred Years' War were felt within its walls, for on Monday after Trinity Sunday, in 1304, a royal order, proclaimed in the court of husting, passed sentence of banishment on all Flemings. William Wallace was brought to London for trial in 1305, and after his execution his head was exposed on London Bridge. On the 22nd of May, 1306, Prince Edward was knighted at Westminster by his father. There were great festivities at the palace during the week, which were attended by the patriarch

of Jerusalem, as well as all Englishmen prominent in church and state. More than three hundred knights were dubbed, and among them was John le Blund, mayor of London.

In February, 1308, Edward II. was received in his capital city. We are told that in his honour cloth of gold was laid in the streets. The town, says the chronicler, seemed to be not London but New Jerusalem. The mayor and aldermen, clothed in samite and in silk, were present at the coronation at Westminster and performed at it their accustomed service of the butlery.

The reign which opened thus pompously was fitly significant. Of the two struggling parties the newer one, that of the craftsmen, was now actually the stronger, and it needed but the rule of a weak king to allow a corresponding adjustment of constitutional power.

A certain Richer de Refham, a mercer, had at one time been deprived of his aldermanry; but in 1302, the year after the recovery of the mayoralty, he was restored to office and made alderman of Bassishaw. He it was who became the next popular mayor; his election occurred in 1310.

The ground which the craftsmen had gained since the days of Walter Hervey appears at once if Walter's measures be compared with those of his successor. Richer did not find himself supported only by the unprivileged. He made the inevitable appeal to the better times that had passed, but he addressed himself first of all to the magnates of the city. He caused all the ancient customs to be collected from the rolls and the books of the chamber, and then he summoned, to hear them read, not the folkmoot, but the "wiser and more powerful" citizens and the aldermen. To these he made a speech: "My very dear fellow citizens, these are our ancient customs and liberties; but they have fallen into

disuse through the frequent removal of mayors and sheriffs and through the negligence of those officers. Is it not your will that for the future they be all firmly kept?" And his audience with one voice answered, "It is indeed."

Then Richer obtained a royal writ, and he caused the neglected customs, thus authorised, to be promulgated about the city and to be strictly guarded. It is evident that the old grievance of trespasses on public property was conspicuous among the rights which had been violated. With the aldermen, in solemn procession, Richer perambulated the city; and then and there, with staves, such buildings as encroached on the streets were demolished. The mayor moreover administered justice with austerity and equity.

Like all reformers he made enemies, and he was deposed from mayoralty and aldermanry. But it is apparent from his career that an alderman who sympathised with the middle-classes was no longer ostracised by his fellows, but could gain the support of a section of them. Some aldermen were now drawn from the numbers of the craftsmen, and therefore the attainment of the ambition of crafts, their admission to political power, could not long be delayed.

Their victory was gained in a time of confusion: as ever, dissensions in the central government favoured the demands of the citizens, and his weakness made Edward II. ready to pay a high price for the city's support.

The Black Friars were throughout the reign chief supporters of the king, and it was in their house that in 1312 he met the Londoners. He obtained from them an undertaking to guard the city in his cause; in September he sent his officers to the Guildhall to ask a renewal of the assurance, and then the citizens took the opportunity to bring forward certain grievances, and redress was promised to them.

The promise did not however give satisfaction, for immediately afterwards one of the wrongs of which complaint had been made, an illegal enclosure of land outside the Tower, was removed by a mob. The mayor and aldermen went next day to Westminster to disclaim responsibility, yet they were blamed by the council and an enquiry was ordered.

The year 1315 was one of constitutional importance. Then in an assembly which included the mayor, Stephen de Abingdon, many aldermen and the commonalty, it was agreed to ask the king for a confirmation of the charters of the city and for a grant of certain new articles, alleged to embody some ancient and neglected rights. The mayor and aldermen sought Lancaster and other members of the royal council, then assembled at St. Paul's, and offered to pay to the king 500 marks for the confirmation and £500 for the new grant ; but nothing was done for the moment.

It was a period when the disorder of the realm was heightened by a great scarcity of provisions. London was affected like the rest of the kingdom, and several sumptuary enactments by Edward II. did little to alleviate the distress. "There followed this famine" says Stowe, "a grievous mortality of people, so that the quick might unneath bury the dead. The beasts and cattle also, by the corrupt grass whereof they fed, died, whereby it came to pass that the eating of flesh was suspected of all men, for flesh of beasts not corrupted was hard to find. Horseflesh was counted great delicates ; the poor stole fat dogs to eat ; some as was said, compelled through famine, in hid places did eat the flesh of their own children, and some stole others which they devoured. Thieves that were in prison did pluck in pieces those that were newly brought amongst them, and greedily devoured them half alive."

In this hideous time the objects of the craftsmen were not forgotten. The dearth ended about the year 1317. In 1318, when John de Wengrave was mayor, "there arose a great discord between the commune and him" because he wished not to sanction certain of the articles formulated in 1315. John again became mayor in 1319, not by the will of the citizens, but by force of letters which he had procured from the king and "the assent of certain persons." He is accused of having done much harm to the commune, yet in this year the new charter was actually bought from the king. Perhaps by the influence of John it was less advantageous to the craftsmen or more expensive than it otherwise would have been. At all events his career indicates that there were still two parties among the aldermen.

He did not seriously damage the victory of the craftsmen, the great victory obtained when at York, on the 8th of June, 1319, the king signed the articles which formed the city's new charter. It contained many clauses designed to preserve liberties and justice, but in two a principle new to the constitution of the city was adopted. In the seventh article it was provided "that no inhabitant, and especially English merchant, of any mystery or trade, be admitted into the freedom of the city, unless by surety of six honest and sufficient men of the mystery or trade that he shall be of;" and the fourteenth article enacted that merchants not of the freedom of the city might not "sell by retail wines or other wares within the city or suburbs." Thus all traders were forced to become freemen of London, and the road to such estate was by the crafts. The craft system had been incorporated in the constitution. Next year we are told that many tradesmen in London were clothed in silk and did much business.

During the eight years which remained of the reign of Edward II., a fishmonger, Hamo de Chigwell, was six times mayor. He evidently favoured the king's party, yet he endeavoured to maintain as far as possible the neutrality of London. He is in fact a type of the law abiding citizen, and his administration was able. Certain negotiations with the rebel lords in 1321 resulted in the decision of the city not to oppose their designs but to maintain their own defences. Nevertheless, in October, a contingent of five hundred foot from London assisted the king in the siege of Leeds Castle in Kent. At the close of the year Edward granted to the citizens that the aid they had afforded to him by contributions of armed men should not be drawn into a precedent.

In the autumn of 1322 Hamo de Chigwell was elected mayor for the third time at the king's desire. But during his tenure of office occurred the death of the popular Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, with whom the Londoners showed unwise sympathy. Miracles were performed, to the admiration of many, before a tablet which the earl had erected in St. Paul's in memory of the passing of the Ordinances; and a hymn was sung by the canons in honour of him "who when he saw the common people shipwrecked and in travail did not spurn to die for the right."

This hero worship was probably the cause of the removal of Hamo from the mayoralty by the king in April, 1323, and the appointment of another in his place "neither by presentation nor election." The new mayor does not appear to have maintained order, for there was while he held office a serious quarrel between the goldsmiths and the weavers. Men fought in Cheap with bows and with slings, and many met their death. Hamo became mayor again in 1324.

In 1326 his efforts to keep the city out of the strife of the

kingdom broke down. On Michaelmas day a letter from the queen and her son was fixed on the cross in Cheapside, and copies of it were posted on various windows; it invited the Londoners to take part in the destruction of the enemies of the land, especially Hugh le Despenser. Then the commonalty set at nought the authority of mayor and of aldermen. They gathered beside the convent of the Black Friars, perhaps because they thought to manifest their sympathies by an attack on the house of those staunch friends of the king. The mayor saw that they could no longer be resisted; and "crying mercy, with joined hands" he "went to the Guildhall and granted to the commons their demand, and the cry was made in Cheap that the enemies of the king, queen, and their son should at once quit the city or stay at their peril." Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, who in the previous year had been the king's treasurer, was seized that day by the citizens as he was riding to his London house, and beheaded with two of his squires. "Women and the wretchedly poor took the body, which was naked except that a woman gave an old cloth to cover the belly; and burned it in a deserted place without making any hole in the earth, and the squire's body beside quite naked, without the office of priest or clerk."

Anarchy followed: houses were plundered; prisoners in the Tower and great men were put to death. Hamo was deposed at the end of the year by the queen's command, and new officers appointed. But from the day of Bishop Stapleton's death the magistrates were helpless before the ruthless lawlessness of the less reputable citizens. They inspired such fear that men dared hold neither church nor secular courts. The word "riffles" was invented to describe the robbers. Finally, "on Sunday before the feast of St. Sebastian

and St. Fabian, it was cried in Cheap that all who owed service at the coronation of the king, or who had clearly service to render, should go to the coronation of the new king, Sir Edward, Duke of Guienne, on Sunday, Candlemas Eve."

Thus the reign in which the craftsmen secured the leading place in the city's government ended at a time when government in the city had ceased to exist.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH IN MEDIAEVAL LONDON

IT is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of the church in mediæval London.

The chroniclers of the middle-ages are often tedious because they present events not as consequent but merely as sequent on each other; there is little perspective, all is depicted with like emphasis; there is hardly any attempt to analyse facts into causes and results, they are merely catalogued. This is because there was conceived to be for all and single events one cause only, the will of God. The idea of a system was practically absent. Men did indeed seek at times to penetrate into the import of happenings and of phenomena; but this was only because they believed them to be the terms of a language in which God gave forewarning of his will. They sought for the key to the cypher in which he had written his purpose on the heavens, in the working of the elements, in the incidents of history.

Naturally therefore religion was the supreme fact in the life of the mediæval citizen. And he believed, with the implicitness of a mind educated by a view of the universe so little inquisitive, that religion could be obtained only by the means of Holy Church. Until the fourteenth century very little is heard of heresy in London. For his every act the

Londoner sought the sanction of God and the church: he called upon God to witness his contracts; the formalities of civic usage included stately visits to churches, a stately securing of ecclesiastical confirmation; the upkeep of roads and bridges was regarded as a religious duty; the crafts had a religious aspect as guilds responsible in certain churches for certain duties, often the upkeep of a priest, an altar, or a light.

But beyond this the church exercised power for political and economic reasons.

As the metropolitan town of a diocese London was unique in England in that it was also a great commercial city. In this respect it approximated to the continental seats of bishoprics; and it cannot be doubted that it was like them also in the part played by the bishop to secure its independence and its strength. William the bishop was one of those who received from the Conqueror the city's charter; and it was traditionally he who had obtained for London the king's grace. Hence arose the custom which until the Reformation obliged each mayor to go to St. Paul's Cathedral on the day after his election, and to pray for the soul of Bishop William.

The bishop of London held a dignified position. Lanfranc decided in 1075 that in church councils he should as first suffragan bishop sit on the left hand of the archbishop of Canterbury, on whose right was the seat of the archbishop of York.

The history of St. Paul's seems to show that from the church of the diocese it became that of the city, from the bishop's church it became the church of the dean and canons. Such development corresponds to that overshadowing of the diocesan and parochial system by the religious houses which began in London soon after the Norman Conquest.

When William I. came to London he found St. Paul's on Ludgate Hill; and the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter had already been for several centuries at Westminster. Probably he found the city divided into almost all of the numerous parishes which continued throughout the middle-ages. Parish churches, small and simple buildings, often of wood, which possessed few books, ornaments, or vestments, were built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries where they had not existed previously.

But after the coming of the Norman kings numbers of religious communities settled in the city, and they did not only modify the ecclesiastical system; they also influenced largely social and economic conditions.

St. Martin's le Grand, a house of secular canons, was founded by the Conqueror's grant in 1067, not far from the precincts of St. Paul's. Under Henry I. the Austin canons came to London. They had three monasteries: that of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, where their later church became St. Saviour's Cathedral; that of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield outside the wall, where they built the beautiful church of St. Bartholomew the Great; and that of Holy Trinity Aldgate.

The institution of the last is an episode of one of the most interesting passages in the history of the city. It was recorded in the archives of Holy Trinity that in the days of King Cnut or King Edgar there were "thirteen knights greatly loved of the king and the kingdom, who begged of the king a piece of land in the eastern part of the city, forsaken by the inhabitants because of the great service with which it was burdened. This land the knights sued to hold, with leave to have on it a perpetual gild. And the king granted it to them freely on condition that each of them

victoriously fought a battle on the earth, above it, and on water; and moreover that on a certain day they fought with spears in the field now called East Smithfield against all comers; and these things were done gloriously. Then on the same day the king named the knights his Cnihtengild. He fixed the limits of their territory from the gate called Aldgate to the place where now bars extend eastward on either side of the street; and towards the gate known as Bishopsgate up to the house of William the priest . . .; and thence southward into the Thames as far as a horseman riding in the stream at low tide can throw a spear into the water. So that all East Smithfield with the right hand of the street from Doddyng's pond to the Thames, and the hospital of St. Katherine with the walls . . ., and the outer stone wall, and the new ditch of the Tower are included in that fee." Such is the legendary account of the foundation of the Cnihtengild,¹ a body whose place in the constitutional history of the city has caused much controversy, but who undoubtedly were for long the holders of the territory comprised in Portsoken ward. Within it the priory of Holy Trinity was founded, and by the canons of that house "the multitude of those who praised God by day and by night was so increased that all the city had delight in their sight." Therefore, in 1125, the members of the Cnihtengild gathered in the church of the canons and surrendered to them all their lands and their rights; and subsequently, until the dissolution of his house, the prior of Holy Trinity was alderman of Portsoken.

¹ The Cnihtengild was certainly in existence in the late tenth century. As to its significance the most probable theory is that the grant of Portsoken, the land outside Aldgate, carried with it, at whatever period it was made to the Cnihten or knights, the obligation to defend the eastern entrance to the city. Such a duty had in 1125 become obsolete.

The Austin canons did a great service to the community, for they established in London hospitals for the sick. The hospital of St. Bartholemew was for a short time identical with the monastery. That of St. James in Westminster existed in the reign of Henry II. and was subject to the Austin rule. That of St. Mary without Bishopsgate was founded on the east side of Bishopsgate Street in the end of the twelfth century, by certain two pious citizens, William Brown and Rose his wife. The religious duties of the house were discharged by Austin canons, but there were lay brothers and sisters to tend the sick. A leper hospital in Kent Street within the borough of Southwark was known as the Lok, and is believed also to date from the twelfth century; but its history is obscure. Matilda, the queen of Stephen, founded the hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower, not for the sick, but as an asylum for thirteen poor persons over whom a master and brethren and sisters presided. She bought the site from the canons of Holy Trinity, and to them the custody of the hospital was entrusted. A refoundation by Queen Eleanor in 1273 increased the number of beneficiaries. The canons of St. Mary Overy appropriated a building within their precincts to the use of the sick and the poor, on the initiative, it is said, of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and such house was superseded early in the thirteenth century by the hospital of St. Thomas Southwark.

It is difficult to pass judgment on the management of these hospitals, but on the whole they appear to have been very useful. The inmates were subject to more or less monastic discipline and compelled to fulfil religious duties.

Almost at the same time as the Austin canons the military orders of monks, those products of the crusades, came first to London.

Hugh de Payens, master of the knights Templars, visited England in 1128 to collect money and obtain recruits for his order. At this time, apparently, the house outside Holborn Bars, of which other English settlements of the order were cells, was founded. It had the characteristic round church, and in its graveyard Geoffrey de Mandeville was buried. In 1184 the house was removed to Fleet Street, and was afterwards known as the New Temple. The church, which still exists, was dedicated to God and the Virgin by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185.

In the New Temple all the English revenues of the order were deposited, and many gifts and bequests made the Templars wealthy. They were no simple sons of the Church, but of all the members of the clerical estate the proudest and the most worldly wise. Their relics were of a dazzling sanctity; in their church were the tombs of the greatest in the land; and their house was the lodging of King John while he treated with the barons before he granted Magna Carta; of the archbishop of York in the same reign; of a papal agent and of ambassadors of the king of Castille in that of Henry III. Moreover the Templars were in intimate relation to the Crown. From Henry II. to Henry III. the kings entrusted to them diplomatic, financial and administrative business. By John and his son the Temple was used as a bank, a place where royal treasure was deposited and whence large sums were borrowed.

When interest in the Crusades declined and when the friars had come to England men grew less liberal to the Templars. The friars superseded them moreover as servants of the king, and as his bankers their place was taken by the Italian merchants who under Edward I. became numerous in London. In that reign the Templars did not occupy their

previous high position. Under Edward II. they were disowned by the pope, and from October, 1309, until the following March they underwent trial in London on charges epitomised under the heads of "blasphemy, apostasy, idolatry and heresy." The community appear to have been guilty of some secularity and of the exercise of much power. In 1312 their order was suppressed.

Two less important settlements were made by military orders in mediæval London. The house in West Cheap in which Thomas à Becket was born, of which the site is occupied by the Mercers' Hall, was granted by the sister of the murdered archbishop, Agnes wife of Thomas FitzTheobald de Helles, to be a hospital for a master and brethren of the order of St. Thomas the Martyr. It was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Thomas of Canterbury; and thus by an act of family piety the hospital known as that of St. Thomas of Acon was founded. In 1247 Simon FitzMary, the prominent sheriff, gave his land on the west side of Bishopsgate Street and outside the wall to Godfrey, bishop of Bethlehem, as the site of a priory of canons, brethren and sisters of the order of St. Mary of Bethlehem. This house was subject to the bishop of Bethlehem; and in it he and his canons and messengers had a right of lodging when they came to London. Its members wore the Dominican habit; but, by the provision of the founder, they bore on their copes and mantles the sign of their order, a red star with a centre of blue.

In complete contrast to the military orders were the last class of religious who came to London, the friars who in the thirteenth century introduced a new element into the society of towns.

The ideal of the Knights Templars and the other orders

of their class was the sanctification of the business of war and state: they expressed the conceptions of the Crusaders who served God by fighting. The more modern friars revived the old article of Christianity that nothing was too lowly to be godlike. Hitherto the monks had been aristocrats, but the friars made a virtue of poverty. "The highe dignitie of most profoude and highe povertie" was enjoined on the Grey Friars in the rule of St. Francis. In their ministry they looked not for dignity but for need, and therefore they served the most miserable of men, the lepers who in every mediæval town testified to ignorance and to filth, the squalid beggars and the mean labourers. There was an opportunity for the new orders in such towns as London, because the parochial clergy occupied in the ecclesiastical system a low and a subordinate place, and were no efficient pastors. They suffered from the superior status of the monks, from the practice of farming parochial cures, and from the attractiveness of monastic churches to worshippers and their offerings. And as the friars neglected convention in their pastoral work they forsook it also in their preaching. They appealed not to authority but to reason, and had for their theme not doctrine but conduct. Their sermons were in homely and living language, concerned with the life of every day and illustrated by its incidents. A new force was imparted to religion, and it was felt in every class; the supporters of the friars were, as well as the poor townfolk, some of the wealthiest of the land.

The first of them to arrive in London were the least democratic, the Dominican or Black Friars, sometimes called Friars Preachers, who settled in Holborn near the Old Temple in 1221. In 1272 they obtained from the mayor and commonalty a site within the city, adjacent to the wall near

Ludgate, and on the banks of the Thames. It is that which has since borne their name. They were associated with the court and with persons highly placed.

They do not appear to have greatly identified themselves with the life of the citizens. But the Grey Friars, otherwise the Franciscans or Friars Minor, who first landed in England in 1224 and came to London soon afterwards, better expressed the idea which had caused the foundation of these orders. They settled near Newgate, on the site which was afterwards that of Christ's Hospital. Its nature when they chose it may be inferred from the names which described it, for it was in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles and included part of Stinking Lane. In this, one of the least agreeable places in all the crowded and unsavoury city, the friars kept strictly the rules which bound their order to simplicity and frugality; and at the same time, by the establishment of schools, they avoided a danger to which those who exalt simplicity are prone. London was aroused to enthusiasm. The leading citizens built for the Grey Friars their chapel, the nave of their first church, their chapter house and their dormitory, and gave them furniture and a water supply; and the poor generously contributed their alms.

Another important house of Friars was that of the Carmelites or White Friars, founded in Fleet Street in 1241 by Sir Richard Gray, knight. A house of Austin Friars or Friars Hermits was established in Broad Street, near the church of St. Peter le Poor, in 1253 by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex and constable of England. In 1257 some Friars of the Sack, otherwise of the Penance of Jesus Christ, came to London, and it was they who settled in Coleman Street near a Jewish synagogue. Their house

survived only until 1305. A house of Crossed Friars or Friars of the Cross was founded in Hart Street in the end of the thirteenth century. In Westminster, in 1267, a priory for Friars of the order of St. Mary de Areno was instituted, but existed only for fifty years; and there was a community of Pied Friars or Friars de Pica in London in 1300, which probably was even more shortlived. In 1293 Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the king's brother, founded outside Aldgate, in the parish of St. Botolph, a house of Minorettes or of nuns of the order of St. Clare, who named the Minories. The rule prescribed for them was that of the nunnery of the Humility of the Blessed Mary at St. Cloud.

Early in this century a Benedictine nunnery, St. Helen's Bishopsgate, of which the church remains, had been instituted by a goldsmith, William son of William. Two hospitals were established in London and Westminster in the reign of Henry III. by foreign communities. The hospital of St. Anthony in the parish of St. Benet Fink, which received a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men, was held by the brothers of St. Anthony of Vienne; and that of St. Mary Rouncivall near Charing Cross was a cell of the priory of St. Mary at Rouncivall in Navarre.

It is obvious that, if only by force of numbers, ecclesiastics must have formed a very important part of the population of London in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In addition to the members of religious houses there were the parish priests; and although the great age of the foundation of chantries was not yet, a considerable number of chantry priests already held benefices in the churches. Certain citizens and great men had moreover private chapels served by chaplains; and there were in the city, Westminster, and Southwark many houses of bishops, whose suites were to a

great extent composed of those in clerical orders. In the streets of the city men who wore the habit of monk or friar, secular priest or deacon, must have been seen almost as frequently as the merchants and the craftsmen and their families; and the ecclesiastical element must strongly have affected all social relations.

The monks and the nuns, the friars and the secular canons, were on the whole patriotic Londoners who shared the interests of their lay neighbours. There was no cleavage between the clerical and the lay estates, and the ecclesiastics identified themselves with the fortunes of the city and played often a spirited part in resistance to kingly aggression. The inevitable disputes as to boundaries and other property rights had none of the bitterness which indicates class hatred. The religious communities appear moreover to have been fair landlords, and there is never evidence that their tenure was regarded as that of aliens.

In lay society there were two movements in which the conflicting tendencies of the religious spirit of the day were manifested. The first was that which formed guilds or fraternities; it was indeed identical with the movement of the crafts which, as has been said, were but religious brotherhoods in one of their secular aspects. The religious fraternities, when first their constitution is known, were connected with particular churches in which they were responsible for the discharge of services. The brothers and sisters were bound moreover to perform for each other such rites as the offering of prayers after death. Each member paid a sum yearly into the common box of his gild, and thus insured himself against the miseries of sickness, impoverishment or imprisonment, for the common fund was devoted to the needs of unfortunate sisters and brethren. The fraternities

were organised under the direction of masters or wardens, and were bound together by certain obligatory functions, such as an annual dinner and church services held on fixed dates. Their history belongs to that of the principle of voluntary association, which has been so mighty a forerunner of the control of government.

Until the middle of the thirteenth century our knowledge of these guilds in London is only fragmentary, but it is enough to certify that they were no new phenomenon. The work which they had done in advance of the powers of church and state can only be surmised ; one probable theory is that they helped to form parishes and to build parish churches. As is usual with men when they conform to universal tendencies, the Londoners assigned narrow reasons for their membership of guilds. The immediate uses of association were evident, and moreover the text which ascribes virtue to the gathering of "two or three" was interpreted in its most literal sense to give merit and power to all societies.

In direct contrast to the brotherhoods were the hermits and anchorites. The two classes are distinct: while a hermit may move about freely, an anchorite is bound to the place of his settlement. Both are connected usually with the lonely places of the world, yet both were to be found in London. There was a hermit at Cripplegate in John's reign and long afterwards, and another under Henry III. in the parish of St. Clement Danes. Katharine, wife of William Hardel, built for herself an ankerhold beside the chapel of St. Bartholomew's hospital in 1227, and in the same period Idonia de Boclaund had an ankerhold behind the chapel of St. Peter at Tower, and an anchorite named John lived in a cell within a turret of the city wall near Aldgate. Doubtless there were others who followed the same solitary profession.

Of all aspects of the mediæval church the spectacular is that which needs least emphasis. No one forgets the pageantry of the Church. There can have been of all its great ceremonies few more impressive than that which took place on St. Edward's day in 1247. Among the treasures of St. Paul's was a vase said to contain the blood of Christ, and the king transferred it to a more royal resting-place. He ordered all the priests and clerks of London to assemble in the cathedral in their most ceremonious vestments. With highest honour and reverence and fear he there received before them the sacred vase, and then in solemn order they walked down Ludgate Hill, through the gate, and on to Westminster. The king came last of all, on foot like the others, and in the habit of a poor man. He held the vase above his head, and always he looked at it or at the sky. It was deposited in the abbey. But sometimes the citizens saw the power of the Church less gorgeously displayed; as when, in 1303, Jocelyn and Thomas Atwell, officers of the city, did penance by order of the archbishop for their violation of a sanctuary. They had dragged a robber out of the church of St. Michael Crooked Lane, and therefore they walked, barefooted, clad only in their shirts and carrying torches, from Bow church to Newgate, and thence back to the place of their sin.

CHAPTER VII

THE PERIOD OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

FROM 1319 onwards there were three roads to citizenship of London : a man might inherit the status as his patrimony ; he might acquire it by serving a fixed term of apprenticeship to a master, who afterwards bore witness to his fitness for it ; or he might attain to it by payment of a fine of varied amount to the civic funds and by his presentment to the mayor, aldermen, and chamberlain by the men of his mystery or craft. The person thus presented and the discharged apprentice entered into the freedom alike by way of the crafts ; only the freeborn citizens were not necessarily members of that organisation. Their membership became however a practical necessity, and there was even a tendency to cause them also to submit to the formalities which enfranchised their fellows, that they might thus be brought to swear the oath of allegiance to the city.

The result was a very complete organisation of all the citizens. An attempt yet further to elaborate it by the limitation of the retail trade of every citizen to that in the goods which belonged to his mystery was not successful, but miscellaneous traders appear to have been exceptional. And in each craft there was an individual organisation which from this time derived from the constitution of the city. In 1328 the

names of those elected and sworn to govern and instruct the divers mysteries were enrolled in the records of the corporation, the names of the wardens of the Fishmongers, Cheesemongers, Butchers, Goldsmiths, Drapers, Mercers, Girdlers, Haberdashers, Tailors and Linen Armourers, Hosiers, Beaders, Woolmongers, Vintners, Grocers, Ironmongers, Cutlers, Coffers, Sadlers, Cordwainers, Skinners, Cappers, Corders, Joiners, and Painters.

On the wardens devolved the duties of the maintenance of a legal standard among the goods of the craft they ruled, and of guarding other ordinances compulsory in it. These, when not concerned with the standard of worth, laid down the conditions of apprenticeship, limited membership of the craft to freemen, regulated conditions of work, and sometimes forbade any but retail sale to those not freemen, or gave a control of export trade.

Jurisdictory power remained with the officers of the city. Thus the warden of the Hatters had power to make search for defective hats, but must take such as he found before the mayor and aldermen. The mayor however, when appeal was made to him by a craft, usually decided by the verdict of a jury chosen from the interested body, and thus the craft organisation was strengthened, and there was even a tendency to craft autonomy.

Such became the relation between the government of the city and that of the crafts: the former absorbed the latter. Mr. George Unwin, in his *Gilds and Companies of London*, has indicated what might have been a different development. In the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries the Bakers, the Fishmongers, and the Weavers had secured autonomy at the expense of the central government of the city, in the same way as the boroughs of England acquired it at the expense

of the shire government. They obtained the right to tax themselves, and it is possible that, had the course of history allowed other crafts to gain such privileges, the commune of London, that form of the city's person which culminated in the mayor, would have been superseded.

In the reign of Edward III. certain crafts of London advanced rapidly in wealth and power, and there came to be a distinction between the greater and the lesser mysteries. It was that which eventually gave their position to the twelve great livery companies of London; but the membership of this superior class was for long not exactly determined. In 1351, by an exceptional arrangement, the members of the common council were elected not by the wards, but by the thirteen chief mysteries. The Grocers, the Fishmongers, and the Mercers chose each of them six members; the Drapers, Goldsmiths, Woolmongers, Vintners, Skinners, Saddlers, Cordwainers, Tailors, and Butchers four; and the Ironmongers two. These were at this date the leading mysteries.

Meanwhile lesser crafts obtained acknowledgment and a confirmation of their ordinances from the civic authorities. In addition to those which existed in 1328 at least thirty-five were recognised in the reign of Edward III. Most of them were distributed roughly in groups. Thus while the Skinners, Saddlers and Cordwainers continued to be the leading crafts among leather-merchants and leather-workers, there were added to them Pouchmakers, Whittawyers, Glovers, and Leathersellers; and the crafts interested in iron came to include not only, as in 1328, Ironmongers, Cutlers and Cofferers, but also Armourers, Spurriers, Pinner, Blacksmiths, Sheathers and Founders.

If the relations of the crafts be examined it will be found that those in which the element of handicraft predominated

were apt to be less important than such as were chiefly engaged in mercantile business. The rapid increase of the power of the latter was largely due to the opportunities afforded by the new regulation of foreign trade in the fourteenth century by the system of staples. There tended to be several crafts of which the members were handicraftsmen grouped around and dependent on the great mysteries. And it is incontestable that below the level of the humbler crafts, and forming part of the groups, must have been many associations of workmen and traders who failed to obtain public recognition.

Some crafts were distinguished by their acquisition of charters, which confirmed their ordinances and monopolies. These were granted by Edward III. to the Goldsmiths, Skinners, Tailors, and Girdlers in 1327; and to the Drapers, Skinners, Vintners and Fishmongers in 1363-4.

The increasing importance of the merchant and the capitalist made more difficult the lot of the small master workman. Towards the end of the reign of Edward III. the citizens showed a tendency to exclusiveness. There was in 1368-9 an attempt to impede the enfranchisement of apprentices and thus to limit the number of master workmen. The mayor and aldermen were petitioned to rule that no apprentice might obtain the freedom, even when he had served his full term of seven years, unless he paid a fine of 60s. or more. The desired ordinance was not passed; but there were nevertheless very numerous Londoners without capital, unenfranchised apprentices and journeymen workmen, who never attained to full membership of a recognised craft or citizenship.

In this century the conflict between the citizens and the foreign settlers in London became important. Recruits to

the ranks of freemen were admitted not unwillingly, at least in the first half of the fourteenth century; but animosity was shown repeatedly against those who shared the profits of citizens, and, because they were not enfranchised, could not be called upon to participate in burdens. In this matter the Londoners were in opposition to Edward III., who had an almost imperial conception of his position as ruler of dominions on either side of the Channel. In 1337 Parliament decreed that Flemings might freely inhabit England; and ordinances were made for the alien weavers in London in 1362, for the weavers Flemings in 1366, and to adjust the relations between the latter and their rivals, the weavers of Brabant, in 1370. Economically the protection of the foreigner was justified because he was a much more skilled workman than the Englishman.

The foreigners served the king in another and a time-honoured capacity as financiers. Jews and Templars had been expelled in turn; but their place had been taken by the Lombards, and, under Edward III., by the Florentine companies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi. But in the reign of Edward III. the citizens repeatedly made to the king the loans necessary to his great wars. They became the rivals of the Italians. They had acquired financial knowledge and financial power which they had previously lacked.

Moreover in the fourteenth century the organisation of foreign trade and concurrently of the customs revenue made this the most important of the sources of the income of the crown. In 1311-12 all offices in connection with the customs were by Act of parliament closed to aliens, and in many cases citizens of London filled the vacant places. Thus they superseded the Italians as financial officers, as distinct from bankers.

In the Good Parliament three aldermen of London were charged with dishonest use of the opportunities of public finance, and were involved in the disgrace of the party of John of Gaunt.

In their third capacity, that of merchants, the foreigners were again the subject of conflict between Edward III. and the citizens. In London there were many traders from countries over the sea. Among the merchants who in 1303 received from Edward I. the *Carta Mercatoria* men of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Catalonia, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Caturtunium or Quercy, Flanders, and Brabant were specified. All these were probably represented in London, but conspicuous among them were the vintners of Gascony, the merchants of the Steelyard or the Hanseatic League, who had their headquarters in Dowgate Ward, and whom Edward I. incorporated, and the Italians. The German Steelyard merchants traded chiefly in the products of northern Europe, tar and salt fish and the furs so generally worn, and the Italians brought to London the spoils of the Mediterranean traffic, the spices of Arabia, very important to mediæval economy, the wines of Candia and the silks of North Africa.

It was the object of the citizens in the reign of Edward III. to buy wholesale all the wares, not only of foreign merchants but also of country dealers, and solely to distribute them in the retail market. The most important export trade was still in raw produce; the majority of leading merchants were as yet neither manufacturers nor the middlemen of manufacturers, and therefore it was not their interest to encourage the import of food and of the materials of manufacture. The great victualling crafts, the Fishmongers, the Grocers, and the Vintners, were predominant. Usually they succeeded

in buying exemption from the statutes which enacted free trade.

But gradually the manufacturing crafts, especially the textile, leather and metal workers, advanced in skill and in importance, and it was their natural aim to secure the free import of raw produce and of food-stuffs. By the end of the reign of Edward III. there had come to be two parties among the great crafts of London, that of the victuallers and that of the manufacturers, and either wished to control the civic government in order to advance their own interests. It is their struggle which gives significance to the reign of Richard II. in London.

The circumstance that the manufacturers opposed the food monopolies of their rivals, and were moreover employers of labour, caused them to take up a comparatively democratic position which had little to do with their opinions. Of their leader, John de Northampton, a draper, it is said that "he was a man of unflinching purpose and great astuteness, elated by his wealth, and so proud that he could neither get on with his inferiors nor be deterred by the suggestions or warnings of his superiors from striving to follow to the bitter end his drastic ideas."

In the Good Parliament the victuallers suffered the first great blow to their power, when the party of John de Northampton procured two reforms which aimed at destroying the exclusive enjoyment of civic office by members of a few crafts. The observance of a neglected article of 1319, which had directed the annual election of aldermen, was ordered, and it was enacted that the Common Council should consist of representatives not of the wards but of the several mysteries.

In 1376 or early in 1377 the court party brought forward

a bill which would have granted jurisdiction power to the constable and marshal to the detriment of the civic authorities. It was therefore a menace to the victuallers' command of trade, and from this time is apparent the animosity of the victualling crafts against John of Gaunt. By a coincidence fortunate for them the proposal was equally calculated to arouse the patriotic opposition of undiscerning Londoners.

The city mob crowded into the nave of St. Paul's in 1377 to hear the trial of Wycliffe, and the hated marshal, Henry Percy, had forcibly to clear the aisle for the passage of those ill-assorted friends, Wycliffe and John of Gaunt. The Londoners were excited and sensitive, almost eager to show resentment, and a dispute between Lancaster and their bishop gave them a pretext. They engaged the duke's guard in a brawl, and the assembly had an unpremeditated end amid the highest confusion. Next day the mob of the city violently set free a man imprisoned in the house of the marshal, and then passed on to the Savoy in search of their enemies, Lancaster and Percy.

But they found neither, for both were dining with one John of Ypres at his inn in Vintry ward, near the church of St. Thomas Apostle. A knight "came in great haste to the place where the duke was, and after that he had knocked and could not be let in, he said to Haveland, the porter, 'If thou love my lord and thy life, open the gate.' With which words he got entry; and with great fear he tells the duke that without the gate were infinite numbers of armed men, and unless he took great heed that day would be his last. With which words the duke leapt so hastily from his oysters that he hurt both his legs against the form. Wine was offered, but he could not drink for haste; and so fled with

his fellow Henry Percy out at a back gate, and entering upon the Thames never stayed rowing until they came to a house near the manor of Kennington." At Kennington the fugitives were received by the widow of the Black Prince and her son Richard, the heir to the throne. And there was no further mention of the bill against the liberties of the city. The Savoy had been saved from destruction by the intervention of the bishop.

The victuallers were now supported by a full tide of civic patriotism; they were the successful resisters to kingly aggression. An election of aldermen in March, 1377, secured office for eight fishmongers. The mayor was removed by royal writ and replaced by Nicholas Brembre, grocer and leader of the victuallers' party, and a few months later the five chief supporters of John de Northampton were expelled from the Common Council. Thenceforward until 1381 the party of the victuallers was supreme. The foreign merchants were subjected to all manner of restrictions.

But the party of the discontented were strong. The unprivileged men of London, the apprentices and the journeymen workmen, the unpropertied classes, were the natural adherents of John de Northampton, whose policy of free trade would inaugurate low prices. Certain of the party in power appear to have become sensible that they were in need of a force with which to depress their rivals, and to this must be ascribed the curious fact that the aldermen who gave a more or less concealed support to the rebels of 1381 were victuallers.

On the 12th of June, 1381, peasants from Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, led by Wat Tyler and by John Ball, were gathered on Blackheath under two great banners of St. George, a vast and needy mob, hungry for the supplies of London, with

leaders equally anxious to enter the city and join their fellows, the rebels of Essex, on its north side.

Walworth the mayor supported law and order. He sent to bid the peasants come no nearer the city, and determined to guard the bridge. But one alderman openly took their part, and others after some show of reluctance yielded to the strength of popular feeling. London Bridge was opened to the men on Blackheath, and Aldgate to the rebels of Essex. "Great merchants broached the burgundy in their cellars for throats accustomed to the upland ale of the village breweries. Hobb and Straw, Piers and Gamelyn, stared at sights which neither they nor their fathers nor grandfathers before them had beheld, the mighty city of red tiled roofs, the endless labyrinths of narrow lanes and winding alleys, the innumerable churches, the wharves where strange seafaring folk spoke tongues they had never heard, and used gestures they had never seen."¹

For three days the peasants were in possession of London, and were continually reinforced by arrivals from the counties. They had allies in the city mob. Their first object was to wreak vengeance on Lancaster, the enemy of the victuallers as of the people, and his wonderful Savoy Palace was permanently destroyed. On the 14th occurred their famed conference with the boy king at Mile End, in which he conceded all their demands. After it however they broke into the Tower and slew Sudbury, archbishop and chancellor, and Hales the treasurer; and there were many other murders and atrocities. The Londoners took advantage of the confusion to slaughter the Flemish weavers. Finally the king met the rebels at Smithfield, and disarmed them by proclaiming himself their leader, and, after Wat Tyler had been slain

¹ Trevelyan. *Age of Wycliffe*.



DISCOMFITURE OF REBELS BY RICHARD II.

and the more orderly citizens had armed against them, they were induced to surrender and disperse.

By such help as they had given to the peasants the party of the victuallers had taken vengeance on John of Gaunt ; but otherwise they had defeated their own ends. They had suffered anarchy and confusion, and in the ensuing autumn their chief opponent, John de Northampton, was elected mayor. He, when later he had fallen from power and was brought to trial, was accused of having already prepared for himself a place in which to rule unopposed. His enemies declared that during Brembre's mayoralty he had "on several occasions caused a meeting, at the tavern of John Willingham in the Bow," of one or two men of each of some lesser manufacturing crafts, "the mysteries of the Armourers, Girdlers, Lorrimers, Pinner, Wire drawers, Cardmakers, Curriers, Horners, Tilers, Smiths, Dyers, Fullers, Shearmen, Haberdashers and Cordwainers and other small mysteries," and there had laid plans for securing a majority on the Common Council, for causing the removal of existing permanent officials, and finally for destroying the power of the victuallers.

At midsummer, 1382, the great blow was dealt : a set of ordinances was passed by the Common Council which ended the whole monopoly of the Fishmongers. The practice of forestalling, of buying fish before it reached London in order to sell it again, was forbidden ; vendors of salt fish from abroad or from outside London were commanded for three days to offer their wares directly to the king's buyers and the consumers before they dealt with Fishmongers ; those who brought fresh sea-fish to London might sell it freely in their boats, in Cornhill and in West Cheap ; Fishmongers might sell only between eleven and one o'clock ; and fresh-water

fish might not pass through their hands at all, but must be sold by the fishermen, "themselves, their wives and servants, in the streets before named."

There followed a struggle of the powerful Fishmongers to regain their lost and valuable privileges. The matter was brought into parliament, and there, after John de Northampton had given evidence, a statute was passed which confirmed to foreign victuallers the right of retail sale in the city, and another also which forbade victuallers to hold judicial offices in cities and towns if these could be filled by other fit persons. It was the attempt to deprive them of judicial power which had so enraged the victuallers against John of Gaunt. In the autumn of 1382 John de Northampton was re-elected mayor.

Nicholas de Extone had been the champion of the Fishmongers in parliament. There is record of a conversation which, late in this year, took place between several of this trade in a house in the parish of St. Mary Somerset. A certain John Filiol, fishmonger, accused the mayor of having "falsely and maliciously deprived the fishmongers of their bread," to which Richard Fiffyde replied that "he and all the other fishmongers of London were bound to put their hands beneath the very feet of Nicholas de Extone for his good deeds and words on behalf of the trade." Upon this Nicholas Maynarde remarked that "for a whole house full of gold he would not have been in the place of the said Nicholas de Extone at the Common Council last past"; and the more valiant John Filiol retorted that "for half the house full of gold he would have asserted the mayor to be a false scoundrel, and he would like to have a fight with him as to the same on Horsey Down."

The mayor's action towards the Fishmongers, and the



RICHARD II GOING DOWN THE THAMES IN HIS BARGE.

consequent cheapness of the principal article of mediæval diet, were however naturally popular with all who were not sufferers. But from the Fishmongers John turned to correct with like severity the monopolies, the selfish expedients and the frauds of other crafts, and he soon lost his supporters, who after all were not the unenfranchised and hungry populace but the manufacturing crafts. At the end of 1383 his chief opponent, Nicholas Brembre, was elected mayor.

John did not however resign himself to defeat. He had again resort to the means by which during Brembre's previous term of office an opposition had been organised. Meetings were held at the house of John More, at St. Paul's, at the houses of the Grey and Austin Friars. The dispossessed party were formidable because they could command the adherence of the unenfranchised classes, now suffering from the withdrawal of a cheap food supply. They held the instrument of riot, and they made use of it when finally John was arrested by the mayor. But the mayor quelled the disturbance, and John and two others were tried and condemned to death, a sentence which was eventually commuted.

Brembre's mayoralty was otherwise remarkable for two measures. The ordinances which had destroyed the monopoly of the Fishmongers were repealed, and a new charter was granted to the city by which the whole retail trade was again limited to freemen, and merchant strangers were, as had previously been the case, forbidden to lodge in London for more than forty days. Further the right of sending representatives to the Common Council was taken from the mysteries and restored to the wards. The limitation of aldermen to one year of office continued until 1394, when an

Act of parliament decreed that they should retain their places for life unless they were justly dismissed for a specific cause.

The victuallers' party secured another election of Brembre as mayor in 1384 and a third in 1385. In 1386 he was succeeded by Nicholas de Extone. His party identified themselves more and more with the fortunes of the young king; and meanwhile Lancaster constantly intrigued to obtain the restoration of Northampton and his associates. At Christmastide, 1387, the Lords Appellant came to London to make a bid for the city's support. In January they offered at the Guildhall to arbitrate between the crafts, but their advances were rejected. Already in the previous November Nicholas Brembre, "the false knight of London," had been charged with treason as one of the king's "false advisers." He was brought before Parliament for trial on February 17th, and offered vainly to prove his innocence by wager of battle. He was condemned to death and hanged at Tyburn.

Thus Northampton and Brembre had both been removed from the stage of city politics; but the old party strife between the victualling and the manufacturing crafts continued, and the former were still identified with the king, the other with his opponents in the state. When in 1392 a draper occupied the mayoralty the city incurred the royal displeasure, and was obliged to buy back forfeited liberties for £10,000. A new mayor, William Stondon, grocer, was chosen at the same time, and thenceforward until 1396 the victuallers predominated in the city. But in the last three years of Richard's reign their rivals again held the first place: the mayors were Adam Bamme, a goldsmith, the famed Richard Whittington, mercer, and Drew Barentyne, goldsmith; and under such guidance the Londoners

were among the bitterest of the king's enemies and important allies of Bolingbroke.

The deposition of Richard was so evidently popular in the city as to leave no doubt that the manufacturers' party, who were instrumental in bringing it about, most truly represented the citizens. They, largely by accident, stood for freedom and the people, and had the strength which belongs to the champions of progress. And London was a force with which to reckon in the State. "Behold the opinion of common people when they be up against their prince or lord, and specially in England. Among them there is no remedy, for they are the periloust people of the world and most outrageoust, if they be up, and specially the Londoners: and indeed they be rich and of great number; there was well in London a twenty-four thousand men in harness complete and a thirty thousand archers, and they were hardy and high of courage, the more blood they saw shed, the less they were abashed."

Thus the Londoners impressed Froissart. They had taken an important part in the wars of Edward III. Until the Peace of Brétigny in 1360, the city not only supplied the king frequently with money, but also furnished him with contingents of archers and men-at-arms and with ships. *La Jonette of London* and *La Cogge of All Hallows* were fitted out for him in 1336, and four ships and four light vessels three years later. In 1348 the sheriffs were ordered to forbid jousts and tournaments, and to command the citizens instead to exercise themselves in arms.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

IN London a stability of property rights has always stood in the way of ideal town planners. The streets of the fourteenth century followed their course of two hundred years before, very much that which they still retain. But in two hundred years the more liberal desires and the greater wealth of Londoners had made them more exacting to their architects.

The houses contained two or three storeys, and their high-pitched pointed gables, sometimes crow-stepped, faced the narrow streets and lanes. The windows were important features in the buildings, large and comparatively numerous, distinguished sometimes by the Gothic arches and tracery of the period. They had small lattice panes, and in the reign of Edward III. glazing was already so common that there was a mystery of Verrers or glaziers. Doors were arched like the windows, always or usually, and often were surmounted by a more or less elaborate wooden porch. Overhanging upper storeys or overhanging chambers, supported by corbels, were frequent. Chimneys were already common in 1300, and they had decorative value when, as was sometimes the case, they were built externally. It is known that carpenters, masons, tilers and daubers were employed on the houses under Edward I. The buildings were sometimes of

stone, sometimes of wood, sometimes of both, and sometimes wholly or partly of brick, for tilers made bricks as well as tiles.

The shops were still wooden stalls, which projected from the houses into the streets. That some buildings, presumably wooden, were coloured appears from such names as "Black Hall," "Red Bakehouse," "Painted Tavern Lane," and from mentions of a "painted" sold or warehouse, and of "painted" solars. Colour was found otherwise in the red tiles of the roofs, and in this as in later periods many houses as well as taverns were distinguished by the carved and painted signs which hung above their doors, "The Boar's Head," "The Swan o' the Hoop," "The Castel atte Hoop," "The Flour-de-lys," "The Cardinal's Hat," "The Sarazinshead," and "The Catifithell" or "The Cat and the Fiddle." The crowded irregularity of the streets and their variety and beauty of detail must have produced a very rich effect.

Until 1852 there was standing in London a portion of the house or inn of a great fourteenth century merchant. Gerrard's Hall, more correctly Gisors' Hall, in Basing Lane, which led out of the east side of Bread Street, near St. Mildred's Church, was a possession of the prominent vintner family of Gisors. It was held by John Gisors, alderman of Vintry and frequently mayor, at his death in 1350, and passed from him to the husband of his grand-daughter Margaret, Henry Picard. A model of its beautiful crypt is preserved in the hall of the Grocers' Company, and shows the arches supported by slender and rounded pillars, with moulded capitals and bases of early decorated work. The crypt had neither hearth nor fireplace and was probably a warehouse. The remains of the hall which stood over it, and which was apparently of wood with stone gable ends, could still be seen in 1857. Stow in the sixteenth century describes "one great house of

old time built upon arched vaults, and with arched gates of stone brought from Caen in Normandy, . . . commonly and corruptly called Gerrard's Hall, of a giant said to have dwelt there," and still retaining a "high roofed hall."

In his hall Henry Picard sumptuously feasted, on one day, King Edward, John, king of France, who was the English king's prisoner at the Savoy, King David of Scotland, and the king of Cyprus, with many others of high degree. After dinner he "kept his hall against all comers whatsoever that were willing to play at dice and hazard. In like manner the Lady Margaret his wife did also keep her chamber to the same extent. The king of Cyprus playing with Henry Picard in his hall did win of him fifty marks, but Henry, being very skilful in that art, altering his hand, did after win of the same king the same fifty marks and fifty marks more, which when the same king did take in ill part, although he dissembled the same, Henry said unto him, "My lord and king, be not aggrieved. I covet not your gold but your play, for I have not bid you hither that I might grieve you, but that amongst other things I might try your play," and gave him his money again, plentifully bestowing of his own amongst the retainers; besides he gave many rich gifts to the king and other nobles and knights which dined with him, to the great glory of the citizens of London in those days."

The plan of building houses on vaults or crypts, after the manner of Gerrard's Hall, was apparently common in that period. A house which stood in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster Royal in 1355 consisted of a "large cellar" on which stood a hall, and of a parlour, a chamber with a chimney which was probably a kitchen, and a bedchamber. In allusion to other houses there are references to larders, garrets, and stables. As regards furniture, mention is made



THE CRYPT OF GERRARD'S HALL.

of beds, feather beds, chests and particularly a Flemish chest, coffers, tables, benches covered with tapestry called "banqueres," fire-dogs, hangings of tapestry for walls, and curtains. In the house of Richard Brangwayn was a "dorser" or tapestry hanging which represented King Richard I. and Hector of Troy, and a bed on which white and red roses were depicted. In humbler dwellings use was made of chequered cloth.

Other household goods included a treasured supply of napery, which figures prominently in wills, table-cloths, towels, napkins, and sheets; and there were warm coverings of the cloth called "chalons," and counterpanes. Silver spoons and cups of silver and of copper gilt were frequently possessed by the wealthier citizens, and were sometimes richly decorated. There is record of silver spoons ornamented by gold acorns; of a cup which enclosed a representation of St. John the Evangelist, and had a silver lid and a stand formed by three lions; and of a cup on which the arms of England were enamelled. Equally ornate cups were of mazer or maple wood, and for commoner use there were pots, plates, bowls, basins and ewers of brass and iron. Of the less durable earthenware articles, which doubtless were in constant employ, there is little mention in records. On the other hand there are not infrequent references to jewellery, silver girdles "of richesse," a girdle fastened with two silver shillings, a gold ring with a stone on which a lion was engraved, a rosary of amber and silver, a brooch "harnessed with silver," a large seal which bore an engraved shield and from which hung a cross, a coronal, a garland of pearls with silken streamers. Mentions of armour and arms are strangely rare, and more rarely still occur references to books, missals, books of decretals, and "books of colour."

Such were some of the contents of the dwellings of fourteenth century citizens. Side by side with the houses were the many parish churches, of which a great number were rebuilt at this time in the decorative style of the day. To this end wealthy citizens made donations and bequests. The building of some churches of religious houses was however a more national undertaking. The church of the Grey Friars was completed in an unusually short time between 1306 and 1330, and the queens of the three Edwards, Margaret, the second wife of Edward I., Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa, bore part of the cost, with others of the greatest in the land. Some like John, Earl of Richmond, gave jewels and ornaments; and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, contributed twenty great beams out of his forest of Tunbridge. Many throughout the kingdom subscribed also to the New Work of St. Paul's, a Gothic part of the cathedral begun in the middle of the thirteenth century.

The pious citizen of the fourteenth century sought to secure his eternal welfare even more by the foundation of chantries than by the building of churches. He endowed a priest who should in some church perpetually celebrate the mass for the benefit of his soul and the souls of his relatives, ancestors and descendants, perhaps also for the souls of the king, of the city magistrates, or of his fellow-craftsmen and gild brethren. It has been computed that by bequests an average of twenty-eight permanent chantries were instituted in London every ten years from 1300 to 1402. The effect was, in the first place, to multiply the altars and chapels, and thus to elaborate the ritual of conventual and parish churches; to increase also their treasure of relics, books, ornaments, and vestments; and to provide further attraction to the offerings of the faithful. Secondly there grew up in

the city a large body of chantry priests, priests whose duties did not suffice adequately to employ them, who held a less responsible position than any other clergy. Their benefices, at a time when values were changing rapidly, came, in many cases, to be insufficient for their maintenance, and the circumstance did not render themselves the more reputable. A chantry in London became the goal of the ambition of an idle and an untrue priest.

“Parsons and parish priests plaineth to their bishops
That their parish hath been poor sith the pestilence time,
And asketh leave and license at London to dwell
To sing there for simony, for silver is sweet,”

is a reproach made by the author of “Piers the Ploughman.” And Chaucer is of the same opinion, for he says of the good parson :

“He sette not his benefice to hire
And lefte his sheep accombred in the mire,
And ran to London, unto Seint Poules,
To seken him a chaunterie for soules.”

The streets of fourteenth century London were paved with stone. The duty of keeping a pavement before his door was incumbent on a householder, and contributions to the expense of paving were exacted from all who drove carts into the city. Kennels appear to have run on either side of the greater streets, and to have been separated from the houses by footpaths, very much after the modern fashion. There were regulations to prevent the deposit of dirt and rubbish in the streets, or the practice of throwing refuse from the windows, and householders were bound to keep clean the space before their doors. Evidently the old enactment against the rearing of swine, cows and oxen

within the houses of the city had been disregarded, for it was repeated in this century. It was forbidden also that dogs other than "gentilz chiens," those owned by high-born persons, should be suffered to wander about the streets.

The markets held in Cheapside were things of a custom more ancient than history: they are known to have taken place in Saxon times; they named the street and the ward of Cheap. In the fourteenth century two markets called "evechepynges" were held on every feast day in Cheapside and on Cornhill. The market people had their fixed stands, prescribed to them according to the nature of their wares; and they named Wood Street, Milk Street, Honey Lane, Bread Street, Poultry, Coneyhope Lane, now Grocers' Hall Court, where stood sellers of rabbits, and Cornhill itself. An important section of the market was that at the "Carfukes" or Carfax of Leadenhall, the point of junction of Gracechurch Street and Leadenhall Street, where poultry and rabbits were exposed for sale. Meat on flesh days and fish on lean days were sold by butchers and fishmongers respectively at the Stocks Market on the site of the Mansion House. Salesmen included freemen of the city, unenfranchised Londoners, and countrymen who brought their produce along the roads to the city gates or up the Thames. All were forbidden to interfere with trade by setting up their stalls too near the shops. One hour before and half an hour after sunset bells were rung, and at the sound of the second the market people were compelled to leave their places and carry with them all their goods, or these were forfeit to the chamber of the Guildhall. Cattle markets were held in Smithfield.

The way by Cheapside, Cornhill, Leadenhall and Aldgate Street, which led to Aldgate from the junction of the roads

from Ludgate and Newgate, was, as it is even now although Queen Victoria Street has cut ruthlessly through the very heart of the city, the busiest thoroughfare in London. There were in it in the fourteenth century several monuments. Near the north door of St. Paul's was the Broken Cross, erected by the earl of Gloucester under Henry III., and removed in 1390. Further west was the great cross of Cheap, said to have been one of those built by Edward I. to mark the places where his queen's body rested on its way to burial at Westminster. The Standard stood in the middle of the street beside the opening of Honey Lane. It was the place of public executions; and the place also in which, in 1326, the London mob lynched Walter Stapleton, and the peasants, in 1381, put to death certain hated citizens. The Great Conduit, the chief of the several fountains which supplied the city with water, stood at the east end of West Cheap or Cheapside.

As a thoroughfare West Cheap and the streets which continued it had a rival in the river, the easiest way from the city to the court at Westminster and the roadway for trading ships.

Along the river bank were many quays and wharves, held in a private ownership, complicated, as were all rights of property in London, by sub-letting, mortgages, the imposition of duties to religious foundations, the bequest of rights, of every degree of incompleteness, for life and in reversion, the creation of rights of way and of ingress and egress for goods. The most important landing places were Dowgate Wharf, where the ships of the Steelyard merchants found anchorage, Three Cranes Wharf to which the vintners came, Queenhithe where the fishmongers predominated, and Castle Baynard Wharf.

The deposit of refuse in the Thames was forbidden, and the water would appear to have been fairly pure : it certainly was still stocked with fish. It was used for the washing of clothes ; and the laundrymen and women gathered especially at Lavendersbrigge, a jetty which projected from Timberhithe in Queenhithe. To this place came also the water porters, who afterwards sold water in the streets of the city.

The convenience of an easy access to Westminster made the river bank the favourite place for the London houses of the great men of the land. Along the Strand there were, as well as the Savoy palace, the inns of the bishops of Exeter, Llandaff, Chester, Worcester, Carlisle and others ; and on the Surrey side, in Southwark, stood houses of the bishop of Winchester, of the abbots of St. Augustine in Canterbury, Battle and Hyde, and of the prior of Lewes. The borough is described in the thirteenth century as “a great cheaping town.”

The river was still crossed only by London Bridge, built anew between 1176 and 1205. It consisted of a platform which rested on nineteen round arches supported by massive piers ; and it contained a drawbridge. The bridge was for several centuries in constant need of repair. Already in 1289 it was said to be unsafe ; and it has been surmised that the recurrence of this condition gave rise to the old ditty :

“ London Bridge is broken down,
Dance o'er my Lady Lee ;
London Bridge is broken down,
With a gay lady.

How shall we build it up again ?
Dance o'er my Lady Lee ;
How shall we build it up again ?
With a gay lady.

Build it up with stone so strong,
Dance o'er my Lady Lee ;
Huzza ! 'twill last for ages long,
With a gay lady."

But the lines seem to have come down from an older age when the safety of bridges was secured by human sacrifice. At all events the maintenance or repair of London Bridge was a frequent object of the charity of citizens. A chapel which stood on the bridge and faced Bridge Street had been built at the same time as itself ; and its existence helped to hallow the act of those whose riches maintained the passage from the city to the Surrey side of the river.

From the beginning, apparently, the bridge was flanked by close rows of houses and shops. Cutlers, pouchmakers, glovers, goldsmiths and bowyers dwelt there in the fourteenth century ; and probably found, when men passed backwards and forwards between the city and Southwark, or set out to travel southwards, like Chaucer's pilgrims, along the Old Kent Road, that they had secured a good place in which to drive their trades.

Henry Picard was a type of the merchant prince of the fourteenth century. On lower grades of the social scale were less magnificent traders, master manufacturers of very various wealth, apprentices and journeymen workmen, and finally the wretchedly poor. The last were, of all others, most subject to the ravages of epidemics, which in mediæval towns were so hardly checked.

The Black Death is said to have reached London in November, 1348. Stow relates that the mortality was so great that a new burial ground was enclosed in East Smithfield, on the site which was afterwards that of the Charterhouse. In 1350 the mayor, aldermen and commonalty

petitioned Clement VI. to suffer his chaplain, Brother John de Worthing, or another of the Friars Preachers, to grant absolution in London, since pestilence and war prevented the citizens from visiting Rome. There were later outbreaks of the plague in London in the reign of Edward III.

There is record of some great occasions of merry-making. In 1312 the queen wrote to the city: "Isabel, by the grace of God, Queen of England, Lady of Ireland, and Duchess of Aquitaine, to our well-beloved, the Mayor, Aldermen, and the Commonalty of London, greeting. Forasmuch as we believe that you would willingly hear good tidings of us, we do make known unto you that our Lord, of his grace, has delivered us of a son on the 13th day of November, with safety to ourselves and to the child. May our Lord preserve you. Given at Wynedsores on the day above named."

"Of this letter the bearer was John de Falaise, tailor to the queen; and he came on the Tuesday next after the feast of St. Martin, in the sixth year of the reign of King Edward son of King Edward. But as the news had been brought by Robert Oliver on the Monday before, the mayor and aldermen and great part of the commonalty assembled in the Guildhall at time of vespers, and carolled and shewed great joy thereat; and so passed through the city with great glare of torches and with trumpets and other minstrelsies.

"And on the Tuesday next, early in the morning, cry was made throughout all the city to the effect that there was to be no work, labour, or business in shop on that day; but that everyone was to apparel himself in the most becoming manner that he could, and come to the Guildhall at the hour of prime, ready to go with the mayor, together with the other good folks, to St. Paul's, there to make praise and offering, to the honour of God who had shewn them such

favour on earth, and to shew respect for this child that had been born. And after this they were to return all together to the Guildhall to do whatever might be enjoined.

“And the mayor and the aldermen assembled at the Guildhall together with the good folks of the commonalty; and from thence they went to St. Paul’s, where the bishop on the same day chanted mass with great solemnity, and there they made their offering. And after mass they led carols in the church of St. Paul to the sound of trumpets, and then returned each to his house.

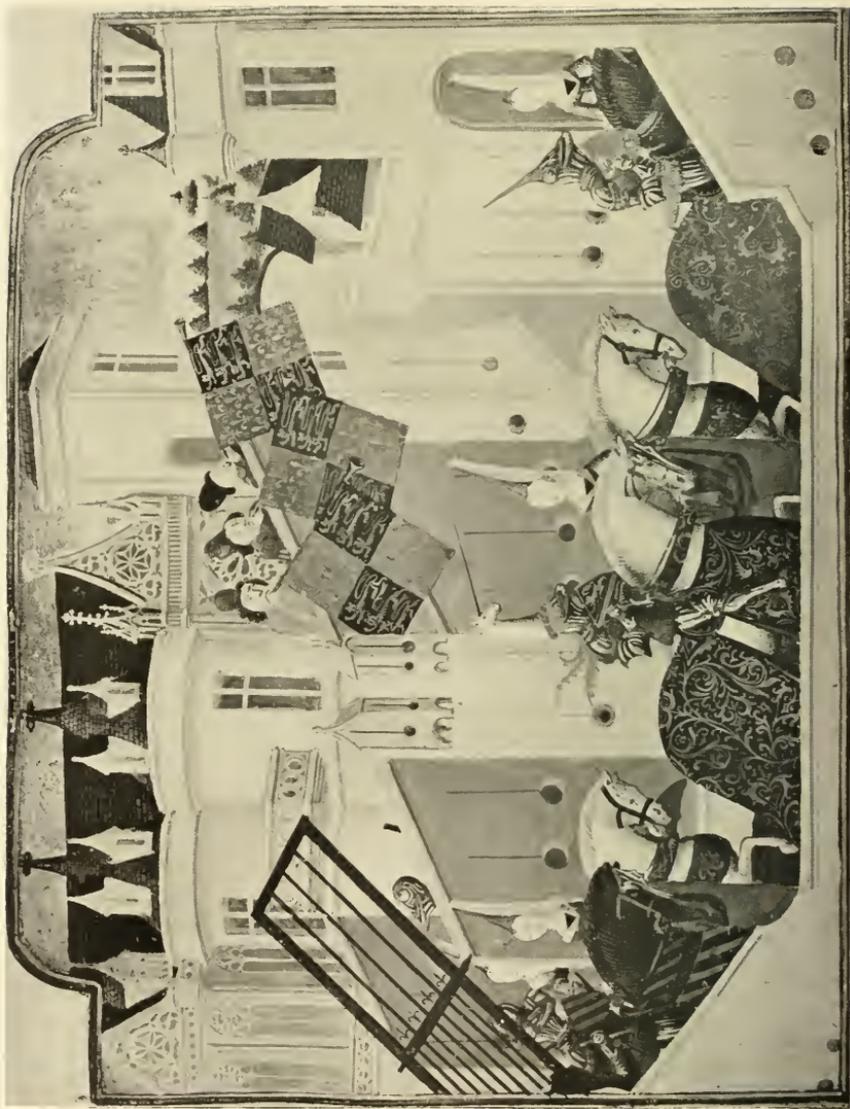
“On the Wednesday following the mayor, by assent of the aldermen and of others of the commonalty, gave to the said John de Falaise, bearer of the letter aforesaid, £10 sterling and a cup of silver, four marks (32 ounces) in weight. And on the morrow this same John de Falaise sent back the present aforesaid because it seemed to him to be too little.

“On the Monday following the mayor was richly costumed and the aldermen arrayed in like suits of robes, and the Drapers, Mercers, and Vintners were in costume; and they rode on horseback from thence to Westminster and there made offering, and then returned to the Guildhall which was excellently well tapestried and dressed out, and there they dined. And after dinner they went carolling throughout the city all the rest of the day and great part of the night. And the same day the conduit in Cheap ran with nothing but wine for all those who chose to drink there. And at the cross just by the church of St. Michael in Cheap (the Broken Cross) there was a pavilion extended in the middle of the street, in which was set a tun of wine for all passers-by to drink of who might wish for any.

“On the Sunday next after Candlemas . . . the Fishmongers of London were costumed very richly; and they caused a

boat to be fitted out in the guise of a great ship, with all manner of tackle that belongs to a ship; and it sailed through Cheap as far as Westminster, where the Fishmongers came, well mounted, and presented the same ship unto the queen. And on the same day the queen took her route for Canterbire, on pilgrimage thither; whereupon the Fishmongers, all thus costumed, escorted her through the city."

The king sometimes held tournaments in the very busiest part of the city, undeterred by the impediment to trade which he must have caused. Such injury may however have had its compensation in the attraction to the city of courtiers and men of high degree with their suites. Cheapside, between Soper Lane, now Queen Street, and the great Cross, was the place of a tournament in September, 1331. "In the middle of the city of London in a street called Cheap, the stone pavement being covered with sand that the horse might not slide when they strongly set their feet to the ground, the king held a tournament three days together with the nobility, valiant men of the land, and other strange knights. And to the end the beholders might with the better ease see the same, there was a wooden scaffold erected across the street like unto a tower, wherein Queen Philippa and many other ladies, richly attired and assembled from all parts of the realm, did stand to behold the jousts. But the higher frame in which the ladies were placed brake in sunder; whereby they were, with some shame, forced to fall down. By reason whereof the knights and such as were underneath were grievously hurt. Wherefore the queen took great care to save the carpenters from punishment; and through her prayers which she made upon her knees, pacified the king and council and thereby purchased great love of the people. After which time the king caused a shed to be strongly made



PROCLAMATION OF TOURNAMENT AT SMITHFIELD IN 1390.

From a contemporary manuscript.

of stone for himself, the queen and other states to stand on ; and there to behold the joustings and other shows at their pleasure, by the church of St. Mary Bow."

At Michaelmastide, 1390, there was an extraordinarily brilliant gathering at Smithfield, the more usual place for tournaments. King Richard wished to emulate the splendid feasts and entertainments which had honoured Queen Isabella's public entry into Paris. He sent heralds to proclaim a tournament throughout England, Scotland, Hainault, Germany, Flanders and France.

"This Sunday, according to the proclamation, being the next to Michaelmas Day, was the beginning of the tiltings and called the feast of the challengers. About three o'clock there paraded out from the Tower of London . . . sixty barded coursers ornamented for the tournament, on each was mounted a squire of honour that advanced only at a foot's pace ; then came sixty ladies of rank, mounted on palfreys, most elegantly and richly dressed, following each other, every one leading a knight with a silver chain completely armed for tilting ; and in this procession they moved on through the streets of London, attended by numbers of minstrels and trumpets, to Smithfield. The queen of England with her ladies and damsels were already arrived and placed in chambers handsomely decorated.

"The king was with the queen. When the ladies who led the knights arrived in the square their servants were ready to assist them to dismount from their palfreys, and to conduct them to the apartments prepared for them.

"The knights remained until their squires of honour had dismounted and brought them their coursers, which having mounted they had their helmets laced on, and prepared themselves in all points for the tilt.

“ The count de Saint Pol now advanced with his companions handsomely armed for the occasion, and the tournament began. Every foreign knight who pleased tilted, or had time for so doing, before the evening set in. The tiltings were well and long continued, until night forced them to break off. The lords and ladies then retired where they had made appointments. The queen was lodged in the bishop of London’s palace near St. Paul’s church, where the banquet was held.

“ Towards evening the count d’Ostrevant arrived and was kindly received by King Richard and his lords. The prize for the opponents was adjudged to the count de St. Pol, as the best knight at this tournament, and that for the tenants to the earl of Huntingdon.

“ The dancings were at the queen’s residence, in the presence of the king, his uncles, and the barons of England. The ladies and damsels continued their amusements before and after supper until it was time to retire, when all went to their lodgings, except such as were attached to the king or queen, who, during the tournament, lived at the palace of the bishop of London.

“ You would have seen on the ensuing morning squires and varlets busily employed in many parts of London, furbishing and making ready armour and horses for their masters who were to engage in the jousts. In the afternoon King Richard entered Smithfield, magnificently accompanied by dukes, lords and knights, for he was chief of the tenants of the lists. The queen took her station as on the preceding day, with her ladies, in the apartments that had been prepared for her. The count d’Ostrevant came next, with a large company of knights and squires fully armed for tilting; then the count de Saint Pol and the knights from France.

“The tournament now began, and everyone exerted himself to the utmost to excel: many were unhorsed and more lost their helmets. The jousting continued with great courage and perseverance until night put an end to it. The company now retired to their lodgings or their homes; and when the hour for supper was near the lords and ladies attended it, which was splendid and well served. The prize for the opponents was adjudged by the ladies, lords and heralds to the count d’Ostrevant, who far eclipsed all who had tilted that day; that for the tenants was given to a gallant knight of England called Sir Hugh Spenser.

“On the morrow, Tuesday, the tournament was renewed by the squires, who tilted in the presence of the king, queen and all the nobles until night, when all retired as on the preceding day. The supper was as magnificent as before, at the palace of the bishop where the king and queen lodged; and the dancing lasted until daybreak, when the company broke up.

“The tournament was continued on Wednesday by all knights and squires, indiscriminately, who were inclined to joust. It lasted until night, and the supper and dancings were as the preceding day.

“On Thursday the king entertained at supper all the foreign knights and squires, and the queen their ladies and damsels. The duke of Lancaster gave a grand dinner to them on the Friday. On Saturday the king and his court left London for Windsor; whither the count d’Ostrevant, the count de Saint Pol and the foreign knights who had been present at the feasts were invited.”

The account of these festivities is taken from Froissart, a cosmopolitan observer of pageants unlikely to exaggerate their splendour. In the fourteenth century the citizens of

London, themselves wealthy and liberal, were familiar with all the pomp of European chivalry. They did not lack means to gratify that taste for rich and elaborate spectacular effect which characterised the later middle ages. And there is every indication that, to the extent of their power, they reproduced what they saw, in their homes and in their functions, whether social, of church or of the city.

CHAPTER IX

THE LIVERY COMPANIES AND LANCASTER AND YORK

LONDON was the chief scene of the triumph of the house of Lancaster. Two days before his coronation Henry of Bolingbroke rode from Westminster to the Tower and there passed one night. Then he returned to Westminster, conveyed through the streets by the lords and their liveried retinues and by "all the burgesses and Lombard merchants in London, and every craft with their livery and device." Tapestry hung from the windows of the houses, and the conduits ran with red and white wine. And at the coronation feast a table was reserved for the "valiant men of London."

In the next year "King Richard dead was laid in a litter and set in a chare covered with black baudkin, and four horses all black in the chare, and two men in black leading the chare, and four knights all in black following. Thus the chare departed from the Tower of London and was brought along through London fair and softly, till they came into Cheapside, whereas the chief assembly of London was, and there the chare rested the space of two hours. Thither came in and out more than twenty thousand persons, men and women, to see him whereas he lay, his head on a black

cushion and his visage open. Some had on him pity and some none, but said he had long deserved death. . . . Then they drave the chare forward; and when the four knights that followed the chare afoot were without London, they leapt then on their horses, which were there ready for them, and so they rode till they came to a village called Langley, a thirty mile from London, and there this King Richard was buried. God have mercy on his soul!"

The crisis involved the final defeat of the victuallers. In the first year of Henry IV. it was enacted in parliament that, in spite of the privileges granted by Richard II. to the Fishmongers, foreigners of the king's amity who brought fish and other victuals to London and the lesser towns, were permitted to retail their wares, and were under the king's special protection.

But this did not mean that power had devolved on the middle class, on the craftsmen who formed the smaller mysteries. The mayoralty in the eighty-four years which followed on the accession of Henry IV. was held sixty times by Grocers, Drapers, and Mercers, and they shared the tenure of the office almost equally. These were the richest citizens and the men who ruled the city, the wholesale importers of food stuffs, and the merchants interested in the import of wool and of silk who controlled the textile industries. That the Fishmongers had lost their leading place and could not adequately support the Grocers gave a predominance to the two great manufacturing crafts, and averted the danger of the limitation of import trade by monopolists.

There was naturally opposition to the ruling class on the part of those excluded from a guiding part in the city's government, and it had acquired a new character from an added political force.



FUNERAL OF RICHARD II.
From a contemporary manuscript.

In 1389 occurred the great inquiry of Richard II. into guilds and fraternities, in the course of which the crafts of London were compelled to declare their rules and their charters. More than a hundred years before the Statute of Mortmain had rendered illegal the acquisition of land without special licence by any who were not liable to render for it due services. The enactment had aimed principally at the religious, who could not perform the obligations to the state with which mediæval land tenure was inseparably connected, and who, therefore, while their potential landholdership was not limited, were a danger to the political system. This statute was in 1391 interpreted to apply to guilds and fraternities, and at once it became the object of the crafts to buy from the king charters of incorporation, which would allow them to acquire land up to a certain value. In the city they were already extensive landholders; their power depended in a great degree on their wealth, and they could not passively suffer it to depart from them. Therefore they acquired charters, and thus the great crafts became the livery companies.

The Skinners, the Goldsmiths, the Mercers and the Saddlers were incorporated by Richard II. in the last decade of his reign; the Tailors by Henry IV.; the Cutlers by Henry V.; and the victualling crafts, the Grocers, Fishmongers, Vintners and Brewers, as well as the Drapers, Cordwainers, Leather-sellers, Haberdashers and Armourers by Henry VI.

The chartered companies, like the crafts, had religious and social functions, the maintenance of priest or service, the celebration of an annual feast, the care of unfortunate brethren. But they differed from the crafts in their possession of a corporate personality: they held a common seal; they could sue and be sued; they were able to own property.

Moreover each livery company had a court for the settlement of trade disputes in which erring members could be fined and imprisoned. Unlike the ancient courts of the Weavers and the Fishmongers, those now established were subject to the mayor, and thus did not constitute an exempted sphere which limited the rights of the civic authorities.

But in practice the livery companies were a danger to the central government of the city, because their status was independent of civic institutions. It was derived from the kingly power. The class drawn from a few companies, who in the fifteenth century held the place of rulers in London, were threatened as much by companies who used autonomous rights, as by such attacks of the excluded classes as their predecessors had had to withstand. An Act of 1437 embodies the result of one of their victories. It states that "companies corporate . . . oftentimes by colour of rule and governance and other terms in general words to them granted . . . by charters . . . of divers kings, made among themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances as well in prices of wares and other things for their own singular profit"; and directs that such companies bring their charters to be registered by the chief governors of the boroughs, cities and towns in which they exist.

Sometimes the old situation, the attempt of a class not in power to procure the mayoralty for one of their number, recurred. In 1441, out of two candidates for that office, Robert Clapton, draper, and Ralph Holande, tailor, Robert was chosen. The tailors who were present at the election in the Guildhall protested, crying, "Nay, nay, not this, but Ralph Holande"; and they incited "other of the low fellowships of the city" to join in the uproar. The retiring mayor attempted to overawe them by a parade of dignity.

"Astonied," he stood still upon the stair and commanded silence; then walked gravely to the east end of the Guildhall and took his place among the aldermen. When the rioters were unimpressed he would have harangued them into order; but it was in vain that his serjeant-at-arms shouted, "Oyez! Oyez! Oyez!"; and finally the sheriffs were sent into the crowd, and a dozen or more of the chief offenders were arrested. They were punished by fines and by long terms of imprisonment.

There was another cause of dissension in London in the conflict, bitterer than ever before, between citizen and foreigner. The population of the city was not now, as it had been in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, recruited to any great extent from the mercantile and seafaring classes of the continent. The civic magistrates belonged, some of them, to such old London families of foreign origin as the Frowyks and the Fraunceyses; but most of them had names which prove their English race. The story of Richard Whittington is substantially true: antiquaries have denied his humble origin and his early trials, but those of them who are not prejudiced have left to him his most precious possession, his cat. To the student of economic history it is even more important that he was indeed a country lad, although of gentle descent, who came to London to seek his fortune, who became an apprentice that he might be a citizen. He was a type of many born of the poorer landowning classes, younger sons, who in the great city rose to wealth and power; and to this day his legendary story embodies the conception of London as the place where the adventurous, the ambitious and the needy of the English country may attain their desires.

It was men with such antecedents as Whittington who

chiefly reinforced the upper class of citizens. Sometimes when they had grown rich by trade they retired again to the country, as did Thomas Knolles, grocer, mayor in 1399-1400 and 1410-1411, who in 1428 "purchased . . . with a part of his goods duly gotten by merchandise" the manor of North Mimms in Hertfordshire.

These were citizens to resent bitterly the rivalry of foreigners, and alien merchants depended, as previously, chiefly on the protection of the king. But this was afforded rather to their trade as importers of raw produce than to their industries; and as importers they were already supported to a great extent by the identity of their interests with those of the manufacturing crafts. The industries they had established in London were less secure owing to the increased skill of English workmen. In the fourteenth century the Flemish weavers had been objects of fierce hatred; in the fifteenth the Lombard silkworkers, a numerous and a wealthy body, were the natural enemies of the London Mercers, perhaps the most powerful of all the livery companies.

The great position enjoyed by the merchants of Lombardy is proved by the fact that they formed part of the escort of Henry IV. on his first triumphal progress through the city. In 1424-5 it was enacted in parliament that no Lombard nor other stranger or denizen might bring as merchandise from over seas to any port or place of the realm wrought silk, turned ribbons and chains, girdles of silk or anything else, except girdles of Genoa, which belonged to the mystery of Silkwomen. But the blow thus dealt to the Lombards was not severe: they still took from the mercers "great living by utterance of cloth of gold, and silk, to the estates and the lords of the realm." In 1456 a young mercer, on his way to

prison for an assault on an Italian, was rescued from the sheriffs by journeymen, apprentices and servants of the Mercery. The incident was the occasion of a riot in which the usual city mob took part, and in course of which there was some bloodshed. Florentines, Luccans and Venetians, as well as Lombards, were despoiled, and houses were plundered. The mayor and aldermen with some difficulty quelled the disturbance and made various arrests. An inquiry into the matter was ordered by the king, and his command almost gave rise to another disturbance. Eventually three men were hanged at Tyburn.

The master mercers had not appeared openly in this affair and their part in it cannot be ascertained. But that it had not been a mere outbreak of the mob, severely condemned by the responsible classes, seems evident from the fact that after it many Lombards felt themselves no longer safe in London, and removed to Southampton and Winchester.

Besides the class who absorbed civic office, the companies hardly represented in the city's government but possessed of some autonomy, and the foreigners, there were in the society of London other important elements: the crafts whose members were full freemen of the city, but who had not acquired charters of incorporation, and the unenfranchised people.

In 1422 there were one hundred and twelve crafts in London, and of them only sixteen were incorporated as livery companies before the accession of Edward IV. For the acquisition of a charter wealth was necessary, and it could not be possessed by such humble persons as the Piemakers, the Brothmakers, the Fourbours or Furbishers, the Cheesemongers, the Basket-makers, the Soapmakers, and the Stationers, so called because they sold at stalls or stations about the crosses in

Cheap. Some crafts of the period were new: the Pater-nosters, the Bookbinders, the Writers of Texts, the Writers of Court Letters, the Clockmakers, the Galochemakers.

Of the populace most knowledge is probably gained from the history of the church and of heresy, which is treated in another chapter. A statute of 1405-6, which applied to the whole country, made less free the road to citizenship. It was enacted that no man might apprentice his son or daughter in any city or borough of the realm unless he had lands or rents of the yearly value of 20s. But in 1429-30 another act restored in London the ancient usage, according to which any freeborn man might place his child as apprentice with any freeman of the city.

The Lancastrian kings were much in London, and the two earlier of them were popular with the citizens. In the civic records there are reflections of the wars of Henry V. The king before he went to France in 1415 announced his intention at the Tower to the mayor, aldermen, and more substantial commoners; and at a council held subsequently, to consider a loan for the expenses of war, the mayor was held worthy to occupy the place of honour, and to have on his right hand the archbishop of Canterbury and Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and on his left the dukes of Bedford, Gloucester and York, Such was the politic flattery accorded to the representative of the wealthy city. After Agincourt, the civic magistrates went in procession to give thanks at Westminster Abbey. In the following year, in May, preparations were in course for the relief of Harfleur, and in the streets of London criers summoned the citizens to help their king. "All manere of man, merchaunts, artificers, or others of what estat, degre, or condicioun that evere they be, that willen foward our lige lorde the kyng, being at

Harflewe in the costes of Normandye, that God him spede, with corne, brede, mele or floure, wyne, ale or biere, fysshe, flesshe or any other viteille, clothe, lynnene, wollene or any merchaundise, shetys, breches, doublettis, hosene, shone, or eny other manere ware of armure, artilrye, or of othere stoffe; letté him appareille and make redy betwene this and to day sevenyght their bodyes, goodes, merchaundises, ware, stoffure, viteilles, what that ever it be; and in the mene while come to the mair, and he shall dispose and assigne them redy shyping and passage unto the aforesaid costes." Henry brought his queen, Katherine, the French king's daughter, to London in 1420. "For length of time," says Fabyan, "I will pass over the great and curious ordinance provided by the citizens for the receiving of the king and queen, as well of their ordinate meeting with them upon horseback, as of the sumptuous and honourable devices prepared within the city to the king's and queen's great rejoicing."

Under Henry VI. the peace between the city and the central government of the kingdom was broken. Gloucester was extraordinarily beloved in London; as the "good duke Humphrey" he was placed among the heroes of the city. Beaufort's correspondent unpopularity may have been due to the favour he accorded to foreign merchants, for he is accused of having broken the condition under which a grant of tonnage and poundage was made in parliament in 1425, that which limited the stay of aliens in English ports. In the autumn of 1426 the duke summoned the mayor from the dinner with which he was celebrating his recent election, and commanded him strictly not to suffer Beaufort's entrance into the town. Consequently, when next morning some of the bishop's servants arrived at London Bridge, they found their way barred by armed men. With shot and with arrows

they made an assault, but the news of a scuffle had spread meanwhile throughout the city, and the citizens shut up their shops and hurried in great numbers to the relief of the defenders. There would have been a sanguinary battle had not the mayor and other officers arrived on the scene, and induced either side to disperse. In January of next year, when Bedford had temporarily settled the quarrel between his brother and his uncle, he accompanied the latter through the city, under the escort of the mayor and citizens. But when in March the mayor presented to him a pair of silver gilt basins in which were one thousand marks of gold he gave small thanks. Such was the anger against the citizens with which his uncle had inspired him.

Shakespeare has immortalised the scene when, fourteen years later, the Londoners saw the shame of Humphrey's duchess, who openly did penance in the city streets for the arts she had practised against the king.

Queen Margaret, when she came to London in 1445, received a welcome from the mayor and aldermen, who, on horseback and clad in blue embroidered gowns and red hoods, conveyed her to the Tower; and on the morrow the crafts in their best array formed her escort to Westminster. But that London was no longer faithful to the house of Lancaster is proved by the history of Jack Cade's rising in 1450. The mysterious death of Gloucester, the extravagance of the court, the injuries dealt in France to the prestige of England, had been enough to alienate the citizens.

On the 1st of June, 1450, Jack Cade, who called himself Mortimer, and his rebels encamped on Blackheath. To the lords sent to ask the reason of the assembly, he replied that they were there for the weal of the realm, and for the destruction of the traitors about the king. On the 6th Henry reached

the city, and on the 10th proclamation was made that all his liegemen should depart from Blackheath field. With a great company in battle array he next day marched from Clerkenwell through the city to Blackheath, to find that the rebels had retreated. The vanguard of the royal force, under Sir Humphrey Stafford, pursued them to Sevenoaks, but were there cut to pieces. And mutiny broke out in the rest of the king's army; he found himself deserted.

At this point the mayor and citizens offered to stand by him. They told him that if he would remain in London they would pay the costs of his household for half a year and would "live and die with him." But Henry refused: he preferred to retire to Kenilworth; and thus he lost the opportunity of gaining the support of London as a balance to the power of the disaffected nobility, and the city missed a chance of once more acting as the weight which might turn the scales of fortune. Cade returned to Blackheath on the 1st of July; on the morrow he brought his great host to Southwark and spent the night at the sign of the White Hart; and on the 3rd he cut the ropes which bound the drawbridge of London Bridge and led his men into the city.

Some sort of a scuffle took place on the bridge, but it does not appear that the entrance of the rebels was seriously opposed. Fabyan, who very probably was a boy and in London at the time, and who certainly must often have heard the story of the event from eye-witnesses, implies that the responsible citizens at first stood by while Cade marched triumphantly through their streets, although they did not actually adhere to him.

At several places the rebel captain halted to make proclamation that, on pain of death, no man should do any

robbery, but should justly pay for anything he took from the people. When he reached London Stone he struck it with his sword, and said "Now is Mortimer lord of this city."

To John Mortimer, cousin of the duke of York and possible introducer of a new dynasty, the Londoners were not disinclined, did he prove himself worthy, to give a welcome. But there were only the mob, the worthless and the miserable, to support Jack Cade, the robber captain. It was the latter character which the leader most successfully sustained, because he had indeed no political ability, or because he could not keep in hand his army of peasants. There might be political excuse for his execution, at Mile End and at the Standard in Cheap, of the sheriff of Kent and of Lord Say, the hated treasurer; but there could be none for his plundering of the houses of wealthy citizens. The "honest and thrifty commons" were turned against him, and after a hasty council, over which the mayor and aldermen presided, Lord Scales and Matthew Gough, then in command of the garrison at the Tower, were summoned to their aid.

At ten o'clock on the night of the 6th all the city rose against the rebels, and a battle was fought on London Bridge which lasted until eight o'clock in the morning, and in course of which many were slain and thrown into the Thames. Cade's men broke into the King's Bench and the Marshalsea prisons in Southwark and set free the prisoners, and about midnight they fired the bridge. In the morning Archbishop Kemp of York, chancellor, arrived with Beaufort and the archbishop of York, and offered sealed pardons to the rebels. They accepted and dispersed; but in the counties they continued their acts of rapine and of violence, and Cade a week later was proclaimed a traitor.

He was captured, beheaded and quartered, and then his mangled remains were drawn on a hurdle through Southwark, and through the city from the bridge to Newgate, and his head set afterwards upon the bridge.

The adventures of Cade indicate what was to be the reception in London of a true representative of the House of York. He found, as the grandfather of the reigning king had done half a century before, that the city was an important part of his strength.

In June, 1460, Edward, Earl of March, son and heir to the duke of York, and Salisbury and Warwick landed at Sandwich; and thence with a host of Kentish men they marched to London, and were welcomed by certain aldermen and commoners. Scales, who was true to King Henry, was obliged to shut himself up in the Tower with the lords Vesey, Lovell and de la Warr.

From London the Yorkist lords, except Salisbury whom they left in the city as governor, marched to Northampton; and there on the 10th of July they defeated and captured the king. Meanwhile the citizens besieged the Tower and kept throughout London a rigorous watch. The Tower yielded when the victorious lords returned, bringing with them their royal prisoner; and there were various prosecutions for treason, in which the civic officers and the Yorkist leaders acted in perfect accord.

After the second battle of St. Albans had, in February 1461, restored the king to liberty, when the royal forces were near the city and threatened to march on it, the mayor would have sent food and money to the queen's army; but the people of London, when they knew the destination of the carts which held the provisions, raided them and shared their contents. On the 28th Edward and Warwick entered the city,

and on the 1st of March Neville, the chancellor, summoned a general assembly of citizens to Clerkenwell Green, and explained to them the title of Edward, now Duke of York, to the throne, and the Londoners, with applause, proclaimed him king. They said to each other, according to a chronicler, "Let us walk in a new vineyard and let us make a gay garden in the month of March with this fair white rose and herb, the Earl of March." All England was not yet subject to Edward IV., but in London he was undisputed king.

King Henry, after he had been captured in 1465, was brought a prisoner to the Tower. He regained his liberty and his crown in 1470; but he and Neville attempted in vain to secure the adhesion of London. The citizens remained Yorkists; and in April, 1471, they opened their gates to Edward. He marched from the city to Barnet, where he defeated the Lancastrian army, and from the field of victory he sent to St. Paul's the corpses of his enemies, once his friends, Warwick and Montagu, and they lay naked in their coffins that all men might behold them. Edward arrived at the cathedral on the same day, to offer thanks for his success, and passed from the city to Westminster Palace. And soon afterwards King Henry, on horseback and clad in a long gown of blue velvet, was brought through London, along Cheap and to Westminster, and thence to the Tower, where for the rest of his life he was a prisoner.

In May occurred the attempt of Warwick's cousin, Thomas Neville, called the Bastard of Fauconberg. He, with his men of Essex and Kent, made on the 14th a simultaneous attack on Bishopsgate, Aldgate, London Bridge, and the waterside. At Aldgate an entrance was won; but the citizens under Robert Bassett, alderman, fought so manfully that the invaders were expelled, and were pursued with much slaughter

as far as Stratford. Then those who elsewhere were making assaults fled also ; some of them were chased to Deptford. A week later Edward, at the head of thirty thousand men, entered London in triumph, and on the same night King Henry died in the Tower. He lay in state at St. Paul's and at Blackfriars.

It remains to examine the policy by which Edward IV. secured so successfully the loyalty of his capital city, for his friendship with the Londoners was unbroken until the end of his reign. Probably his most effective measure was his attachment to himself of the middle class. In 1462, the year after he had been proclaimed king, he incorporated the Tallow-chandlers and the Barbers, and in the subsequent years of his reign the Ironmongers, the Pewterers, the Dyers, the Musicians, the Parish Clerks, the Carpenters, the Fullers and the Cooks. This was greatly to enlarge the aristocracy of London, the livery companies. Moreover in the first parliament of Edward IV. the statute against the importation of articles which belonged to the mystery of silkwomen was confirmed ; and in the fourth year of his reign an act forbade the importation to London or other place in the realm of a long list of articles made of wool, silk and thread, leather, iron, steel and other metals, as well as such accessories to civilisation as dice, tennis balls, playing cards, and painted ware. Such legislation must have deprived the manufacturing crafts of the city of all serious foreign competition, and at the same time have protected the humbler labourers whom they employed. The statute was enough in itself to account for the Yorkist politics of London.

With the measures of Edward IV. which raised the position of the middle class, were others which tended ultimately to render less popular the government of the city.

They were the outcome of a movement towards definition expressed also in the incorporation of the companies.

In 1404, at an election of sheriffs, so great a multitude of apprentices and serving men assembled in the Guildhall, and so clamorous were they, that the order of the proceedings was disturbed; and it was ordained subsequently by the mayor, aldermen and Common Council that none might take part in or be present at the election of any officer of the city unless he had received a summons from the serjeants of the mayor, the sheriffs, or the chamberlain. In 1467-8 the electors were further limited to the members of the Common Council. This was, it is true, a body composed of the popularly elected representatives of wards; yet to render it the sole electorate of magistrates was to depart from that most ideally democratic type of government which derives its authority from a free assembly of citizens. It must be remembered, however, that such governments, except in very small or in peculiarly constituted states, are defenceless against the tyranny of the noisiest, or of any who, by forming a clique, have taken to themselves the advantage of organisation; and their freedom is apt to be rather theoretical than real.

In 1475-6 another ordinance permitted the Common Council to associate with themselves as electors the "honest men of their mysteries." The innovation, in view of the efficiency and the independent rights of the incorporated crafts, is not surprising; but it opened a way for the undue arrogation to themselves of governing power by the livery companies.

The spirit of definition was again expressed in the incorporation of the city itself in 1478, when a charter of Edward IV. permitted the mayor and commonalty to

acquire and hold property. As always definition was the enemy of liberty. Henceforth the constitution of London lacked elasticity: it could not readily adapt itself to new conditions, and the class in power had the support of all that almost irresistible force, which belongs to whatever is part of codified laws.

The part of the citizens in the fortunes of Edward IV. made their support more than ever an object for any who wished to seize the throne. When in the spring of 1483 the news reached London that Richard of Gloucester and Buckingham had taken the young king, Edward V., from the keeping of his mother's relatives, the queen mother with her younger son took sanctuary at Westminster, and all the city was thrown into an uproar. On every side men were arming themselves, in fear of the designs of Richard. But the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, who credited Richard with a loyalty like his own, went into the city, and in an address he assured the Londoners of the good faith of the dukes and their desire to hasten Edward's coronation. And the truth of his words seemed to be proved when, on the 4th of May, the mayor and aldermen in scarlet robes, and the commons of the city clad in violet, rode to Hornsey Park to meet the young king, whom his uncle, Richard of Gloucester, escorted with fit humility.

Soon afterwards Richard obtained the custody of the little duke of York as well as that of the king, and both brothers were placed first in the palace of the bishop of London, and then in the Tower. The lords who were making arrangements for the coronation held councils at Baynard's Castle, but the cabal who favoured the plans of Richard met in Crosby Place.

The execution of the loyal Hastings was the beginning of

Richard's overt acts of treachery. He appreciated the force which London could wield; but he could not acquire, as other kings and aspirants to the throne had done, the support of a reputable party among the citizens. Instead, he sought for traitors among the great Londoners, and the mayor, Sir Edmund Shaw, goldsmith, was won over.

On Sunday, the 10th of June, Ralph Shaw, brother to the mayor, preached at Paul's Cross a sermon in which he endeavoured to prove the illegitimacy of Edward V. and his brother. The effect on the assembled crowd is said to have been disappointing; but on the following Tuesday Buckingham made to the mayor, aldermen and commons at the Guildhall an address in which he not only laboured the same point, but further recalled exactions and acts of tyranny of the late king, in the hope of incensing the citizens against him and his line. "The which process," says Fabyan, who may have been present, "was in so eloquent wise shewed and uttered, without any impediment of spitting or other countenance, and that of a long while, with so good sugared words of exhortation and according sentence, that many a wise man that day marvelled, and commended him for the good ordering of his words; but not for the intent and purpose the which that thereupon ensued."

So much eloquence had a paralysing effect. The duke, when his speech was over, looked round the hall and expected the people, duly inspired by their mayor, to have set up the cry of "King Richard, King Richard!" But instead they were "hushed and mute." He held a whispered consultation with the mayor, and afterwards, even more emphatically and skilfully, he again rehearsed his arguments, yet his audience remained "still as the midnight." Then the recorder, "a sad man and an honest," at the mayor's

bidding unwillingly repeated the duke's tale, but still in all the hall no man made response; and finally Buckingham spoke again, and with flattering words besought the Londoners to show their minds for Richard or against him. There arose the confused sound of much whispering; but at the back of the hall were some servants of the duke and other partizans, who suddenly threw up their caps, and called out, as loudly as they could, "King Richard, King Richard!" And the cry was taken up by 'prentices and boys in the crowd, while the citizens listened as men amazed. But Buckingham declared that Richard had been proclaimed king by the citizens. And on the morrow the mayor, the aldermen and the chief of the commoners of London were actors in that farce in which Richard was persuaded to accept the crown of England.

This account of the manner in which the citizens, deserted by their mayor, puzzled and taken by surprise, were induced to accept Richard III. as king, is taken chiefly from Sir Thomas More. That writer as a staunch friend to the Tudors was antipathetic to Richard, but the details which he gives agree in their outline and spirit with the record made by Robert Fabyan. The Londoners who had been so instrumental in the overthrow first of Richard II. and then of Henry VI., can have cared little for the sacredness of direct descent and primogeniture; but, on the other hand, they had been undoubtedly and with reason attached to Edward IV. They may indeed have feared the evils of a disorderly minority. Otherwise their deliberate aversion from Edward V. could be explained only by a taste for experimental politics, by a gambling spirit, which even in that unstable age is not likely to have characterised the prosperous citizens.

Any who did so gamble were unfortunate in their venture,

for Richard in his relation to the city was chiefly a borrower.

On the 28th of August, 1485, the mayor, aldermen and commons of London put on again their robes of scarlet and violet, and again, as they had done two years before, rode out to Hornsey Park to meet a king. This time it was Henry Tudor, lately proclaimed Henry VII.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL
LONDON IN THE FIFTEENTH
CENTURY

“**T**HE beauty of this island is confined to London ; which, although sixty miles distant from the sea, possesses all the advantages to be desired in a maritime town ; being situated on the river Thames, which is very much affected by the tide for many miles—I do not know the exact number—above it ; and London is so much benefited by this ebb and flow of the river that vessels of 100 tons burden can come up to the city, and ships of any size to within five miles of it ; yet the water in this river is fresh for twenty miles below London. Although this city has no buildings in the Italian style, but of timber or brick like the French, the Londoners live comfortably, and it appears to me that there are not fewer inhabitants than at Florence or Rome. It abounds with every article of luxury, as well as with the necessaries of life ; but the most remarkable thing in London is the wonderful quantity of wrought silver. I do not allude to that in private houses, though the landlord of the house in which the Milanese ambassador lived had plate to the amount of one hundred crowns, but to the shops of London. In one single street named the Strand, leading to St. Paul’s,

there are fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice and Florence, put together, I do not think there would be found so many of magnificence as are to be seen in London. And these vessels are all either salt cellars or drinking cups or basins to hold water for the hands; for they eat off that fine tin (pewter?) which is little inferior to silver. These great riches of London are not occasioned by its inhabitants being noblemen or gentlemen; being all on the contrary persons of low degree and artificers, who have congregated there from all parts of the world, and from Flanders and from every other place. No one can be mayor or alderman of London who has not been an apprentice in his youth. . . Still the citizens of London are thought quite as highly of there as the Venetian gentlemen are at Venice, as I think your Magnificence may have perceived.

“ . . . The mayor . . . is in no less estimation with the Londoners than the person of our most serene lord (the Doge) is with us, or than the Gonfaloniero at Florence; and the day on which he enters upon his office he is obliged to give a sumptuous entertainment to all the principal people in London, as well as to foreigners of distinction; and I, being one of the guests together with your Magnificence, carefully observed every room and hall and the court where the company were all seated, and was of opinion that there must have been 1,000 or more persons at table. This dinner lasted four hours or more, but it is true that the dishes were not served with that assiduity and frequency which is the custom with us in Italy: there being long pauses between the courses, the company conversing the while.

“ A no less magnificent banquet is given when two other

officers, named sheriffs, are appointed; to which I went, being anxious to see everything well. Your Magnificence also was invited, but did not go in consequence of the invitation having come from the Lord Privy Seal. At this feast I observed the infinite profusion of victuals, and of plate which was for the most part gilt, and amongst other things I noticed how punctiliously they sat in their order, and the extraordinary silence of everyone, insomuch that I could have imagined it one of those public repasts of the Lacedemonians that I have read of."

Thus wrote at the close of the fifteenth century a Venetian traveller to England. The London which he described was larger than that over which the Edwards had ruled. Already in the fourteenth century there were houses outside the northern and eastern gates, in the district which formed the wards of Cripplegate Without, Aldgate Without, Bishopsgate Without, and Portsoken. They were the dwellings of poor labourers whose means did not allow them to benefit by the protection of the wall, and who must have been defenceless against the incursions of the peasants in 1381 and 1450, and that of the Bastard of Fauconberg in 1471. But outside Ludgate there was a suburb of a very different character.

There were two reasons which, even at this early date, made in London a West End. The narrow streets and the crowded houses within the walls had, in a period when men had liberal tastes and a considerable knowledge of the arts, rendered inevitable the existence of more spacious quarters for the residence of the fashionable, and their situation was determined first by that of Westminster, and secondly by the course of the river. Merchants of Fleet Street had as convenient an access to the trading ships of the Thames as those who lived in Thames Street; and courtiers and great men

who dwelt on the road between Ludgate and Newgate and Westminster were within easy reach of the king and the Parliament. In 1393 the buildings outside these gates had become so numerous that the new ward of Farringdon Without, which is conterminous on the west with the modern city, was instituted.

In the district outside the wall on the west side of the city there was a colony of law students. Young men, or rather boys, who wished to become clerks of chancery dwelt in the Inns of Chancery, together with others who studied the elements of the law and were eventually received into the Inns of Court. In the latter those who intended to follow the legal profession in its higher branches did "not only study the laws to serve the courts of justice and profit their country, but did further learn to dance, to sing, to play on instruments, on the ferial days, and to study divinity on the festival, using such exercises as they did who were brought up in the king's court." The youth of gentle birth could receive no more courtly education. Oxford and Cambridge were still a field for poor scholars who were supported by the endowments of the colleges, but in the Inns of Court a student could live for no less sum than twenty marks a year, and if, as was generally the case, he had a servant, his expenses were naturally increased. "I myself have seen," says Ferne, "a calendar of all those which were together in the society of one of the same houses, about the last year of King Henry V., with the arms of their house and family, marshalled by their name; and I assure you the selfsame monument doth approve them all to be gentlemen of perfect descents."

Of all the Inns of Court the most famous are those of the Temple. In 1347, the buildings once held by the Templars

were leased to the lawyers by the Knights Hospitallers. They were plundered by Wat Tyler's rebels ; but the students continued to prosper, and soon afterwards were so numerous that they were divided into the societies of the Inner and the Middle Temple. These shared, as their chapel, the ancient Temple church. The Inner Temple hall is said to have been built in the reign of Edward III. ; but it has been altered, burnt, rebuilt and restored. In the Temple garden, a green terrace on the banks of the Thames, Shakespeare places his famous scene of the adoption of their emblems by the parties of Lancaster and York. The lords have adjourned for discussion from the Temple hall to the garden, but none will definitely declare his allegiance. Then Richard Plantagenet plucks a white rose :

“ Since you are tongue-tied and so loth to speak,
In dumb significants proclaim your thoughts :
Let him that is a trueborn gentleman,
And stands upon the honour of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
From off this brier pluck a white rose with me.”

And Somerset retorts :

“ Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth,
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.”

When all have chosen Warwick speaks noteworthy words:

“ This brawl to-day
Grown to this faction, in the Temple Garden,
Shall send, between the red rose and the white,
A thousand souls to death and deadly night.”

To the Inner Temple several Inns of Chancery were attached. Clifford's Inn in Fleet Street was let to the students of the law or “ apprentices of the bench ” by Isabel, widow of Robert Clifford, in 1345-6. Lyon's Inn, once

between Holywell Street and Wych Street, which both have disappeared, dates as an Inn of Chancery at least from the reign of Henry V., and Clement's Inn from that of Edward IV. To the Middle Temple belonged an inn situated near the back of the Old Bailey, and another called Chester's Inn or Strand Inn, on part of the site of Somerset House. The inmates of both eventually removed to the New Inn, almost opposite Lyon's Inn, and on a site now at the corner of Houghton Street and Aldwych.

The Inns of Court, other than the Temple, are outside the liberties of the city. Lincoln's Inn occupies part of the site of the first house of the Black Friars, and it is said to have acquired its name in the reign of Edward I. from Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who assigned it to the lawyers for their residence. Of the Inns of Chancery which were connected with it, Thaive's Inn owed its name to its owner under Edward III., John Thaive or Tavie, whose tenants in it were certain "apprentices to the law." In the reign of Edward IV. it became the property of the benchers of Lincoln's Inn by the gift of Gregory Nicholls, mercer, and they constituted it one of their Inns of Chancery. It was burnt about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Furnival's Inn, which named Furnival Street, was so called after the lords Furnival, once its proprietors, and was occupied by students of the law under Henry IV. It was bought by the society of Lincoln's Inn under Edward IV.

Gray's Inn, the fourth Inn of Court, appears already to have been established as such in 1311. Its name commemorates the fact that in this and the succeeding century it was held on lease from the family of Gray de Wilton. Two Inns of Chancery are known to have been attached to it. Staple Inn, opposite Gray's Inn lane on the south side of Holborn,

was an Inn of Chancery under Henry V., and is said to have belonged previously to the merchants of the staple. Barnard's Inn, once called Mackworth's Inn, between Staple Inn and Fetter Lane, was inhabited by students of law in the reign of Henry VI.

Besides the Inns of Court and of Chancery there were in the same part of London certain houses appropriated in the fifteenth century to more dignified members of the legal profession, judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, barons of the exchequer and serjeants at law. They were the Serjeants' Inns in Chancery Lane, Fleet Street, and Holborn, of which the last, called Scroope's Inn, was destroyed at an early date.

There is evidence that the citizens did not always live at peace with the law students about their gates. In August, 1442, one whole night was occupied by a brawl between the members of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the inhabitants of Fleet Street. Considerable slaughter took place on either side; many people of the city gathered to the scene, and the mayor and sheriffs made peace with difficulty. It is this or another riot to which Stow refers in his *Annals*, and which he assigns to the year 1462. It caused, he states, the imprisonment in Hertford Castle of the principals of Clifford's Inn, Furnival's Inn and Barnard's Inn.

Many of the Inns can still be seen in London, although their buildings date, almost all of them, from a date later than the fifteenth century. The Inns of Court, the two Temples, Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, remain, and belong still to the lawyers. Their present use has evolved naturally from that to which they were assigned five or six centuries ago. Of the Inns of Chancery, Staple Inn, Clement's Inn and Clifford's Inn still stand, although Clifford's Inn is on

sale for a building site. A lucky chance has caused Barnard's Inn to fall into the hands of the Mercer's School, who have preserved its hall. But Furnival's Inn has been swallowed up completely by the ugly buildings of the Prudential Assurance Company in Holborn; Lyon's Inn disappeared in the course of those changes which made Aldwych and the Kingsway, and as a part of which New Inn is even now undergoing demolition. The place of Thaivie's Inn is marked by a blind alley which leads from St. Andrew's Street, Holborn, and is flanked by uninteresting buildings.

Serjeant's Inn in Fleet Street remains; but Serjeant's Inn in Chancery Lane, on the south side of the Public Record Office, has lately been demolished.

In the fifteenth century all these Inns were centres of life in a district beyond the turmoil of London. They were set among fields and gardens, near the city but withdrawn from it. And they are still, such of them as have not perished, withdrawn from the life of London. It has spread out far around them on every side, but it has never invaded their precincts. To turn from the noise and glare and confusion of Holborn into Gray's Inn, or into the small fresh courtyard and garden of Staple Inn; to leave Fleet Street for the green and the shadows and the ancient buildings of the Temple or Clifford's Inn, is dramatic. There are no places more restful and secluded, where the grass and trees seem greener and the shadows of the buildings more deep and quiet, than these precincts of the Inns which are so intensely contrasted with all that is around them.

In the fifteenth century the city architects found new scope in the buildings of the halls of the livery companies. While only the Goldsmiths and the Tailors are known with certainty to have owned halls before the later years of the fourteenth

century, in the reign of Richard II. at least twenty-eight companies had acquired them, and others were busy with the work of building. The halls, many of which were magnificent and very spacious, added to the stateliness of London. Some of them were, like the Inns of the lawyers, adapted from the great private houses, in which magnates and rich merchants had dwelt under the Edwards and Richard II. The Mercers acquired for their hall the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon.

There are records of the building of the Grocers' Hall on its present site near Cheapside. The members of the company, by means of subscriptions from sixty-three of their number, bought from the Lord Fitzwalter the old monastery of the Friars Sack which once had been a Jewish synagogue. On the 8th of May, 1427, "was the furste stoon leyd of the grocers' place in Conyhoope Lane, in the warde of Chepe, there being present our worshipful Alderman, Thomas Knolles, William Cambridge, John de Wellys, Rogere Otleye and many others; and fro' the seide viii. day of May to the v. day of Juyn next following was maade the foundement of the west gablyhende of the hall." In the ensuing June the whole foundation had been completed; the walls had been practically built; and the doors and certain windows and chimneys had been made. In addition to the hall itself the new premises included the friary chapel, a parlour, a chamber, a vault, a buttery, a pantry, a kitchen and privies; and, eventually, the residence of a clerk, and, in the front yard, almshouses for poor brethren and sisters. On the 5th of February, 1429, the first dinner was "imade in the parlour to our aldermen and other many worthy men of the felliship." For two centuries afterwards the hall had only an earthen floor strewn with rushes, and the tables were boards on

trestles. In a garden, which probably had belonged to Fitzwalter's house, were vines which grew up to the parlour windows, and an arbour and "alleys, hedgerows, and a bowling alley, with an ancient tower of stone and brick at the north west corner."

The original hall of the Drapers was an important building in St. Swithin's Lane, Cannon Street. Their dining hall, partly hung with blue "buckram," could receive from two to three hundred persons; they had parlours hung with tapestry and furnished with cushions, a chequer room, probably so called from the pattern of its hangings, which was carpeted with mats, and a ladies' room. The kitchen had three fireplaces.

The Goldsmiths in the fifteenth century built a new hall on the site in Foster's Lane which they have owned since the reign of Edward III., and the furniture was of a luxury accordant with the traditions of their trade. In 1467 they bought "v. benches of tapestry-werke, wth Goldsmyth armes; and vii. cuthons (cushions) of the same, for cushions and banches for the hall," at a cost of £6 9s. 6d., as well as two pieces of red worsted for the chapel and the chamber, linen cloth and tassels, and dye for the hangings of the chapel and hall; and they paved the hall. Twenty years later Elizabeth Philip, daughter to John Wolke, or Walsh, goldsmith, gave to the company, to buy their more frequent prayers for the souls of John Walsh and of all Christians, a pall which weighed 26lb. 4oz., a great pair of balances, and five fine cushions of tapestry which represented a woodland scene, and on which were wrought the goldsmiths' arms, and, in red and white letters, her father's name.

The period in which the halls of companies were building was a favourable one: it was that in which the perpen-

dicular style in architecture became established. It was characterised, to quote Mr. J. E. Price in his *Descriptive Account of the Guildhall* (p. 49), by "the use of battlements upon churches and other buildings, flower and fan tracery, so constantly to be seen on both porch and cloister, fine open timber roofs, cornices and canopies enriched and elegant, together with a highly tasteful treatment in the disposition of panelling upon walls and ceiling." In the Guildhall there is an existing example of the hall architecture of the century. "In this yere also," wrote Robert Fabyan, under the date 1411, "was the Guylde halle of London begon to be newe edyfied, and of an olde and lytell cotage made into a fayre and goodly house as it nowe apperyth."

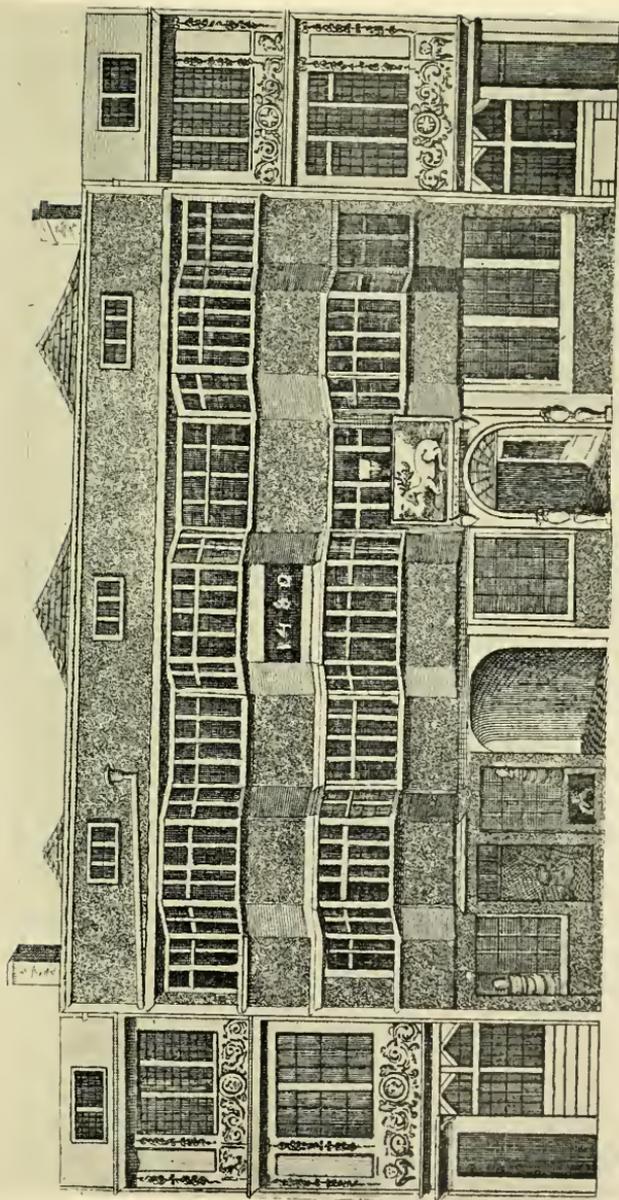
The most interesting parts of the existing Guildhall are the entrance, through a Norman arch, the great hall, and the crypt; and these all date from the fifteenth century. The hall was indeed much restored after the fire. Its upper part, including the higher portions of the groups of clustered pillars which divide it into bays, was renewed; the walls were raised to the extent of two-thirds of their original height. The open timber roof was replaced by a flat wooden ceiling; but in 1864 a new roof, similar in general design to that which must have existed before 1666, was made. The Guildhall of the fifteenth century was a far less lofty structure than the present building, but its interior gave an impression of wide spaciousness which has since been lost.

The lower range of windows in the hall and the details of ornament have all that richness of fancy, that spontaneous life, which makes so gorgeous mediæval architecture. They show a restraint which distinguishes them from the more luxuriant work of craftsmen of the preceding age.

The eastern crypt is pure and very fine perpendicular work. It is remarkable for the beautiful carved bosses at the intersections and points of the ribs of the roof. The western crypt is said to be the only remaining portion of "the olde and lytell cottage" in which the life of London centred before 1411; but the removal of the vaulting, probably after 1666, and the repairs then speedily executed, have made almost impossible the determination of its original form.

The entrance to the Guildhall was robbed of some of its state when, in the late eighteenth century, the erection above it, surmounted by the city's motto and arms, and the buildings to the left were introduced. But the simple Norman arch, and the vaulted passage with groined roof which leads beyond it to the great hall, are still remarkable for their dignity and their grace.

From the Venetian traveller it can be gathered that citizens still dwelt, as a rule, in houses made not of stone but of timber or brick and timber. There is extant a building contract of the year 1410 which gives a detailed description of some dwelling-houses of the period. By it a certain John More, timbermonger, and John Gerard, carpenter, undertook to erect in Friday Street three shops; it is to be concluded that they were entirely wooden. Beneath all three was a single cellar; each had on the ground floor a stall and a passage, on the first floor a hall, a pantry and a kitchen, and on the second a principal chamber and a drawing or withdrawing room. Mention is made of the ceilings of this uppermost storey. For each house there were two staircases and a drain. The height of the lower storey was ten-and-a-half feet, that of the first nine feet, and that of the third eight feet. Each house had a gable looking



A FIFTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE IN LONDON.

to the east, made according to a design drawn on paper, and shutters and windows of wood. More and Gerard supplied benches and "speres" for the halls.

Some years earlier a certain Hugh Hayward agreed to repair "Le Blake Hors on the Hope" in Fleet Street in a manner which must have given it accommodation very like that of the houses in Friday Street. He contracted to build within two years a new chamber of new timber on the site of the old hall, a good hall of timber on the site of the old kitchen, to mend with old and new timber three chambers and a certain old chamber, to make three chimneys, a kitchen, a wooden wall next to the neighbouring house and an aisle or entry beside it, and to supply, wherever necessary, new joists and tables in the chambers, and repair windows, doors and stairs.

From these contracts an idea of the typical dwelling house of the merchant of the period can be deduced. In a basement was a cellar, certainly vaulted, which served as a warehouse. The shop was level with the street, and sometimes had an open front, after the manner of the poorer fruit shops of modern London, and on one side of it a passage gave access to a staircase. On the first floor was the hall, the principal living room of the family, conveniently situated near the kitchen and offices, and bedrooms and other private rooms were on the third floor.

In Crosby Hall, so lately removed from its original site in Bishopsgate Street, there was a fine example of the hall and some adjoining rooms of the house of one of the wealthiest city merchants.

It was built by Sir John Crosby, alderman and at one time sheriff, whom Edward IV. knighted in 1471. It was the residence of Richard of Gloucester while he acted as

protector when his nephew, Edward V., was king; and in it certain scenes of Shakespeare's "Richard III." are laid.

The lofty and spacious hall, which measured sixty-nine by twenty-seven feet and had an oriel window, was one of the best specimens of domestic architecture in the perpendicular period. It had a timber roof. The windows and the architectural design of the whole had a beauty which was not without a severe element; yet there was wealth in the carving, both of wood and of stone, which produced the ornament of details. Sir John Crosby built for himself a house, magnificent, yet a fit abode for the responsible magnate of a city.

From their wills it seems that the household goods of citizens were much those which they had possessed in the previous century. They had come, perhaps, to own more plate and jewellery; and among records of such articles the occasional legacy of silver powder-boxes indicates the adoption of a new custom. The goldsmiths sometimes used their art to ornament wood, as to make a tablet of cypress garnished with gold. Beds were bequeathed with much detail; there is a description of an "entire bed" as consisting of three curtains and a canopy of blue silk, a coverlet and a tester of green, a pair of sheets, two blankets and a quilt. In 1460 a citizen disposed of an iron-bound chest in which to keep title deeds, with the iron instrument over it "called bolt."

The existing churches in London which date mainly from the fifteenth century are those of St. Ethelburga, St. Helen Bishopsgate, and St. Olave Hart Street, together with the chancel and outer walls of All Hallows' Barking.

The little church of St. Ethelburga in Bishopsgate Street has suffered much deformation. The windows in the north



INTERIOR OF CROSBY HALL.

and south aisles have been built up; the roof and the east window are modern. Since the sixteenth century the church porch has been let as the site of shops, and, as a consequence, the west front is partly concealed. But there remain, to give distinction to the small and gloomy interior, the tracery of the west window and the graceful pillars of the south aisle with the arches they support.

The church of St. Helen Bishopsgate served a double purpose, that of a parish church and that of a chapel for the adjoining nunnery of St. Helen, and it is to this circumstance that it owes its curious plan. The nuns' choir, which is parallel with the nave and chancel and almost equally wide, has, by the removal of a screen, been thrown into the body of the church. It is separated from it by clustered pillars which bear arches. Of these the second arch from the east end, as well as the remains of the lancet windows in the north wall, date from the thirteenth, and the eastern chapels from the fourteenth century, but the rest of the church belongs to the later period.

St. Olave's Hart Street is the most complete example of a perpendicular church which is left in London. The nave is separated from the north and from the south aisle by arcades supported by clustered columns. Above these there is a clerestory. The windows show, for the most part, fifteenth century work, but the tracery of the east window is modern. The roof dates from 1632.

Not far from St. Olave's and very near the precincts of the Tower is the beautiful church of All Hallows' Barking. In the fifteenth century the Norman nave of this church was surmounted by a perpendicular clerestory, and was surrounded by perpendicular side aisles, a perpendicular chancel, and perpendicular chapels to the north and south of the

chancel. The ceiling and the tracery of the east window are modern.

The most impressive quality of all these fifteenth century churches of the city, small as they usually are, is a certain spaciousness. It is produced partly by the ground plans, which approximate to a parallelogram, combined with the low-pitched roofs, and partly by the lightness of the architecture. And this lightness is not a matter of proportion only; it is the effect also of some austerity, of a simplicity which suffers the most delicate lines to have their full effect.

There is not much evidence as to the amusements of the citizens of London in the fifteenth century. In 1409 a proclamation forbade money to be levied, on occasions of marriages, for the games called "foteballe" and "cok-threshshyng." Londoners seem therefore to have retained the taste for sport observed in them in the days of Becket; but it would appear that they had thus early allowed some professionalism to contaminate their games.

There are few records in this period of dramatic representations in the city, other than those which formed part of the pageantry for the reception of personages into the city. As in an earlier age, when the king or another potentate made an entry in state, all the city was decorated in his honour, and at suitable points, such as London Bridge, the tun in Cornhill, the conduit and the cross in Cheap, and the conduit by St. Paul's, he was greeted by figures, singly or in groups, who represented classical personages, virtues and vices, sciences, arts, and other abstractions, and who made to him fitting metrical speeches. There were pageants of this kind when Henry V. returned to London after Agincourt, and in 1432, when Henry VI. first entered the city after his

coronation in Paris. But there was little leisure for them during the stress of the Wars of the Roses.

The same may be said of the tournaments at Smithfield. In 1409 the seneschal of Hainault, with a goodly company of his countrymen and others, came to England "for to do and perfourme certayne faytes of armys agayn dyverse noble men and genty lmen of this lande. . . For executynge of whiche disporte the place of Smythfelde by the Kyng was appoynted, and barryd and fensyd for the same entent." And in 1467, in the month of June, "were certayne actes and feates of warre doone in Smythfelde, atwene Sir Antony Wydevile, called lord Scalys, upon that one partye, and the Bastard of Burgoyne, chalengour, on that other partye; of whiche the lord Scalys wanne the honour."

The high place which the citizens and their magistrates occupied both in their own estimation and that of others impressed the Venetian traveller. And it is indeed remarkable. In 1464 the mayor was invited to be present at a feast of the court; but when he arrived with his officers he found, "in time of washing," that the Earl of Worcester had been given precedence over him. Therefore, "as his dignity required of the city," he went home again with his brethren the aldermen, and in a marvellously short time he himself served for them a feast, of which cygnets and many other delicacies formed part. The court officials took fright when they realised that the representatives of the wealthy and powerful city had thus departed in a huff, and they sent after them a gift of meat, bread and wine, and "divers subtleties." But he who brought the present found all the dainties he could supply already set out on the mayor's table. He was however a man of tact who obtained "love and thanks for his message and a great reward withal." "And thus," says

Fabyan, "the worship of the city was kept, and not lost for hym. And I trust that never it shall, by the grace of God."

Edward IV. was prodigal of attentions to the city. In July, 1482, "the King rode on huntynge into the forest of Waltham, whether he commanded the mayer with a certayne of his brethren to come, and to gyve attendance upon hym with certayne commoners of the cytie; where, when they were commyn, the Kynge caused the game to be brought before them, so that they sawe course after course, and many a dere, both rede and falowe, to be slayn before them. And after that goodly disport was passyd, the Kynge commaunded his offycers to brynge the mayer and his company unto a pleasant lodge made all of grene bowys, and garnished with tables and other things necessary, where they were set at dyner, and servyd with many deyntie dysshes, and of dyverse wynes good plentie, as white, red, and claret, and caused them to be sette to dyner or he were servyd of his owne; and over that caused the lord chamberlayne, with other lordes to hym assygned, to chere the sayd mayer and his company sondry tymes whyle they were at dyner, and at their departynge gave unto them of venyson great plentie."

And in the following August King Edward sent to the mayoress and the aldermen's wives two harts and six bucks and a tun of wine; and the mayor and aldermen and their ladies, with some commoners invited to the feast, partook of the royal gifts in the Drapers' Hall. William Marryat, mayor in this year, was a draper, and Fabyan holds him in part responsible for the king's marked affability. "The mayer was a marchaunt of wonderous adventures, into many and sondry contres, by reason whereof the Kynge had yerely of hym notable summes of money for his customes, besyde other pleasures that he shewyd to the kynge before tymes."

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION

THE two centuries which followed the Norman invasion were the period in which most religious houses in London had their beginning ; then to help the settlement of a religious community, or to contribute to its endowment, was the favourite expression of the impulse to piety. It has been seen that in the fourteenth century the same feeling frequently led to the rebuilding of churches and to the institution of chantries. But in this latter period there were still a few foundations of religious houses.

The settlement of the Knights Hospitallers in London can hardly be described as a new foundation. By a bull of Clement V., they were made the heirs of the Templars and an act of 1324 established them in possession of the property of that order. But they are interesting in the city rather as landlords of the lawyers of the Temple than as a religious community.

Two foundations were due to the initiative of Edward III. That king in 1348 instituted a house of secular canons in connection with the famed chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, afterwards the Parliament House, which is said to have been first made by King Stephen and which had lately been rebuilt ; and in 1350 he founded in the parish of St. Botolph

without Aldgate the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Graces, as a thank offering for Mary's care of him in his adventures by land and by sea.

This was the only Cistercian community in London. The Carthusians had not any house in the city, Westminster or Southwark; but in Smithfield outside the walls, Sir Walter Manny, knight, founded, on the place where the victims of the Black Death had hurriedly been buried, first a chapel, and then, in 1371, the famous Charterhouse.

The Charterhouse schoolboys and almsmen have survived the Carthusian monks; and this is fitting, for they represent the modern element in the spirit which led men to found religious houses. The impulse to asceticism was in the fourteenth century nearly exhausted, but the impulse to charity is an essential, not a passing, characteristic of society. Therefore hospitals were instituted then and in the fifteenth century as they were after the Reformation, and as they are still in modern times.

In 1331 William Elsyng, mercer, was moved by his compassion for the blind beggars who wandered homeless about the city, to found near Cripplegate the hospital variously known as that of St. Mary within Cripplegate and Elsing's hospital. It was intended for the accommodation of a hundred men and women, and blind or paralysed priests were received in it in preference to others. In its beginning it was governed by the clergy of St. Paul's, but after 1340 it was served, like many hospitals, by the Austin canons.

The executors of Richard Whittington founded in 1424 a house for thirteen poor citizens, preferably mercers, on the east side of the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal. These had each his room, but they took their meals together. They were bound to perform certain religious duties, especially

in the eternal interests of Whittington and Alice, his wife; each one received a weekly allowance of fourteen pence, and all were clad in seemly dark-coloured clothes. One of their number ruled and administered the house, which was under the supervision of the mayor and the wardens of the Mercers.

Soon afterwards, in 1442, the miseries of old and infirm priests, on whom Elsyng also had had compassion, caused three chaplains to found a hospital in the parish of All Hallows, London Wall. The chapel of St. Augustine Papey and an adjoining house and garden were acquired, and there shelter, food and firing were provided for a number of women, and of men who must all be priests. The hospital was called after the chapel.

A foundation of a different type was that of the Savoy Hospital, which occupied the site of John of Gaunt's palace. It was instituted by Henry VII. in 1505 and Henry VIII. in 1512, and was held by a corporation which consisted of a master, and of four chaplains who were the seneschal, the sacristan, the confessor and the hospitaller. There were other officials, men and women, and all wore a uniform of blue adorned by a Tudor rose of red and gold, embroidered on the breast. Every evening, one hour before sunset, the vice matrons and others stood at the great door of the hospital on the south side of the Strand, and admitted any poor who desired shelter for the night. The guests went first to the chapel, where they prayed for the soul of Henry VII., and then beds were allotted to them in the dormitory. Baths were prepared for them and their clothing cleansed. Only the sick were allowed to remain longer than one night, and were tended by the doctor, the surgeon and the sisters.

Near Fenchurch Street and the house of the Crossed or

Crutched Friars, Sir John Milbourne, once Mayor, built in 1535 almshouses for thirteen poor members of the Drapers' company and their wives.

Such were, from the fourteenth century to the Reformation, the chief additions to the ecclesiastical society of London. The hospitals may all be described as religious houses, for all approximated in their organisation to the monastic type, and in all the inmates were compelled to perform religious duties.

But it is clear that the purely monastic ideal was not part of the highest aspirations of the age, and inevitably therefore men of the best type were not found, as a rule, within the walls of convents, which sheltered rather the commonplace among mankind. And in monasteries and nunneries alike there was secularity and self seeking, ignorance, superstition and bigotry, sloth and self indulgence, and immorality. The religious profession would seem, at this date, to have been regarded not as a sacred vocation, but merely as a means of livelihood, and Chaucer's genteel prioress, his sporting monk, and his merry and careless friar were average types who did not offend the moral sense of ordinary men.

At the same time the position of the religious communities as great landlords in the city made them increasingly wealthy. It is significant that while in early civic struggles they played an active and important part, in the fifteenth century they mingled little in politics. They no longer constituted one of the forces which exercised initiative; they stood with the vulgar herd, ready to range themselves on the winning side, and dynastic changes passed over them, leaving them scatheless.

It is perhaps for lack of knowledge of the special ideals of earlier foundations in London that the moral failure of

the friars seems to have so much tragedy. For these simple brothers, who set out to minister in singleness of mind to the humblest of townfolk, came to be distinguished chiefly for a courtly talent. The friars were not behind the monks in the struggle to acquire wealth; when the neglected ideals which they preached had revived the spirit of religion and attracted to them the greatest in the land, they used their opportunity to make worldly profit of the great. They came to be known above all as the staunch friends of kings. They were often in conflict with the other clergy, but the disputes were no longer the outcome of truly different theories as to the religious profession, but merely those natural to two parties both striving by different methods to attain to worldly success. In 1465 they waged a hot battle to prove that alms rather than benefices were fit means for the support of priests; but the defence of poverty which they therefore advanced was a mere convention of their order, academic and interested.

It was impossible that the parish churches of London should constitute an independent source of spiritual life, because in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a large number of them came to be appropriated to the religious houses, and therefore to be entirely in their management, to be served by their nominees and to reflect their standards.

The chantries so numerous founded are among the most lifeless of all the forms in which faith has been manifested. The number of the citizens who thought to help their souls by endowing a chantry priest, to have none but routine duties, almost necessarily mechanical because inevitably monotonous, to follow the many unedifying examples of his fellows, is in itself proof of the deadness in this period of conventional belief.

In considering contemporary strictures on church and

churchmen it should be remembered that this was a critical age. The instability of the central government of the state united with the whole trend of thought in Europe, to cause men to be judged by standards derived not only from authority but also from principles of morality. As usual there were two classes of reformers, those who sought to improve existing institutions and those who wished to supersede them.

The first were found both within and without the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the men who had for the clerical profession a high ideal of holiness and of efficiency. Wyclif denounced the employment of clergy on secular business to the detriment of their spiritual duties, and the abuse of excommunication for purposes of gain, and on these points he probably was not far in advance of the enlightened conscience of his day. In 1382 an ordinance of the Court of Common Council ordered unchaste priests to be taken to the prison called the Tun, with minstrels playing to make public their disgrace; and the Londoners defended such usurpation of functions of the ecclesiastical courts on the ground that "they detested not only the negligence of the clergy but also their avarice, shown in allowing the guilty who bribed them to go unpunished." The traffic in benefices, generally effected by means of exchanges, was a frequent offence against public standards, and Archbishop Courtenay, in 1391, stated that most of the "choppe churches" dwelt in London. Robert Braybrook, bishop of London from 1382 to 1404, was a distinguished reformer. He was the first who attempted to end the practice of using St. Paul's cathedral as a place of business and pleasure, and he sought to restore the feasts of St. Paul and St. Earconwald to their honourable place among church festivals. He would also have prevented the desecration of Sundays and other holy days, but he was



CHAPEL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN AND ALL SAINTS, GUILDHALL.

most original in the support he gave to the movement for the formation of colleges. When lay society had been permeated by the principle of the gild, when it fashioned or modified almost all the institutions of the city, it was not unnatural to attach peculiar virtue to a communal life.

In the latter end of the fourteenth century, when it was desired to reform the chantry priests and minor canons of St. Paul's, they were organized into gilds, bound by prescribed rules and compelled to partake of common meals. Between 1327 and 1459 colleges were founded in the churches of St. Laurence Pountney, St. Peter in the Tower, the Guildhall Chapel, Walworth's Chapel, the churches of St. Michael Paternoster Royal, and All Hallows Barking, and Leadenhall Chapel. Probably by force of their regularity and because they brought better men to serve the churches, the colleges were a real power for good.

Especially in the latter half of the fourteenth century a parallel movement led to the institution of many gilds of laymen in connection with parish churches and religious houses.

Another manifestation of religious feeling in this period is modern. Citizens in the fourteenth century began to listen eagerly to sermons, and their taste was fostered by the best churchmen. The pulpit at Paul's Cross came to be a centre of life, but of a life rather of the intellect than of faith. The fifteenth century Londoners who gathered to hear arguments on points of doctrine and practice, and strictures on the morals and manners of the day, had left the middle ages behind them.

The heretics of London were found among those who thus listened at the cross. There is some difficulty in discovering the extent to which the old doctrines had lost their authority, because Lollardism found adherents chiefly in the lower

classes of the population. The rich citizens continued in the fifteenth century to endow by their wills the institutions of Holy Church; they provided for the celebration of their obits, for the maintenance of a light or an altar, for the foundation of a chantry, and, above all, they made bequests for the enlargement or rebuilding and the enrichment of their parish churches. That they were affected by the wave of criticism which was passing over society is shown by such actions as the passing of the ordinance of the Common Council, already cited, for the correction of immoral priests. But it does not appear that they were advocates of heretical doctrine, nor that they cavilled greatly at that which above all excited the resentment of the Lollards, the vast wealth of the church. As members of the companies, and thereby holders of property in mortmain, they occupied, indeed, a parallel position to the religious bodies. They had, however, a special grievance against the rectors of parishes which had its origin in the demand made by these for tithes. There was in London an old quarrel between the church and the citizens on the subject of tithes, and one which attained to final settlement only in the nineteenth century. Differences as to the proportion of rents due as tithes, and the claim to exact tithes on the profits of trade as well as on rent, were fruitful causes of dispute. The recurring friction tended to the unpopularity of parochial clergy.

But a resistance to claims for tithes might be based on a transgression of the limits sanctioned by the church; it might be consistent with strict orthodoxy. When the ultimate and revolutionary conclusions of Lollardist principles came to be understood, there seems to have been, among the propertied and mainly conservative classes in London, a certain reaction against the critical attitude. It had indeed come to be less

justified, for the reforming efforts of the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century bore fruit, and there was an amelioration in the manners and the administration of the church.

Yet London was a centre of Lollardism. The citizens were described by the monkish chronicles of St. Albans as "extremely proud and avaricious, unbelievers in God and the ancient traditions, maintainers of the Lollards, slanderers of religious persons, detainers of tithes, and impoverishers of the common people." The friars had once before found it easy to prove to the multitude of the city that the treasure of the church was not of this world, and the hold which the religious houses had obtained on property in the city could be added, with familiar scriptural authority, to the other economic grievances of the unenfranchised. But further, there is evidence that in this age there was in the mass of Londoners an inclination to theological speculation. From criticism of the monks and the priests it was, for practical people, easy to pass to criticism of their teachings; and reforms of the clergy could not bring back the old implicitness of faith.

The history of Wyclif as a teacher in London is obscured by the fact that, owing to the support given to him by John of Gaunt, his followers were identified with a certain party in civic politics. In 1382, when a popular preacher was being tried by the archbishop for heretical views on the subject of transubstantiation, the proceedings were interrupted by the city mob; but this action may be explained by the received opinion that the accused man was innocent. But a few years later it became clear beyond doubt how shaken was the allegiance of Londoners to the old faith and the hierarchy.

And the pulpits were the centre of disaffection. The fact was apparent to the governors of the church: the bishop in 1386 was empowered to imprison all maintainers and preachers of unsound doctrine; Braybrook forbade any but Franciscans to preach without a licence from himself; and in 1400 a royal proclamation was made against unauthorised preachers. The Austin friars were denounced in a sermon in 1381, and in consequence a turbulent attack was made on their house. Naturally preaching was an instrument of the defenders of the old opinions as of the advocates of the new.

Otherwise the Lollards propagated their doctrine by indictments of the church, the churchmen and the faith, posted especially on the doors of St. Paul's. Heretical literature was in circulation, for in 1413 a number of tracts, condemned by Convocation, were burnt at Paul's Cross. In 1392 the king forbade craftsmen and others to hold secret conventions for the discussion of Holy Scripture in an heretical way. The prohibition relates these Londoners in their intellectual unrest, their confused and rebellious activity, to many peoples who in many ages have striven for unauthorized ideals.

The statute "De Heretico Comburendo" was passed in the parliament of 1401, and during the fifteenth century many men and women were burnt for heresy in Smithfield or on Tower Hill, while a correspondent number abjured heretical opinions at Paul's Cross. Most of them were humble people, and not a few were priests. When Richard Wyche, vicar of Deptford, was, with his servant, burnt at Tower Hill in June 1440, vast crowds of Londoners made pilgrimages to the place of his death, until the civic magistrates, the wardens of livery companies, and even the king, interposed their authority, and a watch was kept on the hill by day and by night for the space of two months.

This incident proves how numerous were the Lollards and their sympathizers in the city. The fact was indicated at an earlier date on the occasion of Oldcastle's rising. He, in 1413, when he had been imprisoned in the Tower, was helped to escape by a parchment maker of London. On the 10th of December he was cursed, with all his supporters, by the archbishop at Paul's Cross, an action which goes to prove the contemporary report that he had in the city many followers. They were said to consist chiefly of serving men and apprentices. He assembled his forces in St. Giles's Fields on the 12th of January, but the king, by closing the city gates, prevented his friends in London from joining him. Some citizens were subsequently executed or pardoned for their share in the conspiracy.

On the whole there is matter for wonder that the Lollards of London were so successfully kept in check.

CHAPTER XII

MERCHANT ADVENTURERS AND CHURCH REFORM

IN the Tudor Period English local history ceased to have capital interest. It was at this date that the centralizing process, which forms so critical an epoch in the history of great nations, took place in England. It occurred in Spain in much the same period ; its effects have been witnessed, in comparatively recent times, in Germany and in Italy. In France it produced in the eighteenth century all the disaster which has often attended the very theoretical political genius of the French people.

But in England centralizing efforts were fortunate. The Wars of the Roses had brought home to the Tudor kings the dangers of local independence, and at the same time had weakened local sources of strength. In the case of London it has been seen that in the fifteenth century the powers of the city had been closely defined by charters, and thus had lost capacity for growth, and moreover all of the formidable which belongs to the vague. And there was further a great economic reason for the decline of local institutions.

“I knew the time” says a writer of the middle of the sixteenth century, “when men were contented with cappes, hattes, girdeles, and poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adjoininge, whereby the townes then weare well occupied and set aworke ; and yet the money paid

for the same stuff remayned in the countrie. Nowe the poorest yonge man in a cuntry cann not be contented either with a lether girdle or lether pointes, gloves, knives or daggers made nigh home. And specially no gentleman can be content to have eyther cappe, coat, doublet, hose or shirt made in his cuntry, but they must have their geare from London; and yet many things thereof are not theare made, but beyond the sea whereby the artificers of our townes are idle."

It has often been pointed out that the first stage in economic development is the self-sufficing household; until very lately it was exemplified in the Shetland Islands. Beyond it lies the village, district or town, which can supply its own needs; and in the sixteenth century this had, in England, definitely been passed, and the unit was the kingdom. This too has become obsolete, and British people now hesitate before two ideals, a self-sufficing empire, and a world in which goods circulate freely on unimpeded trade routes.

The fact that the economic unit had become the kingdom explains and justifies the many Acts of parliament, which, from the reign of Henry VII., were passed to regulate trade and manufactures, and which entrenched on the sphere once occupied almost solely by the wardens of crafts and local governing bodies. And this nationalizing of trade was necessarily accompanied by a change in sentiment; men came to be Englishmen first and Londoners afterwards. Because narrow local patriotism is an emotion more easily understood, more commonly and intensely felt, than that which involves loyalty to a whole country, the result was in many cases a weakening of the social instinct, a tendency to individualism.

Therefore in the sixteenth century civic office was frequently refused, and therefore the city's government was prudently servile to the strong king. For his part the lawless years of war had obscured for him the mediæval conception of private and local customs and rights which limited sovereign power; when Henry VIII. dissolved the religious houses many long established institutions must have trembled for their future.

At the meeting for the election of the mayor in 1535 the king's serjeant appeared in the Guildhall, and read a letter which declared the royal pleasure that the office should be given to Sir John Allen, mercer, a member of the privy council. The electors were compliant; but Allen, according to a chronicler, received most unwillingly the mark of favour, and had indeed spent large sums on bribes in the hope of escape from it.

Next year Henry again interfered in order to prevent the election as mayor of a certain William Holles; and in 1537 he sent to the Guildhall to secure the office for Sir Richard Gresham, father to Thomas, "albeit the commons grudged." In 1541 John Godsolve served the mayor and aldermen with a royal patent which conferred on himself the metership of cloth of gold, velvet, silks and linen cloth, hitherto always in the mayor's gift and probably a lucrative post. An exhibition of lawless independence on the part of the civic officers was easily but firmly crushed in 1542. George Ferris, a gentleman of the king's household and a burgess of parliament, was arrested in the city for debt, and parliament ineffectively sent a serjeant-at-arms to demand his release. Thereupon the sheriff and certain serjeants were committed to the Tower and were set free only on the humble petition of the mayor and aldermen. A few days later the mayor was sum-

moned to parliament and informed that in future he should not have a sword borne before him, nor be preceded by a gentleman, when he had passed Charing Cross on his way to Westminster. This was to end an ancient custom, and it was typical of the limitation set from this time on the power of the representatives of the city. They were great within London, but in England they occupied a subordinate place.

Kingly interference with their functions continued. In the same year Henry ordered Sir William Denham to be discharged from obligation to be mayor; and it was only after much soliciting of the royal council that the existing mayor and the aldermen obtained that he should pay the usual fine. In 1545, when the citizens assembled in the Guildhall for the election of a member of parliament, a royal writ was read which forbade the continuing as their representative of Sir William Roche, "for causes done to king and crown."

An instance of resistance occurred in 1525. Wolsey had asked the city to grant a benevolence, and in the different wards the people had refused to comply, when moved thereto by their aldermen, on the plea that they had already given enough. The cardinal wished to enforce his demand and threatened himself to examine the citizens as to their capacity to pay; but the mayor replied that such action would be illegal, that he would not consent to it, and that it would be withstood by the commons of the city, even were it sanctioned by himself and the aldermen. Wolsey appears then, with the discretion characteristic of the Tudor tyranny, no longer to have adhered to the form of his plan; but the mayor, anxious for compromise, directed next day in the Common Council that each citizen should go to the cardinal and make a voluntary and personal grant. He evidently considered it highly expedient that no absolute refusal should be sent to

the king, but he was met by an uproar in the council against which his "gentle" explanations and his "exhortations" were powerless. A cry was raised for the expulsion of Richard Gresham and two others, regarded as traitors to independence, and eventually the meeting dispersed without having made any answer to the requisition for money.

This incident was exceptional. Henry VIII. exacted money in London as extravagantly as elsewhere, and was met, as a rule, by a grudging compliance. It was evidently in the interests of his exchequer that he interfered with elections to the mayoralty, for otherwise the citizens gave in this period little cause for anxiety as to their political attitude. The onus of the royal cupidity fell on Wolsey, who was very unpopular in the city. But for this his pompous and luxurious way of life at a time when many had to economize, and his haughty demeanour to the sensitive citizens, were in part responsible, and moreover he was held to typify that worldly and greedy element in the church which in London was so much criticized.

Economic conditions had altered, and their change was one to make the distributor the most important factor in the world of commerce. In primitive communities he is almost unknown, for the producer deals directly with the consumer. But the delocalization of trade had made very important the work of distribution, and the more so because outside England the sphere of commerce had widened. In the discoveries and the consequent enterprise of the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century the English had no direct part, but they benefited by the wealth which, from new sources, was added to the markets of the world; they were affected by the altered trade routes, by the new markets, by the decline or the transformation of old markets.

It was, in fact, the day not of manufacturers but of merchants, and when merchants began to prosper greatly, it was inevitable that those engaged only in manufacture should decline. For they were in a dependent position; to the merchants belonged necessarily controlling power.

In London the effects of this relation had already been illustrated in the superiority acquired naturally by the crafts in which the mercantile element predominated, over those which consisted mainly of producers. This tendency was further emphasized, and certain lesser crafts which had not acquired charters were, in their struggle for existence, absorbed by companies with allied interests. The Leatherworkers came to include the Glovers, the Pursers, the Sawyers, and the Pouchmakers; the Armourers the Bladesmiths and the Brasiers; and the Haberdashers the Hatters and the Cappers.

Within the companies there was development on aristocratic lines. Enjoyment of their full rights came to be possible only for a small section of their members; beyond these were the yeomanry of the company who could never attain to the places in which directing power was wielded. The yeomen of the great companies and the full members of the lesser crafts, incorporated or otherwise, belonged to the class of small masters, and their position tended to approximate, as their dependence on the merchants became more and more regular, to that of journeymen workmen.

And a new class of companies was springing up in London. In the reign of Henry VII., the Merchant Adventurers, an offshoot of the Mercers, came into existence, and in 1504 the company of Tailors, who had absorbed the Linen Armourers, sought and obtained from the king that they should be known thenceforward as the Merchant Tailors. These companies

of a new type, professedly mercantile only, represented the economic tendencies of the period.

The merchants were brought into conflict with the Tudor kings. Dr. Cunningham has analysed the aims of the Tudor commercial policy as the maintenance of an efficient population, the provision of a navy, and the accumulation of bullion.

For the first of these an adequate food supply was necessary, and therefore it was only in spite of the policy of the central government that merchants could, in times of scarcity, sell at high prices wheat, meat, fish, and other necessaries. Similarly the central government attempted to prevent the evil effects of bad times from falling on the producing classes. In 1527 and 1528 the war with the emperor had closed to England the Spanish market, and the clothiers of the shires found that they were unable to dispose of their broadcloths, kerseys and cottons to the city merchants at Blackwell Hall. Consequently, throughout the country, many spinners, carders, tuckers and other clothworkers, were thrown out of work. Then complaint was made to the king's council; and Wolsey sent for a large number of merchants, and thus addressed them: "Sirs, the king is informed that you use not yourselves like merchants but like graziers and artificers: for when the clothiers do daily bring cloths to your market for your ease, to their great cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulness will not buy them, as you have been accustomed to do. What manner of men be you? I tell you that the king straitly commandeth you to buy their cloths, as before you have been accustomed to do, upon pain of his high displeasure." This was to set a high standard of patriotism for the merchants. They pleaded the cessation of the export trade, and were threatened, in reply, with the transference of the cloth market to Whitehall, where the king

would be, in their place, the purchaser. Such high-handed interference could impede their operations, but could not modify permanently or really the condition of the market. The clothiers hopefully raised their prices, but were "at length fain to abate their price and seek of the merchantmen, for all the cardinal's saying." To foster the middle classes, to give a balance to the power of the wealthiest merchants, more companies were incorporated. The Waxchandlers, the Plasterers, the Coopers, the Poulterers, the Bakers and the Innholders received charters between 1484 and 1509. The exclusiveness of the great companies was attacked by statutes of 1531 and 1536, which forbade the exaction of inordinate entrance fees.

The tyranny of the wealthy mercantile class caused a statute to be passed in 1487-8. The Common Council had forbidden all freemen and citizens of London to carry their wares to any fairs and markets outside the city, a prohibition which must have weighed heavily on the manufacturing crafts. It was injurious also to fairs in other towns, notably in Salisbury, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, Ely and Coventry, and therefore the ordinance of the council was repealed by Act of parliament.

In 1496-7 the monopolizing tendencies of London merchants again received a check. The confederacy of "merciers and other merchants and adventurers in the city," in whom the London Merchant Adventurers must be identified, claimed to exclude from trade with the Netherlands all English merchants outside their own number who did not compound with them. The old religious element was present in their guild. They were the fraternity of St. Thomas, and "by colour of such feigned holiness," they exacted a fine from all who first began trade in the Low Countries. In

amount it had risen from half a noble to £20. Probably the technical position of the London merchants was that of a company who held a monopoly and whose entrance fee was exorbitant. They took forfeit the goods of any who traded independently of them. The sum they might exact was reduced by statute to ten marks.

That there might be a navy the kings discouraged all foreign shipping; they would have had the whole of the import and export trade of the country conducted by means of English ships. In pursuance of this ideal they placed many obstacles in the path of merchants.

But they limited their operations most consistently and most successfully by the measures which were directed to the accumulation of treasure, the opposition to the employment of English capital outside the kingdom.

The industrial classes had to struggle against the competition of articles of foreign manufacture, against the tyranny of the mercantile companies, and against the competition of alien labour at home. In each of these respects the policy of the crown was favourable to them, but that policy could be counteracted or modified by the wealth and the power of the merchants.

Their desire for greater freedom led many of them to settle immediately outside the city, in the industrial suburbs without the north and east limits. The foreign artificers also and for the same reason "compassed the city round about." They lived in Southwark and Westminster, outside Temple Bar, in Holborn, the liberty of St. Martin-le-Grand, outside the bar of West Smithfield, on Tower Hill and around the Tower, and outside Aldgate.

The strife between the English and the foreign handicraftsmen was in the reigns of the early Tudors, very bitter. In

1494 the support given by the king of the Romans and the archduke of Burgundy to Perkin Warbeck had caused a cessation of trade between England and the Empire. The merchants found their export trade greatly lessened, and master workmen, especially mercers, haberdashers and clothworkers, turned off many apprentices and covenant servants, and reduced the pay of such as they retained. But meanwhile the merchants of the Steelyard still imported the goods in which they usually dealt. And one day their settlement in Dowgate ward was raided by a mob, whom they expelled only with great difficulty. They closed their gates, and set up barricades with the help of some smiths and carpenters who came over the river from Southwark. They were able to hold their own until the news that the mayor and the officers of the city were on their way to the scene of disturbance, caused the rioters to flee "like a flock of sheep." An enquiry was held subsequently, and more than eighty servants and apprentices were found to be guilty of the attempt, but not a single householder. It is remarkable that the convicted are described as "confederate together," a proof of the organization which existed among the unenfranchised populace. Some ringleaders underwent long imprisonment in the Tower.

In 1516 there was another and a more serious disturbance. The feeling against the foreigner had become very strong. It was said that alien merchants brought into the country silk, cloth of gold, wine, oil, iron and other goods in such great quantities, and exported English wool, tin and lead so largely, that no custom was left to native traders. Dutchmen were particularly accused of importing manufactured articles made of iron, wood and leather. But the most violent complaints proceeded not from the merchants but from the

common artificers, who considered themselves injured by all foreign trade which absorbed English capital, and therefore hindered their employment, by all the goods made abroad which were brought into the country, and by all the foreign craftsmen whose competition limited the enterprise of English master-workmen. The foreigners resident in London were very numerous. "On a Sunday this Lent," writes Hall, the chronicler, "I saw six hundred strangers shooting at the popinjay with crossbows." They were strongly organised in guilds whose common boxes were well filled.

A sermon was preached against them. Then on the 28th of April some of them were attacked in the streets, and presently a rumour was about, a whisper of grim import which was heard everywhere, which gathered intensity, which was almost a message as it passed from mouth to mouth among the people, that on May day the city would rise and massacre the foreigners.

There is no evidence that the propertied classes had part in such a plan, and to any who may have been implicated the wisdom of retractation was made clear. The talk reached the ears of the King's Council, and Wolsey sent for and examined the mayor and others of the Common Council, who protested that the city was perfectly quiet. Yet the mayor hurried back to the Guildhall and summoned together the aldermen. They met at seven o'clock in the evening, and they carried back severally to their wards the mandate that no man should stir from his house after nine.

The order had barely come to be generally known, and it was hardly nine o'clock, when in Cheap an alderman found two young men playing at bucklers and a number watching them. He commanded a dispersal, and seized the arm of a youth who questioned his right. At once he found himself the

centre of a general scuffle. The cry "'Prentices and Clubs!" was raised, and "clubs and weapons came out at every door." The alderman fled ignominiously, while people, "serving men, watermen, courtiers," hurried from every side to join the mob. At eleven o'clock six or seven hundred persons had gathered in Cheap. They were met by a band of about half their size, who had collected independently in the west of the city and came from St. Paul's churchyard. The united forces made for the prisons, the two sheriff's counters and Newgate, and set free some men convicted of assaulting foreigners a few days before. Then they turned towards the alien quarters.

But at the gate of the precinct of St. Martin's-le-Grand they were met by Sir Thomas More, who reasoned with them, and who seemed on the point of prevailing when his serjeant-at-arms, who had been hurt by bricks and hot water thrown out from the crowd, in angry pain raised the cry of "Down with them!" It was enough to reawaken the passions of the mob. They swept on relentlessly, "misruled persons," and the houses of foreigners were raided and spoiled so that hardly one escaped. In Cornhill and in Blanchapelon other buildings of aliens were rifled, and until four in the morning the rioters could not be made to disperse. Sir Richard Cholmely, lieutenant of the Tower, "in frantic fury," but harmlessly, fired certain cannon into the city.

In the early morning the officials of the city took some three hundred prisoners, for the most part poor 'prentice lads, for many watermen, priests and serving men had made their escape, and at five o'clock, when peace had been entirely restored, Shrewsbury and Somerset brought into the city all the strength they could muster, including some gentlemen recruits, "divers noblemen" and members of the Inns of

Court. The streets of London were lined with armed men "who spoke many opprobrious words to the city which grieved them sore . . . but like true subjects they suffered patiently."

Their spirit was indeed broken. The prisoners, bound with ropes, were led through the city, priests, countrymen, full-grown Londoners, and many lads, even children only thirteen years old, and "there was a great mourning of fathers and friends." The matter was serious because it had involved a breaking of the peace with subjects of princes with whom the king was in amity, and thirteen pairs of gallows were set up in conspicuous places.

Eventually almost all the prisoners were pardoned after an alarming parade of severity. Eleven women and three hundred men, "poor younglings and old false knaves," clad in shirts and bearing halters about their necks, came before the king on the 22nd of May. Their offence was blamed, they prayed forgiveness, intercession was made for them duly, and then the king gave a general pardon. "All the prisoners shouted at once, and all together cast up their halters unto the hall roof, so that the king might perceive they were none of the discreetest sort."

Thus the working classes attempted to suppress their foreign competitors, and thus their attempt was punished, with due regard both for the sensibilities of neighbouring princes and for the value of the labouring population of London. The crown had no wish to support the alien craftsmen further than decency demanded, and some years later the companies of London were able to gain a legitimate triumph over them.

In the parliament of 1522-3 and 1523-4 it was enacted that all stranger handicraftsmen who dwelt in Westminster,

in the parishes of St. Martin le Grand, St. Mary le Strand, St. Clement Danes, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Botolph without Aldgate and St. Andrew Holborn, in Southwark, Shore-ditch, Whitechapel, St. John's Street, without the bar of West Smithfield, Clerkenwell, Bermondsey Street, and about the Tower, and within two miles of these places or of the city, should be subject to the jurisdiction of the wardens of those companies whose trade they followed. Only the precinct of St. Martin's le Grand was exempted from the scope of the statute. This was to destroy entirely the independence of the foreign artificers whose settlements encompassed the city, and it was also to extend the controlling power over trade of the London livery companies. The regulation was repeated by a decree of the Star Chamber in 1529 and by an Act of the ensuing parliament. Simultaneously the foreigners were restricted in other ways. They were forbidden to take as apprentices any but the king's subjects, to employ more than two stranger journeymen or servants, or to pursue their trade in any house, shop, or chamber unless they were denizens. As householders they were rendered liable to the same charges as Englishmen. Above all they were prohibited from assembling in any halls or conventicles of their own, but ordered to meet in the common halls of those English subjects who occupied their crafts, and there to swear allegiance to the king of England.

Thus ended one stage in the long quarrel between the native and the alien craftsmen of London; the latter were forbidden to combine, and rendered dependent on the same masters as their English fellow-workmen. The victory over the foreigners was enhanced in 1551 when the liberties of the Steelyard were seized by the crown.

The economic conditions which have been described were

not productive of prosperity; again and again London was visited by disease and dearth. In 1486-7 many died of the sweating sickness; in 1500, 1513 and 1518 London was visited by the plague; and in 1521-2 by famine and pestilence. In the winter of 1525 the plague brought a great dearth to London, and in that of 1527 a bad season had caused such a lack of bread that the "gentle" merchants of the Steelyard acquired popularity by importing wheat. The sweating sickness came again in the following spring. The most miserable year was probably 1543, when floods had rendered it very difficult to bring wood and coal to the city, so that fuel was scant, when a disease among cattle had sent up the price of meat, and when a hard winter had made salted fish and meat very expensive. The aldermen passed sumptuary laws: the dinners and suppers of the mayor and sheriffs were to consist of one course only; the mayor might not dine off more than seven dishes, and for lesser officials proportionate limits were fixed. For a whole year the mayor and aldermen were forbidden to eat cranes, swans and bustards. Yet in the summer famine had done its work; men were dying in such numbers in the city and suburbs that a proclamation forbade any Londoner to come, for fear of infection, within seven miles of the king. Next year there was complaint of the high price of wheat.

The year 1546 was also one of great scarcity. The mayor however attempted to meet the emergency by importing corn, and the king assigned to the city certain wheat provided for the army which was paid for by a contribution from the companies. All the mills within seven miles of London were set to grind it. That year the mayor's feast consisted only of one course; "it was plentifully served and well commended, but if my lord mayor had not sticked hard

to it the aldermen and sheriffs would have put it down for ever." However the mayor forewent the other banquet customarily held on Twelfth Night, and thereby saved the sum of £40. In 1548, 1551 and 1556 there were other visitations of the plague and the sweating sickness.

These unfortunate years were the result partly of a succession of bad seasons, partly of the extravagant government of Henry-VIII. In some degree too they must be ascribed to the alterations in trade to which general conditions had not yet been adjusted. The proportion of misery for which the measures which accompanied the Reformation can be held accountable is uncertain. There is no doubt that Londoners as a whole derived no benefit from the dispersal, at the dissolution of religious houses, of all the property at which they had looked so long with envious eyes. It was not seized on grounds of abstract right, nor was it utilised for the public good. When however the place of the religious as the chief landlords of the city was left vacant, the livery companies were in many cases able to succeed them, and to acquire possessions which became an increasing source of wealth.

Doubtless the nuns and the monks and the friars had been, even at their worst, ministers to the poor, and as such they were inevitably missed. But the dissolution of religious houses and the subsequent dissolution of guilds and chantries did not deprive London entirely of charitable institutions. Some hospitals, notably those of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, and some schools, continued and even enlarged their spheres; and some new schools, in particular St. Paul's, and Christ's Hospital, then an asylum for destitute children, were founded.

The dissolution of guilds was an injury to a class which, in

the sixteenth century, had little influence on public opinion, the poor who with difficulty kept from pauperism. The guilds, especially the parochial guilds, had been benefit societies, and must often have stood alone between their members and destitution. From the scope of the Act which dissolved guilds and colleges the London livery companies were a notable exception.

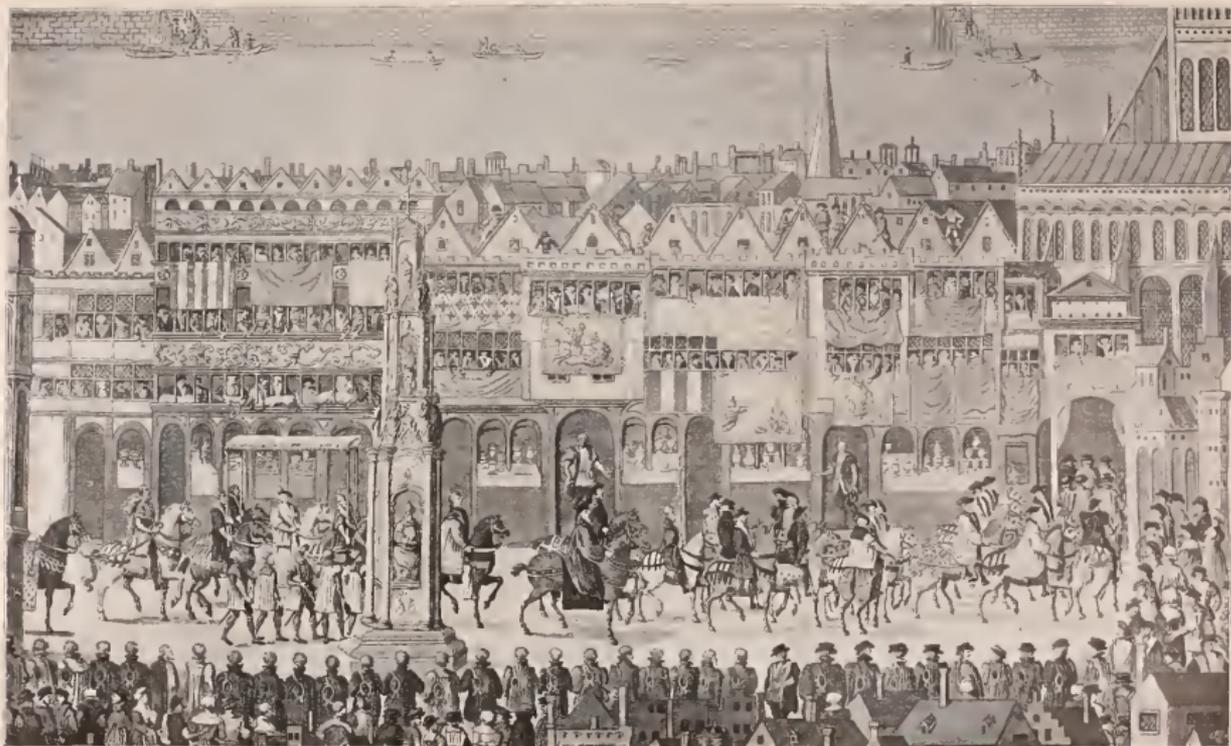
It is unnecessary to dwell on the well-worn theme of the main events of the Reformation. In London society suffered a great change by the disappearance of all the regular clergy and all the chantry priests. The streets were no longer made gorgeous by the pageants of the church, but the receptions accorded to princes and the civic festivals appear to have been as decorative as ever. The working population were affected by the loss from the calendar of many holy days, on which they once had enjoyed their ease. They had a spectacle, provided with a new frequency, in the burnings of martyrs, sometimes of the old, sometimes of the new faith, at Smithfield. This matter, it is pleasant to see, had a place in the public conscience. In 1556 it was ordered throughout London that no young person should attend the forthcoming burning of five men and two women.

That the feeling of the city was on the whole Protestant is made clear by the history of Wyatt's rebellion.

On the 25th of January, 1554, when Wyatt was known to be near Maidstone, a watch of armed men, to be kept strictly at all the city gates, was appointed by the mayor. Two days later the lord treasurer asked and obtained at the Guildhall that 500 armed footmen of London should go against Wyatt.

They marched forth on the morrow, but when they had reached Rochester, their captain, Brett by name, addressed





CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI

them, and Stow has reported his speech: "Masters, we go about to fight our native countrymen of England and our friends, in a quarrel unrightful and partly wicked; for they, considering the great miseries which are likely to fall upon us, if we shall be under the rule of the proud Spaniards or strangers, are here assembled to make resistance of their coming for the avoiding of so great inconveniences. . . . Wherefore I think no English heart ought to say against them, much less by fighting to withstand them. Wherefore I and others will spend our blood in the quarrel of this worthy captain, master Wyatt, and other gentlemen here assembled." When he had spoken these words or the like the cry "A Wyatt! a Wyatt!" was raised among the Londoners, and all of them joined the rebel ranks.

On the 1st of February, when Wyatt was at Deptford, a royal pardon, which included all of his forces who should make submission, except himself and three others, was proclaimed in London. On the eve of Candlemas day the commons of the city assembled in the Guildhall in their liveries; and thither the queen came herself to assure them that she would marry only as her council desired. But still she knew that she could not count upon their loyalty, for she understood how many of them favoured Wyatt, and she appointed Lord William Howard lieutenant of the city.

On the 3rd Wyatt marched along the Old Kent Road and Bermondsey Street to Southwark. In the city the mayor and sheriffs commanded all shops and windows to be closed and the drawbridge of London Bridge to be cut down. Wyatt meanwhile was hospitably received by the inhabitants of Southwark and reinforced by more recruits. Unable to enter the city directly, he retreated on the 6th to Kingston, and thence he marched on Westminster.

In London drums called to arms. Pembroke, in command of the defence, posted horsemen on the hill which commands St. James's Palace, and two battalions of footmen at Charing Cross, and Wyatt mounted ordnance on the rising ground near Hyde Park Corner. In a scuffle near the palace the rebels were victorious, and within the palace there was a panic, "running and crying out of ladies and gentlemen, shutting of doors and windows, and such a shriek and noise as was wonderful to hear."

But it was Wyatt's purpose to gain London. He led his men, in disordered ranks, to Temple Bar, and thence along Fleet Street to the sign of the Belle Sauvage near Ludgate. And the armed men who were ranged along either side of the way watched him passively.

At Ludgate he called for admittance, and, according to one account, he might have entered, had it been possible to let his passage seem an accident; the gate remained closed only because a certain citizen braved unpopularity and identified him openly. Stow relates, however, that Lord William Howard was present to bar the way. At all events he failed to pass through Ludgate; and meanwhile Pembroke had come up with the rear-guard, and a retreat to Charing Cross was impossible. At Temple Bar Wyatt was taken prisoner, and in April he was beheaded at the Tower.

Since, therefore, only an absence of a practical alternative kept London faithful to Mary's reactionary rule, it is not surprising that the accession of Elizabeth was welcomed by the citizens.

CHAPTER XIII

ELIZABETHAN LONDON

THE government of Queen Elizabeth was, even more than that of the earlier Tudors, characterised by a disregard, in the interest of the crown, of local rights and customs.

The reign began a new period of incorporation of companies in London, and these grants of charters gave rise to considerable friction. The action of the crown originated both in the policy of fostering the middle classes, and in the obvious attraction of the sums of money for which incorporating charters were bought. In two ways it caused jealousy. A new company frequently encroached on the interests of one which already existed, as when, in 1581, the White Bakers were suffered to become incorporate with the Brown Bakers who desired no such union; or when the Glovers acquired a charter which separated them from the Leathersellers. And secondly the city's government was opposed to the independence of the companies.

The authorities of the city entered into a struggle in which they persistently endeavoured to assert a control over the foundation of companies. In the early seventeenth century they gained their point: they established that no company might sue for a charter without their permission. Moreover they acquired gradually the habit of directing all the companies, by means of precepts issued by the mayor which.

practically had binding power. As a disintegrating force within the city the companies were thus placed out of court, but their spontaneous life was proportionately weakened.

In this period new companies received authority over a district more conform to what had come to be really London than the area of the actual city: in some cases they were given supervision of their trade within five miles of the city and suburbs. The older companies, on the other hand, were frequently in rivalry with suburban traders and traders of Westminster.

Beyond the granting of corporations the crown entrenched on the sphere of the city by conferring certain powers on individuals by means of letters patent. By these such rights as those of search for defective goods, and of receiving the fines incurred for defect, were frequently alienated. The practice was much resented, but its obvious convenience for the crown caused it to continue throughout the Stewart period. The other royal practice of bestowing monopolies of trade in certain articles was analogous.

In an important respect the trading practice of the city differed from that of the rest of England. A statute passed in 1562-3 forbade, for the kingdom at large, that any should follow a trade to which he had not been apprenticed; but by the custom of London any freeman of the city might pursue in it any calling. The reverse tendency had indeed operated in the city from time to time: the various crafts had endeavoured to secure for themselves monopolies within their trades and had had some practical success, but their victory had never been complete nor formal. Now certain companies made attempts to interpret the statute as overriding the custom, but they were resisted and foiled by the government of the city. The anomaly by which a bookbinder

enjoyed his privileges as a freeman of the Fishmongers' company was established, and it still subsists.

In the reign of Elizabeth the process of the delocalization of trade continued; its effects were indeed so conspicuous as to be a matter of frequent comment, to raise a cry of "Back to the Land." "I have shortly to answer," Stow says, "the accusation of those men which charge London with the loss and decay of many or most of the ancient cities, corporate towns and markets within this realm, by drawing from them to herself alone, say they, both all trade of traffic by sea, and the retailing of wares, and exercise of manual arts also." Such allegations were exaggerated, for there were still provincial industries and provincial trades of importance; yet undoubtedly, as commerce became national, London secured a position as its centre which, until the rise of the northern towns, was remarkably isolated. Stow mentions some causes contributory to such a state of affairs, the decay of the staple, and the dissolution of religious houses "by whose wealth and haunt" many provincial towns had been "chiefly fed and nourished." He remarks that shipping flourished only or principally at London.

And at the same time London had come to hold its modern position as the social capital of the kingdom. The court was now almost always resident in the neighbourhood of the city. The better means of communication and the nationalization of interests and of sentiment made it possible for the city to enjoy a monopoly of fashion, and the beginnings of that noted institution, the London season, can be traced. In the country the landlords could already be divided into two classes; those who stayed at home "playing the farmers graziers, brewers or such like, more than gentlemen were wont to do," and those who had become used, for a good part of

the year, from "all shires" to "fly and flock to this city, the younger sort of them to see and show vanity, and the elder to save the cost and charge of hospitality and house-keeping." To the pleasure seeker Elizabethan London was a place of attractions. Peace and prosperity, a knowledge of the arts and an extensive trade, had brought together all means of luxurious living. The life of the fashionable was splendid and varied; its material circumstances, the buildings, the furniture and the household goods, the articles of clothing and of food, were rich and curious, and the amusements and interests were numerous and multiform.

The coincidence in London of the leaders of fashion and of trade brought thither naturally a large proportion of the manufacturing population and retail tradesmen. "Retailers and artificers, at the least of such things as pertain to the back or belly, do leave the country towns where there is no vent, and do fly to London where they be sure to find ready and quick market."

As regards the permanent inhabitants of the city, apart from the politicians, the courtiers and the followers of fashion, Stow describes them as largely not of citizen descent, but drawn from all parts of the kingdom; there seems indeed never to have been a period when Londoners constituted a race. They were under Elizabeth "a part of the commons of this realm, by birth for the most part a mixture of all countries of the same; by blood gentlemen, yeomen and of the basest sort, without distinction; and by profession busy bees and travailers for their living in this hive of the commonwealth." He divides them into three classes: "In wealth merchants and some of the chief retailers have the first place, the most part of retailers and all artificers the second or mean place, and hirelings the lowest room; but in number

they of the middle place be first and do far exceed both the rest, hirelings be next, and merchants be the last."

Thus the economic situation of which the origins have already been traced was established. The distributing class had secured the control of trade and a major share of its profits.

There is considerable information as to the merchant princes of London in the days of Elizabeth. The best known of them all is Sir Thomas Gresham who like Whittington has gained a place among the heroes of the city. Unlike Whittington he was of citizen origin, the son and the nephew of magnates of London. He dwelt in a house of brick and timber, the most spacious of those "for men of worship" in Bishopsgate Street, and he was buried in 1579 in the church of St. Helen Bishopgate.

Gresham amassed his large fortune as a trader, as an owner of inherited land, and, above all, as a financier. He was largely employed by the government in money transactions, and his gains were due to unscrupulous cunning as well as to skill, for he even deigned to falsify his accounts. He was a hard usurer, and the practice of usury was still a sin to men of strict consciences. Probably the fact that merchants of the day by exacting usury fell below contemporary standards, debarred them from an ideal of rectitude: to pilfer and cheat seemed no more sinful than to receive interest. Gresham was again a man of his day in that he was a monopolist. His career makes obvious how impossible it was for the companies, any more than the governing body of the city, to maintain an independent attitude in national politics, when the leading members of either had interests so connected with the crown as were his. Withal he was a man of public spirit, although one eminently practical, who

was no maintainer of principles or of the rights of weak parties. English and foreign merchants had hitherto met "for their general making of bargains, contracts, and commerce," in the open air in Lombard Street. The citizens however "bought divers times houses and many small tenements in Cornhill, and pulled them down and made the ground fair and plain to build upon, the charge whereof cost them above five thousand pound; and then the city gave that ground unto Sir Thomas Gresham, to the end he should build a Burse or fair place for the assembly of merchants like to that of Antwerp. And the said Sir Thomas Gresham laid the first stone thereof the seventh of June and the whole work was fully finished in November the next year, 1567. And then the merchants held their general meetings at this Burse, for it was generally so called until the queen came thither, which was the three and twentieth of January following, and then by her own mouth came it to be proclaimed that it should for ever be called the Royal Exchange. And the next year following Lombard Street was quite forsaken."

Moreover in his will Gresham endowed lecturers in divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, physic and rhetoric, who should read in his house in Bishopsgate Street; and thus founded Gresham College.

In a book published in 1607, "The Pleasant Conceites of Old Hobson the Merry Londoner" (reprinted for the Percy Society, 1843), there are details as to one who was also a member of the upper class of citizens. William Hobson, "a haberdasher of smale wares," who died in 1582, owned a dwelling-house and two adjacent shops in Poultry, on the site of the suppressed chapel of Corpus Christi, at the corner of modern Grocers' Hall Court. "He was a homely, plain man,

most commonly wearing a buttoned cap close to his eares, a short gowne girt hard about his midle, and a paire of slippers upon his feete of an ancient fashion ; as for his wealth, it was answerable to the better sort of our citizens." We learn that he had a factor in France who dealt for him in merchandise, and to whom, when he suspected him of negligence, he paid a surprise visit ; that he was in the habit of sending chapmen to Bristol fair, who there sold, among other goods, matches supplied by the French factor ; that he furnished pedlars with articles for their packs. For the sale of the matches which he imported from France he obtained a patent of monopoly from Queen Elizabeth. He sometimes visited fairs in person, riding to Bristol or Stourbridge and walking to Southwark ; and he made journeys on horseback for the collection of his debts. He had apprentices, and his servants appear to have been numerous. Of one servant it is related that he acquired the freedom of the city, and then, after further years of service, unsuccessfully besought his master to enable him to trade on his own account. Of the 'prentices it is recorded that they "wold ether bee at the taverne, filling their heads with wine, or at the Dagger in Cheapeside cramming their bellies with minced pyes ; but above al other times it was their common costome, as London prentises use, to follow their maisters upon Sundays to the Church dore and then to leave them, and hie unto the taverne," a habit for which they were duly put to shame. There is a tale too of their neglect, on a day when the shop was full of customers, to note the name or the dwelling-place of a Kentish pedlar who was credited with ten pounds' worth of goods. Of Hobson's wife it is told that she carried "something a stately mind" ; and delighted in "brave apparell" to such a degree that she wore, to the envy of her neighbours,

silk stockings. "Upon a time having business to Cheapside market amongst many others of her neighbors, the more to shew her haughty stomach, she desired of her husband that she might have her men to attend her." He, to ridicule the request, appointed two of his lustiest men, "in armor with two browne-bills on their neck," the one to proceed and the other to follow her; and "she in a nicenes, tooke such displeasure hereatt, that for a mounth after she lay sicke in her bed, and would eate nothing but caudles made of muskadine." She was however a housewife who "in Christmas holy-dayes had many pyes in the oven."

Beggars and musicians came to Hobson's door; he met a beggar as he walked in Moorfields. A poet dedicated to him, in the vain hope of recompense, "a booke contayning forty sheets of paper, which was halfe a yeare in writing." When he wished to entertain the livery of his company he made provision in the greatest tavern in the town.

It is easy to picture Hobson; and if Gresham be taken as an example of the great master of commerce, daring and unscrupulous, in whom the speculative spirit was highly developed, and who was redeemed by a certain liberality and patriotism very characteristic of the day, Hobson may typify the less ambitious merchant, the tradesman who had got on. He was shrewd and yet simple, hard on occasion but kindly when his interests were not imperilled, whimsical. His way of life showed a mixture of the frugal and of the profuse. He seems to have been without strong religious feeling.

As to his business, he acted in relation to pedlars and stall-keepers at fairs, perhaps to small retail tradesmen, as a wholesale dealer. Probably he also prosecuted a retail trade. There is no proof that he was a manufacturing haberdasher: his apprentices would appear to have learnt a trade and not

a craft. His dealings in French matches are characteristic of the miscellaneous business of London merchants of the period, protected by the custom of their city.

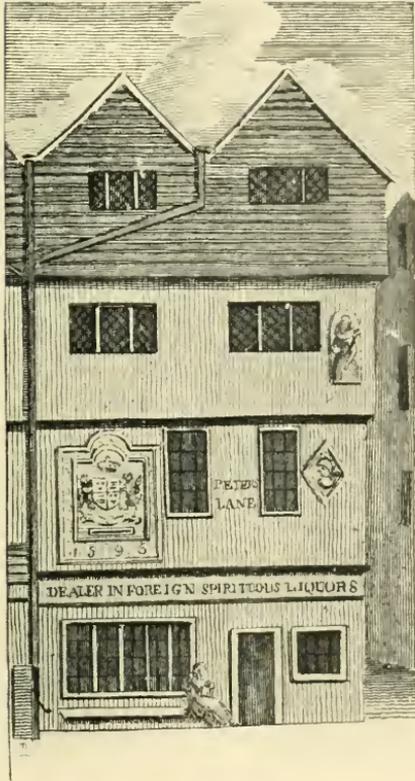
Stow, in his classification of the population of London, evidently includes in his middle classe all who had a settled and adequate means of livelihood with little or no marginal wealth, without, in his own words, "much to spare." In this large division he places all the manufacturers. But it must be remembered that there were still under Elizabeth merchants whom Stow would never have described as artificers, and who yet manufactured some of the goods which were the material of their own trade.

They were however a diminishing class. The manufactures of London were largely in the hands of small master workmen, the artificers of Stow, who constituted the yeomanry of the great companies. Frequently their material was supplied by the merchants for whom they worked, but sometimes their capital sufficed them to provide the necessaries of their craft. Of such as belonged to the Clothworkers' company under Queen Elizabeth it is said that, when employment failed, they would "buy a cloth or more to set their people on worke and sell the same again . . . unto drapers and merchants." An interesting example of prevalent conditions is derived from an account of the stationers or booksellers and the printers in 1583. The cost of their materials for some time obliged the printers to sell their work to the booksellers before they undertook it, until "the Booksellers, having growne the greater and wealthier number, have nowe the best copies, and keepe no printinge howse neither beare any charge of letter or other furniture, but onely pay for the workmanship; . . . the artificer printer growing every day more and more unable to provide letters

and other furniture requisite for the execution of any good work."

The industries of London received a strong impetus from the immigration of Protestant refugees. Inpediments introduced by legislation, hostile action on the part of the city companies, and the jealous hatred of native workmen, could not cancel the activities of these foreign craftsmen. They settled, as their forerunners had done, chiefly on the sites of religious houses which formed within the city places exempt from the civic jurisdiction, or in the suburbs. The majority were Netherlanders, but there were also many French Huguenots and some Italians and Spaniards. Under Edward VI. the church of the Austin Friars was granted to a Dutch congregation, and that of St. Anthony's Hospital, in Threadneedle Street, to the Huguenots. In 1566 an Italian congregation was established in the Mercers' Chapel in Cheapside.

French cooks and bakers had already attained in English society to a position of high esteem, and the brewing industry was almost engrossed by Netherlanders. The foreigners led the way in the more artistic crafts: the better bookbinders were Low Countrymen; there were Flemish tapestrymakers, French embroiderers, French fanmakers, carvers from the Low Countries, goldsmiths from the Low Countries and France, who inhabited the precincts of Blackfriars and the liberty of St. Katherine. There were dyers from the Netherlands, France, and Italy; French tailors; foreign makers of felt and straw hats; a strong body of foreign leatherworkers who were constantly attacked by the Cordwainers' company; and French, Dutch and Italian gunmakers. As weavers the foreigners were especially important. The prominence of weavers from the Netherlands was indeed no new thing in



AN ELIZABETHAN HOUSE IN LONDON.

London, but at this time there were added to them numerous and skilled silk weavers both from the Netherlands and from France. Under Elizabeth there was a colony of Dutch and Walloon silk weavers in the ward of Cripplegate Without. New fashions in dress arose to provide a market for silk, which in the preceding period had been comparatively little used. "Untill the tenth or twelwe yeare of Queene Elizabeth," says a writer in 1615, "there were but few silke shoppes in London, and those fewe were only kept by women and maide servantes, and not by men, so now they are. At which time all the silke shoppes in London had not so much nor so many sorts of silke, gold, or silver thread, nor sorts of silke lace, and gold and silver lace, as is at this day in divers particular shoppes in Cheapeside and other places."

Stow includes with the hirelings of his third-class labourers of the category of porters, watermen and carmen; it was a body which consisted of journeymen workmen and unskilled labourers, and as to their wealth he states that they had "neede that it were given unto them." Some apprentices, who, although they had served their legal terms, had not capital nor opportunity to become master workmen or traders, were absorbed into it. Another constituent of the lowest estate in the city is disregarded by Stow, the men who swelled that "great and mighty army of beggars" who attended the fair of St. James at Westminster in 1560, the numerous vagrants and the many "begging poor" who occupied the attention of civic officials and were objects of the poor laws of Elizabeth.

In this connection the frequent complaints as to the increase of the population of the city and its overcrowding are noteworthy. Many single houses had come to be let to several families, although they had previously served one

only, and conditions had resulted which recall those in modern slums, and which must in some respects have been much more disagreeable. In 1580 a royal proclamation ineffectively forbade the building of new houses within three miles of London, and the inhabitation of any house by more than one family.

It is not surprising to hear of plague years, 1563, 1569, 1581, 1582, 1592. It has been suggested that this frequency of disease was due in part to a change of diet among the poor. The substitution in the English country of pasture for arable land, and the freedom from the ecclesiastical laws for fasts, had caused bread and fish to be superseded by coarse meat as the principal article of food, and the ale brewed by the Dutchmen was cheap and plentiful and strong. Some measures were taken to prevent the spread of infection. A set of regulations framed in 1580 sought to deal especially with the evils of overcrowding. They forbade the reception of inmates or lodgers in houses which claimed to be situated in places exempt from the city's jurisdiction, the conversion of great houses into small habitations by foreigners, and the crowding of exempt places by strangers and foreign artificers. No strangers who did not belong to a church were to be suffered in or about London. Further it was forbidden to build more small tenements, to add to the buildings within exempt places, or outside the limits of the city about Charterhouse and Mile End Field, or at St. Katherine's by the Tower. On other principles the resort to performances of plays outside the liberties, and the slaughter of cattle in or near the city, were forbidden.

As regards the serious intellectual pursuits of the London people, the Merchant Taylors founded their school, as a

free grammar school, in Candlewick or Cannon Street in 1561. Beyond Gresham's lectures, a lectureship in surgery, in the College of Physicians in Knight-riding Street, was endowed in 1584; and at much the same time a mathematical lectureship, held first in Leadenhall chapel and afterwards in a house in Grass Street or Gracechurch Street. The Inns of Court and of Chancery still fulfilled their educational functions. In the churches a class of learned clergy could be heard, and the citizens had not lost their taste for sermons. Books were increasingly plentiful, especially since the foreign immigrants had advanced the art of printing.

As in all ages, the Londoner found amusement in the streets of his city. It is unnecessary to dwell on the elaborate splendour of Elizabethan pageants; they were held in London to honour royalties or personages who made an entry into the town. There were more frequent spectacular effects on less important occasions when the stately courtiers, in all the extravagance of their dress, their escort, and the trappings of their horses, passed through the streets. The river often presented a gay scene, and sometimes, after dark, it was lit up by the illuminated barges which passed along it. At eight o'clock on an evening in June, some months after she had succeeded to the throne, "the Queen's grace took her barge at Whitehall and many more barges, and rode along by the Bankside by my lord of Winchester's place, and so to Pepper Alley, and so crossed over to London side, with drums and trumpets playing hard beside, and so to Whitehall again, to her palace." Sir Christopher Hatton, in November, 1583, when the queen was about to move from Hampton Court to St. James's, notified the mayor, "in case the citizens should desire the comfort of beholding her royal person."

The citizens themselves provided fine sights for the gazers in the streets. Their weddings, their funerals attended by all members of the livery company of the dead man, their baptisms, their civic ceremonial, were highly decorative. It was impressive, if not agreeable, to witness a hanging at Tyburn, to see a man whipped through the streets or set up on the pillory. Stow remarks that maying and the like amusements had fallen somewhat into disuse, but in 1559 Machyn, the diarist, described a May game which took place on June 24th. It would perhaps have been more correctly called a midsummer celebration. There figured in it a very medley troupe, "St. John Zacharys with a giant, and drums and guns, and the nine worthies (muses) with speeches, and a goodly pageant with a queen, . . . and divers others with speeches, and then St. George and the dragon, the morris dance, and after Robin Hood and Little John and Maid Marion and Friar Tuck, and they had speeches about London." The performance was repeated before the queen at Greenwich on the following day. Machyn's diary makes very clear how large a part the shows of the streets played in the life of the average Londoner.

He still enjoyed some games of skill. Archery had become almost obsolete, and official encouragement failed to revive it. Shooting with guns was however practised to some extent. On at least one occasion a match in "shooting of the standard for the best gun" took place in Finsbury before the mayor, the aldermen, and other great men. Wrestling matches were sometimes held. "The ball," according to Stow, "was used by noblemen and gentlemen in tennis courts, and people of the meaner sort in the open fields and streets." Stow laments that since they had abandoned the exercise of the long bow, the citizens would "creep into

bowling alleys and ordinary dicing rooms . . . where they have room enough to hazard their money at unlawful games.”

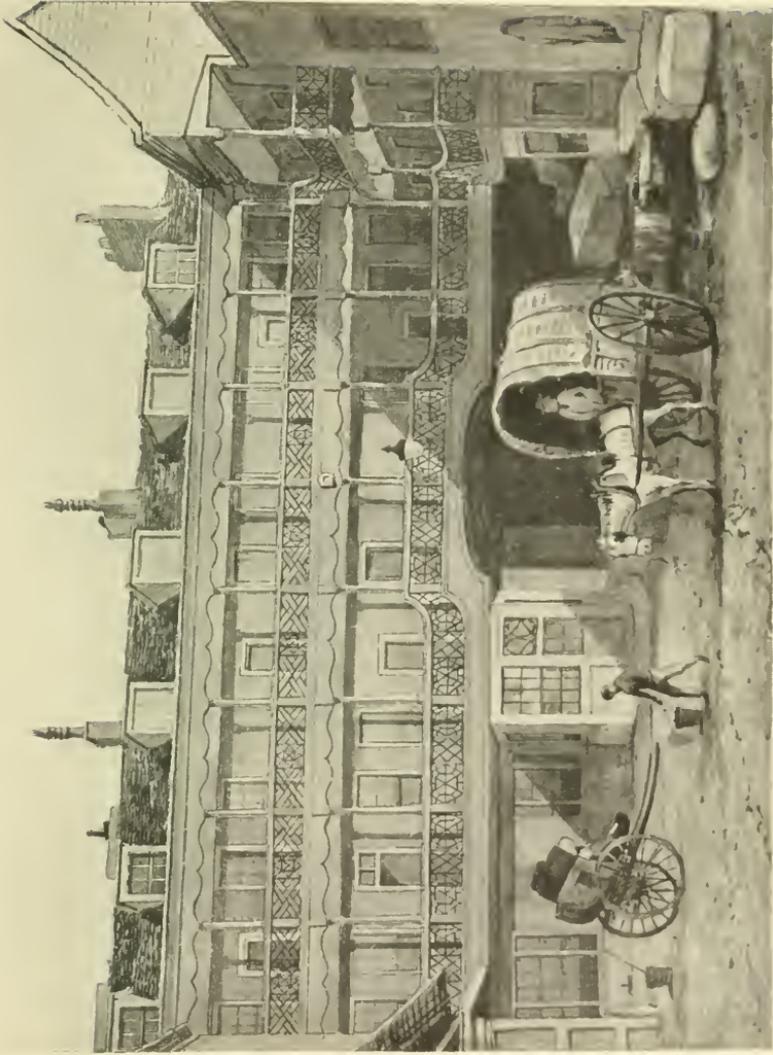
The richer of them had still opportunity for field sports; “in hawking and hunting many grave citizens at this present have great delight, and do rather want leisure than good will to follow it.” In September, 1562, an inspection of the water conduits took place. “My lord mayor, and my masters the aldermen and wardens of the twelve companies, rode to the conduit heads for to see them, after the old custom. And afore dinner they hunted the hare and killed; and so to dinner to the head of the conduit (the great conduit in Cheapside), for there was a number, and had great cheer of the chamberlain. And after dinner to hunting of the fox, and there was a good cry for a mile, and after the hounds killed the fox at the end of St. Giles (the parish of St. Giles in the Fields), and there was a great cry at the death and blowing of horns. And so rode through London my lord mayor, with all his company, home to his own place in Lombard Street.”

But the citizens had other amusements of a less lawful description. They did not only gamble at dice and at bowls; there is also the record “cocks of the game are cherished by divers men for their pleasures, much money being laid on their heads when they fight in pits, whereof some be costly made for that purpose.” And the baiting of bulls and bears was practised in rings built for the purpose in Paris Garden on the Southwark side of the river, and attracted many spectators. But above all the reign of Elizabeth saw the rise to prominence of the professional actor, the professional stage as the favourite place of amusement of citizens at large, and as an unfailing object of invective to the magistrates and the preachers of the city.

In the forty years which followed the dissolution of religious houses the taste of the people of London for dramatic representation had grown enormously. It was a critical and enlightened age, no longer satisfied with such rude entertainment as the May game described by Machyn, or the occasional productions of trading companies and guilds of craftsmen, the performers who are ridiculed in the persons of Bottom's celebrated company. More ordered dramatic representations were given in places of education by the schoolboys of St. Paul's and by the students of the Inns of Court: a play was acted at Gray's Inn in 1556. But beyond these, companies of strolling players gave performances in the courtyards of inns, and they acted with such frequency in certain of the principal inns of London, notably the Cross Keys in Grass Street, the Bull in Bishopsgate Street, and the Belle Sauvage on Ludgate Hill, that these almost took rank as permanent theatres.

The construction of inns of the period had a notable influence on the architecture of the permanent Elizabethan theatres. The usual inn was a building with balconies which surrounded a quadrangular courtyard. The actors built out their rough wooden stage from one of its sides, and the other three were occupied by spectators. The overhanging balcony was used when it was desired that an actor should speak from above, and sometimes drapery was hung from it in order to curtain off a part of the stage.

The frequency with which plays were produced is sufficient evidence of their popularity among the Londoners at large, but the enmity of the civic government was persistent. Finally the actors were formally expelled from the city by the mayor and corporation in 1575. It is to this event that Shakespeare must allude in "Hamlet."



THE BELLE SAUVAGE.

Hamlet : . . . What players are they ?

Rosencrantz : Even those you were wont to take such delight in, the tragedians of the city.

Hamlet : How chanced it they travel ? Their residence, both in reputation and profit, was better both ways.

Rosencrantz : I think their inhibition comes by the means of the late innovation.

But the mayor and corporation could not oblige the actors to abandon so excellent a market for their wares as London had been proved to be. They had been driven from the actual city, but they remained on its outskirts, where indeed they could enjoy an unfettered freedom impossible within the liberties. Moreover they had the protection of great men, lords of the Privy Council, and of the queen ; for drama was popular at the court as well as in the streets. The most serious restriction which actors suffered was one which limited their number to certain companies directly patronised by particular lords of the council, and to the two companies of "The Children of the Chapel Royal" and the "Children of St. Paul's." The measure did not prevent the formation of new companies, nor did it revive the old close connection between a great man and the players who were his servants. Its practical effect was to suppress unlicensed troupes of actors. That the schoolboys whom it countenanced were objects of jealousy is proved by some other lines in *Hamlet*.

Rosencrantz : . . . There is, sir, an eyrie of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't: these are now the fashion; and so berattle the common stages,—so they call them,—that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills and dare scarce come thither.

Hamlet : What, are they children ? Who maintains 'em ? How are they escoted ? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing ? Will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players,—as it is most like, if their means are no better,—their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession ?

On the outskirts of the city there were no convenient inns for the performance of plays. In 1576 James Burbage, of the Earl of Leicester's company, leased a plot of ground in Finsbury Fields, near the former site of Holywell Priory. There he built a high wooden wall around a circular space; he made no roof. This, the first permanent theatre of London, was called the Theatre. The Londoners to reach it passed out by Moorgate or Cripplegate, and then had a pleasant walk or ride of about a mile through Moorfields and Finsbury Fields. Not only plays but also exhibitions of tumbling, ropedancing, vaulting, wrestling, fencing and dancing found place on its stage. Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* was there produced.

The Curtain was built soon after the Theatre and very near it, and was the place in which *Henry V.*, and perhaps also *Romeo and Juliet* and Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, were first produced. The prologue to *Henry V.* has the lines:

But pardon, gentles all,
The flat unraised spirits that have dared
On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
So great an object: can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?

As a member of the Chamberlain's Company Shakespeare probably acted both at the Theatre and the Curtain.

On the Surrey side of the river, on Bankside, Henslowe built the Rose Theatre, for the performances of a company protected by Lord Strange, who included Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Nash, Edward Alleyn and William Shakespeare. Apparently it was not used as a theatre after 1603, but it continued for some years to be employed for displays of

fighting and sword-play and for puppet shows. Its name survives in Rose Alley. There were performances in a theatre in Newington in 1594.

Meanwhile the actors were still a scandal to the godly, whose attitude was sometimes justified by the occurrence of disorder, by the pickpockets and the roughs who formed part of the audiences. In 1578 John Stockwood attacked the players in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross.

“ Have we not houses of purpose, built with great charges for the maintenance of them ; and that without the liberties, as who shall say, ‘ There, let them say what they will, we will play.’ I know not how I might, with the godly learned especially, more discommend the gorgeous playing place erected in the fields, than term it, as they please to have it called, a Theatre. . . Will not a filthy play with the blast of a trumpet sooner call thither a thousand, than an hour's tolling of the bell bring to the sermon a hundred—nay, even here in the city, without it be at this place and some other certain ordinary audience, where shall you find a reasonable company?—whereas if you resort to the Theatre, the Curtain, and other places of players in the city, you shall on the Lord's Day have these places, with many others that I can name, so full as possibly they can throng.”

In 1580 the mayor complained to the chancellor that players and tumblers and their like were “ a very superfluous sort of men,” hinderers of God's service, corruptors of youth, and providers of frays and other disorders. The council in the same year requested that, in view of the queen's occasional delight in plays, they might be permitted within the city after evening service, on holidays other than Sundays ; but the mayor replied that actors were in the habit of gathering audiences during the whole of an afternoon, and therefore

prevented attendance at church, and if they were restrained in such practice their plays would take place at an hour so late as to be very inconvenient, especially for servants and children. In 1592 the court of aldermen complained to the archbishop of Canterbury of the disorders of playhouses and their evil influence. Lord Hunsdon in 1594 asked the mayor to grant an exceptional permission for a company of players to perform at the Cross Keys. In 1595 the mayor petitioned the lords of council for the suppression of plays on Bankside, and two years later for their prohibition there, at the Theatre and the Curtain, and elsewhere about the city.

In this year these efforts of the magistracy were at last successful, in spite of the dramatic taste of the great men. An order of the Privy Council stated that the queen had been informed "of very great disorders committed in the common playhouses, both by lewd matters . . . handled on the stages, and by resort and confluence of bad people"; and therefore she commanded that the Curtain and the Theatre, and any other common playhouse, should be "plucked down quite, the stages, galleries, and rooms that are made for people to stand in." The owners did their best to resist the order and it was never fully executed, but it sufficed to compel them to demolish the Theatre. Its materials were transported to the Surrey side of the river, where they were used to construct the Globe.

If to these many acts of persecution be added the fact that the civic authorities never lost an opportunity of suspending the performances at theatres, whenever a fear of infection of the plague gave them an excuse, their unpopularity with actors and playwrights is not surprising. The ignominious part played by the mayor of London is emphasized in *Richard III*. In the opening scene of Beaumont's and

GLOBE . SOUTHWARKE .



pl at the Globe
W. M.

" our theatres are wight done
and where they be the Globe Theatre
now are present
by wight of some making
and midwint of tower w
Fasson

THE GLOBE THEATRE.

Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* the speaker of the prologue announces a play of which the scene is laid in the city. Thereupon a citizen leaps upon the stage:

Citizen: Hold your peace, goodman boy?

Speaker of the Prologue: What do you mean, sir?

Citizen: That you have no good meaning: this seven years there hath been plays at this house, I have observed it, you have still girds at citizens; and now you call your play "The London Merchant." Down with your title, boy! down with your title.

However, for all the mayor and aldermen could do, the Globe was erected near the Rose in Southwark, and it had a glorious history as the theatre in which all Shakespeare's great tragedies were first produced, and in which he very frequently played minor parts. Moreover, in 1601 a theatre called the Fortune was built outside Cripplegate, between Golding, now Golden Lane, and Whitecross Street.

These theatres were on the outside round or hexagonal; their inside plan was invariably round, and was the direct outcome of the conditions in which plays had been produced in halls and in courtyards. At one end a low stage projected into the arena, and above it a gallery of less depth corresponded to the inn balcony and was supported by two pillars. Beneath the gallery, at the back of the stage, there were two entrances, often draped, as in the halls of great houses and public bodies there had been two doors. A canopy, called the shadow, projected above the gallery over about two-thirds of the stage, and gave the actors some protection against the weather. Places for spectators were arranged in tiers around all of the surrounding wall of the arena which was not occupied by the stage, and were divided into rooms which sometimes contained seats. The remaining floor-space

formed the pit, the accommodation for the "groundlings." The gallants of the court sat on stools upon the stage, or, if stools ran short, they lay upon the rushes.

Blackfriars Theatre, the most select of the playhouses, which was situated in the precinct of Blackfriars, now occupied by Playhouse Yard, near the "Times" office, was exceptional in that it consisted of a remodelled private house. It was used until 1581 by the St. Paul's boys, but these afterwards played in the singing school of St. Paul's, and they were succeeded at Blackfriars by the choristers of the Chapel Royal.

Some theatres, Elizabethan in type, were opened after the close of the queen's reign. The Globe was burnt during a performance of *Henry VIII.* in 1613, but was again erected, octagonal in shape. The bear-baiting ring on Bankside was rebuilt about the year 1606, and was then furnished with a movable stage, in order that it might serve for "stage Playes on Mundayes, Wednesdayes, Fridayes and Saterdayes; and for the Baiting of the Beares on Tuesdayes and Thursdayes." It was called sometimes the Hope, sometimes the Bear Garden, and probably was not used for plays at all after 1616. The Swan had a site near modern Blackfriars Road and plays were acted in it between 1611 and 1613. There were also, in the Stewart period, a playhouse called the Red Bull in Clerkenwell, another in the precinct of the White Friars, and a third, known as the Cockpit, in Drury Lane.

In the years of the Civil War the city magistrates finally succeeded in suppressing all the theatres around London, and so ended the history of Elizabethan playhouses.

The architecture of the sixteenth century was inferior to that of the preceding age. Two city churches remain

which date mainly from the period, St. Giles's Cripplegate, and St. Andrew's Undershaft, both of them built before the accession of Elizabeth. They are roomy churches in the late perpendicular style, less interesting than those of an earlier date.

A print of the Royal Exchange survives to provide an example of the public buildings of the period. It was a pseudo-classical structure which surrounded a quadrangular courtyard. Around the inner side of this was a colonnade, within which were two rows of shops, the one above the other. The pillars supported arches, and above these an upper storey had a façade decorated by statues of the sovereigns of England, contained in niches. A higher storey had dormer windows in the slanting roof. Outside the north entrance stood a tall Corinthian column, which was topped by a grasshopper, the crest of the Greshams. Such architecture has a self-consciousness which marks the fact that the middle ages had been left behind. The hall of Gray's Inn is an example of the dignified and beautiful buildings of its type which were erected in the period. It is a structure of red brick, of which the side walls are divided by buttresses, between which are windows in the prevalent domestic style. The gables have a curious battlement of brick. In the interior the fine oaken roof is remarkable and characteristic.

Such houses as were newly built in the city in the reign of Elizabeth were still, for the most part, of brick and timber, of the type exemplified in those buildings of Staple's Inn which face on Holborn. The casement windows of London were a prominent feature. A traveller in England in the year 1558 remarked on the "many glass windows, as well below as above in the chambers, for in the chambers there are many glazed casements, and that in all the tradesmen's

houses in almost every town." The chaplain of a Venetian embassy complained, however, early in the next century, that the windows of London had no shutters and had casements too narrow to permit a view; and he quotes the exclamation of a Genoese gentleman, "O! wretched windowes, which cannot open by day nor close by night!" He states, moreover, that timber houses without foundations were cold and damp, that staircases were spiral and inconvenient, and chambers "sorry and ill-connected."

Yet this Venetian found London "very noble, with handsome thoroughfares and well-supplied shops, each distinguished by its sign like so many inns, and plenty of beautiful stone fountains, especially in the heart of the city." He was impressed by its size; a succession of houses almost united it to Westminster; and on the opposite side of the river, "connected by a noble stone bridge, which on each side has a handsome row of shops," were "some good habitations, but fewer in number."

On the other hand, the Venetian considered London very dirty; its streets were covered with black and offensive mud, which provided the mob with a ready missile, and the water of the Thames was "hard, turbid and foul." And the city was infested by "the great devils and the little devils." "By the great ones I mean the waggons, which, when they meet the coaches of the gentry, refuse to give way and yield as due. The little devils are the apprentices, alias shop-boys, who on two days of the year, . . . Shrove Tuesday and the first of May, are so riotous and outrageous, that in a body, three or four thousand strong, they go committing excesses in every direction, killing human beings and demolishing houses." The visitor was in other particulars impressed by the popular constitution of London society, by the manner

in which the rough play of the crowd was often taken in good part.

On the failure to regulate carriage traffic Stow also comments. "The coachman rides behind the horse tails, lasheth them, and looketh not behind. The drayman sitteth and sleepeth on his dray, and letteth his horse lead him home. I know that by the good laws and customs of this city shod carts [carts with wheels bound with iron] are forbidden to enter the same, except upon reasonable causes, as service of the prince or such like, they be tolerated; also that the fore horse of every carriage should be led by the hand; but these good orders are not observed.

"Of old time coaches were not known in this island, but chariots or whirlicotes, then so called, and they only used of princes or great estates, such as had their footmen about them. . . . And so was the riding in whirlicotes and chariots forsaken, except at coronations and such like spectacles. But now of late years the use of coaches brought out of Germany is taken up, and made so common as there is neither distinction of time, nor difference of persons observed; for the world runs on wheels with many whose parents were glad to go on foot."

Another peculiarity noted by the Venetian traveller was the show of instruments of punishment in the streets. "There are pillories for the neck and hands, stocks for the feet, and chains for the streets themselves, to stop them in case of need. In the suburbs there are oak cages for nocturnal offenders, and pounds for mischievous animals."

No great variety of costume was to be observed, for the foreigners, knowing themselves unpopular, discreetly adopted English fashions or the French fashion which prevailed at court. The ever-conservative Spaniards were an exception

and disdained to wear any but their native dress. When the Venetian from a goldsmith's shop in Cheapside viewed the lord mayor's show he saw houses which were "all windows," and each window "was filled with beautiful faces, decked with every variety of head-tire like so many pictures," save one only in which there were two Spanish women, "yellow, livid, hollow-eyed, ill-dressed," "perfect hobgoblins."

CHAPTER XIV

PURITAN LONDON

IN the seventeenth century London again, as in mediæval times, took part in a struggle in which the fortunes of the nation were at stake. But the city played a *rôle* very different from that assigned to her in earlier days. Then she had been one among other forces of the country, a unit, almost in the position of an independent city state for whose support rival combatants treated. Now she was the leader of the more progressive section of the whole nation ; her interests had been identified with those of the country.

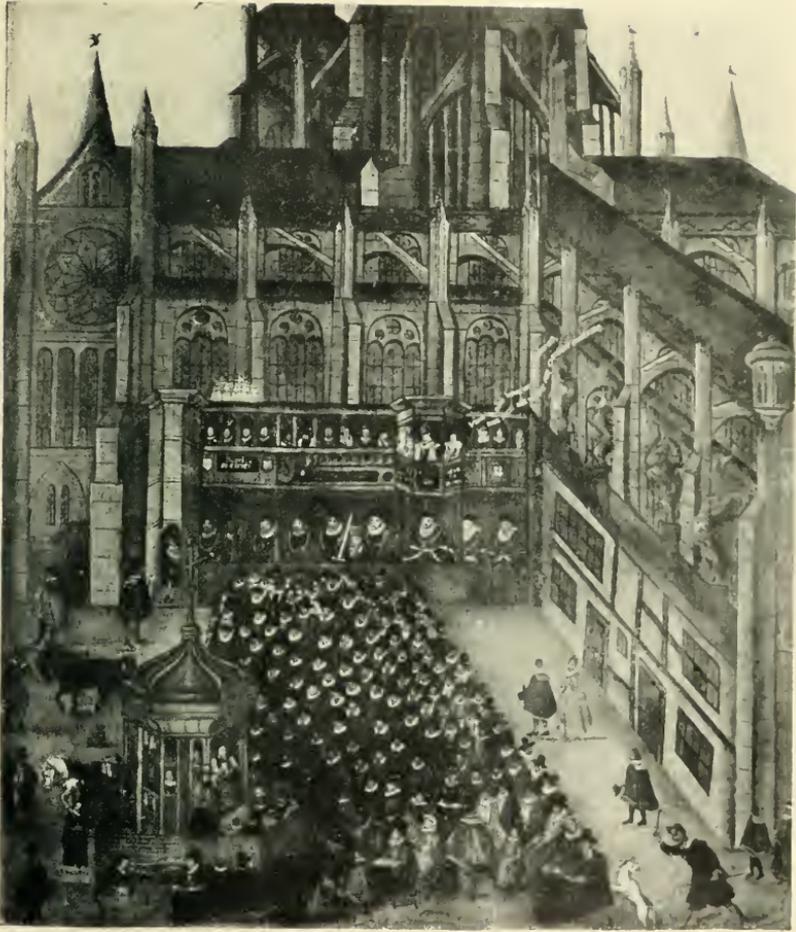
This was the result, in London, of the Tudor period in history. Under the Tudors the citizens had learnt that they were Englishmen first and Londoners afterwards. At the same time, the education provided by the Renaissance and the Reformation, and by all the liberal circumstances of the sixteenth century, had taught them to think not in accordance with accidental facts but on principles. Therefore their new patriotism was not based essentially on loyalty to a sovereign. In 1627 Goring wrote to inform Buckingham of the difficulty of borrowing in the city. "No man," he said, "will lend upon any security if they think it go the way of the court, which now is made diverse from the state."

As to the leading position assumed by London, it was the result of no generous recognition on the part of the rest of

the country of the qualities of the city. In the parliament of 1604 a bill to throw open foreign trade to the nation at large passed the House of Commons; for commerce with foreign countries was practically engrossed by the merchant companies, and these consisted almost entirely of Londoners. The rapid growth of London in proportion to other towns, and the fact that in one year the customs and impositions there had amounted to £110,000, while throughout the rest of the kingdom their sum was only £17,000, were arguments adduced in support of the measure. The bill was dropped by the lords, but its history shows what jealousy of the city existed, especially in other seaports. But no prejudice could hinder the predominance of the city. Such was assured by her wealth and her size, by the centralization in her of trade and of fashion, by her proximity to Westminster, and to the royal palaces.

It is more remarkable that she was able in this period to show so united a front. The examination of Elizabethan London has proved that the city contained very diverse elements; and moreover that in Elizabethan London there was indeed little unity, a lack of motives which influenced alike the divergent classes of the population. But in the reigns of the first two Stewart kings of England certain characteristics came to be shared by all Londoners except a negligible minority: the citizens became very Puritan, and they became staunch advocates of popular rights.

It is not to be denied that the force wielded by Puritanism was of the first magnitude. Puritan theories were narrow and clear and were based on determinate principles, and therefore they were fitted to be popular. The principles at the root of them were idealistic, and led to strong and definite action; and therefore their devotees could be



PREACHING AT ST. PAUL'S CROSS.

enthusiasts. In conflict with them the liberal and the artistic tendencies of the Elizabethan age could not but be overborne. Shakespeare's London was swamped by the city of the preachers.

The middle class and the self-supporting poor evinced that intellectual activity which has always distinguished London; they were keenly interested in sermons, books and politics. They showed too the unfailing characteristic of an urban population, the disposition to reflect almost unanimously the strongest of prevalent modes of feeling and thought. Moreover the Protestant refugees, so numerous among them, could not but be missionaries of Calvinistic religion and of the rights of subjects as opposed to princes.

The poorest Londoners were a growing class, and their miseries had not been alleviated. London, in the isolation of greatness in which she stood in England, had, more than ever, attractions for ambitious and discontented countrymen; and that section of them who did not find their fortunes but increased the number of the very poor was proportionately large. Others whom the civic magistrates classed as beggars and vagabonds had been dependent, or had hoped to depend, on the politicians and the courtiers who thronged to the capital. Yet others were workmen who, in the new conditions of the organization of labour, which tended increasingly to its complete control by the few very rich, had not been able to find places. This large class of Londoners were losers by the lesser place which, in the reformed religion, was given to the impotent and the suffering. Every circumstance which increased their numbers and their misfortunes made them more irresponsible, rendered them more completely the typical city mob, a force at the disposal of the stronger party.

It might have been expected that the richest citizens would be conservative in their politics and easy in their creed. They were, it is true, in the course of their business, in frequent contact with extreme Protestants and revolted subjects; yet such intercourse alone would probably not have affected their political attitude. There was no greater fault in the Stewart government than the course by which the great merchants of London were directly alienated from the crown.

In 1617 the city was persuaded to lend £100,000 to the king; but the collection of the money, which was spent within the year, was difficult, and the demand was resisted by individuals. In 1620 the king asked the aldermen to raise a voluntary contribution for the defence of the Palatinate. They did not refuse, but protested against a renewal of the system of benevolences and suggested the summons of a parliament. James replied that a parliament would certainly not be called; whereupon they gave way, and by means of a house-to-house collection and a record kept for the names of all who refused to pay, they were able to produce the money. When however, in 1626, Charles I. asked for a loan of £100,000, on the security of the crown jewels, the citizens met him with a positive refusal. Strong pressure which he brought to bear on the aldermen, prevailed upon them to undertake personally to grant one fifth of the sum. In the same year the citizens protested that the requisition to them to provide twenty ships for purposes of war was, as compared with earlier assessments, excessive. The Privy Council retorted that precedents favoured obedience and the punishment of disobedience, and the citizens yielded, but in a grudging spirit, which caused Pennington to complain late in the year that the ships in his command supplied

by the Londoners were "very mean things," undermanned chiefly by landsmen and boys. Such as they were, these crews mutinied directly the three months for which they had been engaged were over.

In September 1628, the city again refused to lend money to the government. It was in November 1627, when the needs of the besiegers of La Rhé were pressing, that Goring wrote to Buckingham as to the new conception of patriotism in London, very inconvenient to the government since there only money could be raised.

But the most unforgivable offence of all was committed in 1635. The livery companies had received a grant of the county of Derry. In 1635 they were summoned before the court of the Star Chamber, and were accused of having failed in their public duties as colonizers; they had not built enough houses, nor sent out enough Englishmen as settlers, nor converted the Irish to Protestantism, and they had admitted Irish tenants. They were sentenced to a fine of £70,000 and a forfeiture of their Irish lands. An irrecoverable blow was dealt at the confidence of the wealthy citizens in the government, and bitter resentment, recurrently expressed, was aroused.

When the writ of ship-money was issued in 1637 only London, out of all the towns and counties, made a direct protest, a denial of the legality of the demand, based, indeed, not on the law of the country but on the particular liberties of the city. On the the city one-fifth of the whole burden had been laid. The lord mayor was told that his arguments had been refuted by the lawyers, and the city lawyers received a warning. There was a stormy meeting of the Common Council, but the upshot was submission.

In February 1639, the city was asked to make a free

contribution to the expenses of the government. In March less than £5,000 had been raised, and a fresh appeal was issued. It produced only £200, and the whole amount was contemptuously refused.

The demands of the crown became more and more pressing. In June the Privy Council summoned the mayor and aldermen in order to negotiate a loan. So few aldermen appeared that the lord mayor was sent back to the city to fetch more of them. Then the king asked for £100,000, and the mayor and aldermen, hating the Scottish war which impeded trade, and still resenting the affair of Derry, answered that he demanded impossibilities. Cottington told them that they ought to have sold their chains before they made such a reply, and they were dismissed and allowed a week to consider their final answer. They refused definitely to lend the money in April of the following year, two days before the meeting of the Short Parliament. In May they were again called before the council, and informed that the king expected a loan of £200,000, "or he would have £300,000 of the city." They were instructed to produce by a certain date lists of the persons in their several wards who were able to contribute, but on the appointed day they arrived without lists in the presence of the council. Then an attempt was made to browbeat them. Strafford said to the king, "Sir, you will never do good to those citizens of London till you have made examples of some of the aldermen. Unless you hang up some of them you will do no good with them." Charles demanded from the mayor his sword and collar of office, and restored them only at the petition of the bystanders. Four leading aldermen, Soames, Rainton, Greene and Adkins, were committed to prison. "I was held an honest man," said Soames to the king, "whilst I

was a commoner, and I would continue so now I am an alderman." The remaining aldermen however at this point professed readiness, in the name of the wealthier Londoners, to give, but they refused to rate their fellow citizens according to their means. A list of those able to pay was sent to the council, but that body had become aware of the need for discretion, and tacitly abandoned the policy of forcing a loan.

But in May the mayor was asked why he had not collected the ship money. He replied that he had done his best; and when the king wished to know why he had not distrained the goods of the recalcitrant, he pleaded the case of a predecessor who had been sued in the court of the King's Bench for his conduct in collecting ship money. "No man," Charles answered, "shall suffer for obeying my commands." The mayor and sheriffs went from house to house to demand the money, but only one man in the city was found compliant. The sheriffs, when the mayor bade them distrain the goods of refusers, retorted that it was "his business, not theirs." When, thereupon, he entered a draper's shop and seized a piece of linen, the owner asked leave to measure it, in order that he might charge it to his lordship's account.

In June the Common Council considered a demand that they should furnish 4000 men to the army, together with coat and conduct money. They separated without a direct answer, an action which was practically a refusal.

The king, in July, took advantage of an alarm that the Scots, by seizing Newcastle, would stop the coal supply of London; and Vane in the Common Council again asked for the loan of £200,000. He held out the bribe that the debasement of the coinage would cease. But the council answered only that they could not dispose of the money of

the citizens. Before the end of August London was twice more requested to lend, but refused on either occasion, once on the plea that the plantation of Derry had "consumed their stocks."

On the 2nd of October parliament had been declared, and therefore, at an informal meeting of the Common Councillors and richer citizens, the mayor was invited to request the livery companies to lend £200,000 to the government on the security of the peers. On the 28th the companies replied that they would advance only a quarter of the sum before the meeting of parliament.

In this manner by persistent attempts to borrow and by breaches of faith, offences the more exasperating for their monotony, the government alienated the great majority of the wealthy citizens. There was a foolish disregard of their real claims to consideration, a refusal to count as serious factors their inclinations and temper, even their interests. Yet the greater part of the mercantile capital of the country was in the possession of the merchants of London; such was the force which, in the years which preceded the great struggle, the kings turned against themselves. The mistake was perceived by Clarendon. He remarks that the city "was looked upon too much as a common stock not easy to be exhausted, and as a body not to be grieved by ordinary acts of injustice." It was "thought reasonable upon any specious pretences to avoid the security that was at any time given for money . . . borrowed" of the citizens. There was inevitably in London a remnant of sentimental loyalists, but they were few in number, and in such a centre of life had little influence.

Some conflict between the crown and the wealthy citizens was on grounds other than financial. In London, as else-

where, the sentiment of personal loyalty to the sovereign was weaker after the accession of the Stewarts; and there, as in the rest of their country, the Stewarts met exhibitions of independence with haughty indiscretion. In 1618 some aldermen determined to vindicate their right of election to the office of recorder of the city, which lately had invariably been bestowed on the king's recommendation, and James, on the other hand, resolved that no recorder who had not Buckingham's protection should be appointed.

The candidate of the aldermen was Whitelocke, who had distinguished himself on the popular side in debates on impositions; that of Buckingham was a certain Shute noted for having fifteen times suffered outlawry. Thus the campaign of the aldermen was somewhat facilitated. When, on the day of election, Shute appeared with a letter of recommendation from the king, he was told that as a former outlaw he was disqualified for the office, and that the king had undertaken to write no more such letters.

At this juncture Bacon undertook the management of the aldermen. He told the king that they were acting merely out of factious opposition, disconnected with the qualities of Shute, and sent for them. But they refused to answer the questions of any but the king, and a deputation of their number sought royal audience.

James received the aldermen in the presence of Buckingham. He listened to their representations as to the disqualifications of Shute, and held a whispered conference with the duke. Then he turned to them and told them he had no wish to transgress their privileges, but would esteem it a personal favour if they would consider his recommendation. Since they objected to Shute he asked them to elect Robert Heath. In reply they asked for a free election; but to this, and to

repetitions of the request, he answered only that no compulsion would be used but that they would be expected to vote for Heath.

The new nominee was a lawyer of good character, but a follower of Buckingham and a supporter of the prerogative. The aldermen responded to the move by another. Whitelocke, as having made himself particularly obnoxious to the court, withdrew his candidature, and was succeeded, very unwillingly, by a less marked man, a distinguished lawyer Walter. The declaration of the poll showed that Heath had secured thirteen votes and Walter eleven, a victory so bare that it was tantamount to a defeat for the king.

The great body of Londoners, the people of the city, showed more clearly their political attitude. In 1614 the proclamation in the city of the treaty with Spain was received in a sullen silence, broken only, here and there, by the cry, "God preserve our good neighbours in Holland and Zealand." Thanks were given in almost every London pulpit for the capture of Ostend by the Dutch. A few days before the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, departed for his country in 1618, carrying the promise of Raleigh's punishment, a member of his suite rode over a little boy in Chancery Lane. The child was not much hurt, but in a few minutes a mob which numbered from four to five thousand was moving towards the Spanish embassy in Barbican. The ambassador himself was absent, but his attendants were presently waiting in expectation of death, while the windows of the embassy crashed, doors splintered, and the crowd yelled for the unfortunate horsemen. They fell into quiet when Chief Justice Montague and the lord mayor arrived upon the scene, and Montague hastily appeased them by a promise that the offending Spaniard should be punished.

The man was brought from the embassy, and the people opened up their ranks to allow his passage to prison.

This incident led to some diplomatic business. The offending horseman returned to the embassy when the rioters had dispersed to their houses, and James sent Buckingham to apologise to Gondomar. But the ambassador, although he declared his personal forgiveness, hinted doubts as to his master's probable attitude. Then the mayor was ordered to apologise, and was instructed to punish the rioters unless he would have the king deal with them. Gondomar thereupon declared himself satisfied, and asked for leniency for the offenders. James discovered that the magistrates were sympathetic to the accused men, and issued a special commission for their trial. In the event seven of them were condemned to imprisonment for six months and a fine of £500 each, but the sentence was remitted within a month at the instance of Gondomar's secretary. The imposition of so heavy a fine and the attitude of the civic authorities would seem to prove that some men of substance were concerned in the riot.

In 1628 the extraordinary unpopularity of Buckingham in the city was illustrated. As a creature of the favourite, an astrologer and quack doctor named Lambe, left the Fortune Theatre on the evening of the 13th of June, he was surrounded by a crowd of apprentices who hooted him as "the duke's devil." He paid some sailors to guard him to a tavern in Moorgate Street where he supped.

When he left the place later in the evening some lads were still hanging about the door. He was no coward, and he threatened them, telling them "he would make them dance naked," but an increasing company followed him as he pursued his way. In Old Jewry he turned on them with his

sailors and drove them off. The anger of the crowd suddenly sprang into activity and they made a rush at him. He took refuge in the Windmill tavern; a furious mob surrounded the house, flinging stones and howling for their victim. The landlord would not keep him; he would do no more than help him to a disguise. And this did little service; Lambe was soon recognised, and fled for his life with the mob at his heels. He again escaped into a house, and again the master would not suffer him to remain, but provided for him this time four constables as a guard. They were useless against such a multitude. They were soon thrown aside, and Lambe was on the ground, exposed to blind and senseless brutality. He was beaten, stoned and inhumanly mutilated, and at the last no man could be found to receive his unconscious body. He was taken to the Counter, where he died next morning.

His murderers were heard to say that his master would have received worse treatment at their hands; they would have minced the duke's flesh and had each of them a morsel.

The outbreak made the king very angry. He summoned the mayor and aldermen and commanded them to find the guilty persons, and because they failed to do so he imposed a heavy fine on the city.

His other advisers were little better liked in London than Buckingham. In 1629 papers were passed from hand to hand which contained attacks on Weston and on Laud. "Laud, look to thyself," ran one of them; "be assured thy life is sought." London, the centre of the bishop's diocese, was a stronghold of Puritanism, and the conflict between ritualism and extreme Protestantism was nowhere more direct and bitter. Laud, moreover, revived the old quarrel between Londoners and the church as to tithes. He urged on the Privy Council that the land of the city should be

revalued, because tithes were paid on a basis not correspondent to modern values, and the citizens, while they were not illiberal in providing preachers and lecturers who supported their own doctrines, were very unwilling to contribute more largely to funds by which the ecclesiastical policy of their bishop might be advanced.

In 1640 all the feeling against the king's government came to a head. In August copies of the Scottish manifesto were circulated in London. The citizens were in a state of high excitement, agitated by every passing rumour, "in such distraction as if the day of judgment were hourly expected." The petition of the twelve peers was in circulation among them in September. They heard of the Scottish progress as of a national triumph, and received the news of Conway's rout with demonstrations of joy. The Scots promised that their coal supply would not be hindered. A petition of citizens, not unlike that of the twelve peers, was organised and received many signatures, and a companion to it was prepared by the clergy of the city. The Privy Council ineffectively ordered the mayor and aldermen to end such a scandal. The petitions were presented in September, and an idea, at first entertained, of punishing their inspirers, was abandoned. When the time of the mayoral election drew near the electors proclaimed with shouts that none should be chosen who had opposed the petition. The alderman highest on the list was set aside, and votes were divided between the now distinguished Soames, and Geare, a supporter of the petition.

Already placards had called upon the apprentices to rise for the reformation, "which in plain English is the defacing" of the churches, and the mayor and aldermen had interfered to prevent disturbance. Late in September there were riots

in two city churches. In one of them when the bishop's chancellor, Dr. Duck, summoned the churchwardens to take the usual oath for the presentment of offenders against the ecclesiastical law, he was answered by cries of "No Oath! No Oath!" An apparitor contemptuously called the interruptors "a company of Puritan dogs." He was hustled and beaten, and a sheriff, summoned to restore order, carried him off to prison.

On the 22nd of November, as the High Commission Court were about to sentence a Separatist, their room was invaded by the city mob. Benches were broken, books seized, furniture thrown from the windows. Laud demanded the punishment of the rioters from the Star Chamber, but that court merely indicted them before the mayor and some aldermen sitting on a commission of oyer and terminer, who inflicted no punishment because the jury could not agree to find a true bill. The mob therefore, uncorrected, entered St. Paul's on the following Sunday, and destroyed a number of papers believing them to be records of the High Commission Court.

On the 5th of November the citizens transgressed precedent by refusing to send the recorder to parliament. He was a strong loyalist, Sir Thomas Gardiner, whom Charles had designed to make speaker. They chose for their representatives in the Long Parliament four staunch Puritans.

One of these, Cradock, in the beginning of the session of that assembly, cast suspicion on the intentions of the king with regard to the garrison at the Tower. There was, he said, a rumour that "the city should shortly be about the citizens' ears." Londoners followed with eager encouragement the proceedings against Strafford. Five days after his

impeachment they agreed to lend £25,000 to the government, on condition the Derry lands were restored, the garrison appointed by the king removed from the Tower, and the ordnance dismounted from its walls. Later they promised a loan of £60,000, but in February, 1641, when £21,000 of this sum had been delivered, they stopped payment on account of the delay of Strafford's trial. On the 24th of April twenty thousand citizens signed a petition for his execution and the redress of grievances, as measures which alone could lead to the revival of trade.

The city supported also all reforms connected with the church. There were many in London whose opinions were those of Independents and Presbyterians and who wished to overthrow the whole ecclesiastical polity. Their zeal was increased when, in 1640, the Scottish commissioners arrived in the city to treat for peace with the parliament, a move which Clarendon describes as "the last and most confounding error" of the king's government. The commissioners were lodged in the heart of the city, in a house which had a passage leading into the gallery of St. Antholin's church. This church was assigned to them for their religious exercises, and in it one of their number, frequently Alexander Henderson, preached. "To hear those sermons," Clarendon relates, "there was so great a conflux and resort, by the citizens out of humour and faction, by others of all quality out of curiosity, and by some that they might the better justify the contempt they had of them, that from the first appearance of day in the morning on every Sunday, to the shutting in of the light, the church was never empty. They, especially the women, who had the happiness to get into the church in the morning—they who could not hung upon or about the windows to be auditors or spectators—keeping their places till the afternoon's

exercise was finished." In December, 1640, a violent petition for church reform and the abolition of episcopacy, signed by fifteen thousand citizens, was carried to Westminster by a numerous and enthusiastic company. The city declared for Pym during the debate on the Grand Remonstrance. When the bill for the removal of bishops from the House of Lords was under discussion, in December 1641, a mob of Londoners gathered around Westminster Hall. There were shouts of "No Bishops! No Bishops! No Popish Lords!" Lists were compiled of "disaffected members of the House of Commons" and of "false, evil and rotten-hearted lords"; and were read out to the crowd among threats of violence. The citizens petitioned against the retention of Catholic peers and bishops in the upper house, as the chief obstacle to the passing of good laws. Such a petition, with twenty thousand signatures, was brought to the house on the 11th of December by four hundred well-to-do merchants and tradesmen driven in coaches.

Another petition was for the removal of a private grievance of the city, very serious during a long session of parliament, for relief from the custom by which servants of members of parliament, who had obtained protections from their masters, were immune from creditors.

However the king's party in the city gained strength from the disorders of their opponents, the offence given to all law-abiding men by the rabble at Whitehall and Westminster who sought by violence to enforce their will, and the rioters who threatened and molested reputed malignants in the city, and invaded the churches to remove any furniture or ornaments which were not to their taste. The numbers of the lawless were swelled by disbanded soldiers from the army which had opposed the Scots. Moreover the eccentrics who

appeared as the old barriers to religious faith and practice were passed and forgotten, members of strange small sects, often offended the decency, the common sense and the prejudices of average citizens. The notorious Praise God Barebones, who at this time, near the corner of Fleet Street and Fetter Lane, sold leather and preached to a small communion, was on Sunday, the 19th of December, so vociferous that he exasperated even a section of the mob, and his house was stormed. There were more dependable conservatives among the wealthy. Sir Richard Gurney, a decided Royalist, was elected mayor in 1641; and on the 25th of November, the king, on his return from Scotland, was received in London with much demonstration of loyalty, and feasted at the Guildhall. He had been told that to gain the city was to dethrone King Pym, and he made liberal promises, yielding, among other things, on the vexed question of the Derry lands. But the very conditional nature of the loyalty of by far the greater number of London citizens became clear when the elections to the Common Council on the 21st of December gave seats to a large majority of Puritans. On the 26th Gurney told the king that, unless the lieutenant of the Tower were dismissed, he could not answer for the peace of the city; the apprentices would storm the Tower. Charles gave way.

The history of the first ten days of January, 1642, is very familiar. On the 5th Charles drove to the Guildhall and demanded from the Common Council that the five members whom he had sought to arrest, and who had taken refuge with the citizens, should be given up to him. His request was followed by a silence; then shouts were heard, "Parliament! Privileges of Parliament!" There were some who cried, less loudly "God bless the King!" Charles asked that any who had aught to say would speak, whereupon a voice

announced, "It is the vote of this court that your majesty hear the advice of parliament," and another retorted, "It is not the vote of this court; it is your own vote." "Who is it," said Charles, "that says I do not take the advice of my parliament? I do take their advice; but I must distinguish between the parliament and some traitors in it. These I would bring to a legal trial." A man leapt upon a bench and raised again the cry, "Privileges of parliament!" "I have and will observe all privileges of parliament," the king said, "but no privileges can protect a traitor from a legal trial." It was evident, however, that he made no real impression on the Common Council, and that they had no intention of relinquishing the five members. He left defeated, and as he drove through the streets of the city men shouted "Privileges of Parliament!" on all sides. Someone threw into his carriage a paper on which were the words "To your tents, O Israel!", an allusion to the deposition of Rehoboam.

His presence removed, the small Royalist party in the Common Council became quite ineffective. A petition to the king was prepared in which it was assumed that the five members were in the right.

On the 6th a committee of the House of Commons met in the Guildhall. They were welcomed by a committee of the Common Council who assured them of protection, and announced that they would hold sessions concurrent with theirs, in order to supply any of their needs. That night there was a panic in the city, and the mayor was asked to call out the trained bands. When he refused, forty thousand men, completely armed, and one hundred thousand more having halberts, swords and clubs, appeared to defend their homes. They realised, however, that their alarm was groundless, and the mayor persuaded them to disperse.

On the 7th the king ordered the mayor to repeat in the city the proclamation, already made before Whitehall, stigmatizing Lord Kimbolton and the five members as traitors, but even the royalist Gurney was obliged to reply that his obedience would be illegal.

On the 8th the Common Council received from the king a haughty and angry answer as to their petition with regard to the five members. The committees of the Commons and of the Lords severally asked the city to provide for them a guard, and on the 10th of January Philip Skippon, captain of the Artillery Garden, was appointed Sergeant Major General to command the trained bands, and was ordered to raise a guard for offence and defence. The seamen and mariners of the Thames volunteered their services for offensive purposes, and met with acceptance.

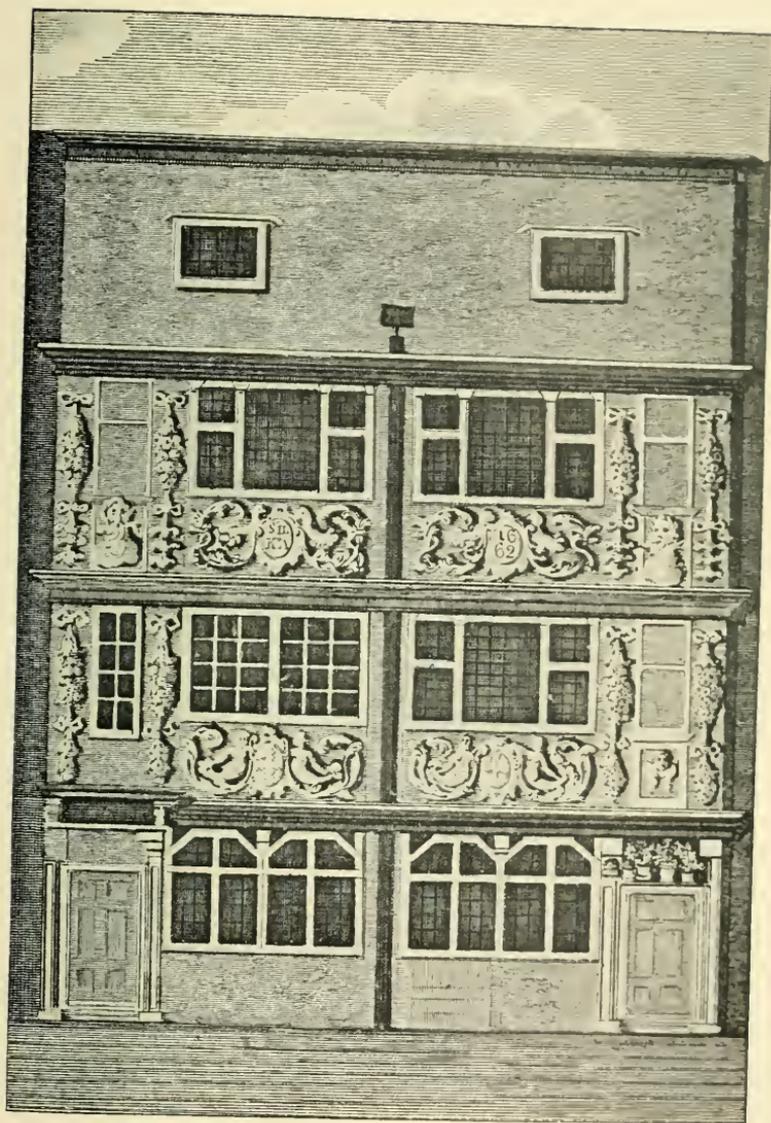
On the 10th of January, also, Charles left Whitehall, and on the next day, in triumph, the members of the House of Commons travelled back to Westminster from the city by water, the five members who were the heroes of the day in their midst. The trained bands guarded their progress from the banks of the river.

War was very near and London had very definitely chosen a side. On the 10th of May the trained bands, 8,000 strong, were reviewed in Finsbury Fields, before both houses of Parliament.

Clarendon states that in the reign of Charles I., London was "by the incredible increase of trade, which the distractions of other countries and the peace of this brought, and by the great license of resort thither . . . in riches, in people, in buildings, marvellously increased, insomuch as the suburbs were almost equal to the city." "Little," he adds, "was applied to prevent so growing a disease"; for as a disease the extension

of the area of London was regarded. The attractions of the capital were said to interfere with local administration in the provinces, to cause a lack of gentlemen to preside over musters, suppress rebellions, perform the duties of justices of the peace and supply an element in the composition of juries. The absentees were censured in 1632. "Themselves go from ordinaries to dicing rooms and from thence to playhouses. Their wives dress themselves in the morning, visit in the afternoon and perhaps make a journey to Hyde Park, and so home again." All country gentlemen were ordered in this year to return to their homes, and one who was disobedient was fined £1,000 by the Star Chamber.

But the more usual course taken to prevent the growth of the city was to forbid the erection of new buildings outside the walls, and this did not prevent "the great license of resort thither," but instead intensified the evils of overcrowding. The civic authorities were throughout the first half of the seventeenth century much pre-occupied by the existence of divided houses and houses in which lodgers were received, yet a return of all such dwellings in the city, made in 1637, shows that their reforming efforts had had little success. A population, largely dependent on the rates, was living, especially in the riverside district and near the walls, in conditions extraordinarily insanitary and very miserable. There were many complaints too of the numerous rogues, vagabonds and beggars, some of them Irish and foreign, the loose livers, the unlicensed pedlars and chapmen, and the increased number of alehouses. Sewers and ditches were not cleansed, refuse was suffered to collect in ponds, streets were ill swept, lay stalls were in close proximity to dwelling-houses, graveyards were over-full, unfit corn, meat and fish were sold to the poor. Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.,



A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE IN LONDON.

attempted to enforce political fasts, chiefly with the object of fostering the fishing industry, but any salutary results on the health of the people were not felt by the Londoners; for it was stated in 1630 that, while the fasts were observed in the king's palace, the houses of nobles and the Inns of Court, in taverns and places of amusement more meat was eaten on fasting than on other nights.

Inevitably the city was frequently a prey to epidemics; 1603, 1625, 1630, 1636, 1637, and 1638, were noted plague years, and the plague of 1603 lingered, with lessening force, for eight years. Each great visitation had as forerunners other diseases, smallpox, dysentery, spotted fever, measles. The largest number of deaths occurred in the poor parishes outside the walls of London.

Defoe made vivid the horrors of the last great plague year, 1665; and it is not to be supposed that he described novelties. "The Wonderful Yeare," an account of the plague of 1603 written by one who had witnessed it, tells of the like nightmare of gloom, wretchedness, and panic. There was panic in the city when men fled from infected houses to leave the sick to die untended, when they turned their servants out of doors to die in hovels and at street corners, when they took to their beds, resigned to death, so soon as they felt themselves unwell. All who could fled from the city in panic, and in panic the country people sometimes refused to receive them, and sometimes left them to die in the fields. All the ordinary machinery of life broke down; nurses, doctors, and physic were lacking, dead bodies were hastily shovelled into the ground. Trade and industry were interrupted.

Among precautions taken to prevent the plague were some efforts to secure more sanitary conditions. A proclamation in 1630 forbade the building of rooms below a certain height

and of houses which had an overhanging upper storey. There were attempts to secure greater cleanliness in the streets. During the outbreak of 1630, the Privy Council ordered that all infected houses should be shut up, and that either the inmates should be removed to the pest house or the doors should be guarded, and should be marked by a red cross or by the inscription "Lord, have mercy upon us!" These closed houses with their sinister emblem were a common sight of the streets in the plague years. All resort to plays, cock-fights, bull and bear-baitings, shows of tumbling and rope-dancing, and close bowling-alleys were prohibited. The mayor and aldermen in 1630 made a report to the lords of council as to the measures by which they had fought the disease. Ancient women, reputed to be honest and skilful, had been appointed for the visited houses and appeared to have discharged their duties faithfully. Persons who died of the plague had been buried late at night, and threats or other means had almost always sufficed to prevent any from following them to the grave. Certain who had removed inscriptions from infected houses had been punished. In 1635-6 the Privy Council directed that infected houses should be cleansed, especially as regarded household stuffs and bedding.

As to the regulation of traffic in this period, an interesting petition, which shows perhaps some Puritan bias, was rendered to the mayor and aldermen in 1618-9 by the inhabitants and officers of the precinct of Blackfriars. It was stated that numbers of people and coaches, some of them hackney coaches in which all manner of persons travelled, resorted daily to the house in Blackfriars which had been converted into a playhouse, and "clogged up" Ludgate Hill, impeded traffic and trade, broke down the stalls in the

street, and were a source of danger to passengers. They came even in Lent, from one to five o'clock in the afternoon, and in these, the most usual hours for christenings, burials and afternoon services, made it impossible for the inhabitants to go to church. The grievance subsisted until 1633, when the court of the Star Chamber, "remembering that there is an easy passage by water into that playhouse," ordered that coaches should leave so soon as they had set down their passengers, and not return until the play was over, and then go no further than the west entrance to St. Paul's church-yard or the Fleet conduit.

In 1634 the history of the London cab had its beginning. Some enterprising persons placed hackney coaches for hire on the streets, and a chorus of objections was raised. There was the inevitable scare of effeminacy, and it was proposed to forbid the use of the coaches for journeys of less than three miles, and by unmarried gentlemen not accompanied by their parents. Other opposition was from the watermen of the Thames who dreaded competition. In 1636 the hire of hackney coaches for a distance under three miles was actually prohibited, on the ground that too general a use of them would block the streets, break the pavements, and raise the price of hay. In 1637 however, fifty hackney coaches were licensed.

CHAPTER XV

REVOLUTION IN LONDON

IN the game which was played in England from 1642 to 1660 London was a card of the first importance. To either side to hold the city meant access to great wealth. The trained bands were a military force not to be despised; and the city mob, while it was sometimes an uncertain and embarrassing ally, was always a dreaded enemy. The position of London as a maker of public opinion was almost equal to her place in the finance of the kingdom. The sermons, the pamphlets, the talk in the city could reach all the leaders of the nation, and constituted a very significant factor in the struggle.

It has been seen that at the outbreak of war the force of London, as a whole, was ranged on the side of the opponents of the king. It was never actually lost to them until 1660. But there were many fluctuations of feeling in the city. The Royalist party in London was a nucleus for discontented citizens, and from time to time its strength was such as to raise high the hopes of the Royalist agents who nursed it. There is little doubt that had London ever seceded to Charles I. the government of the king would have been restored without the events which intervened between 1649 and 1660.

The chief interest in the Civil War in London, and the key to its history, is the difference between the opinions of

the average Puritan citizen and those of the great Puritan leaders. The opinions of average men are never entirely logical, and the politician who neglects their complications courts disaster. The majority of Londoners were strong parliamentarians; they hated bitterly the absolutism of a king, but they had the ultimate sentimental conservatism of average men which was shocked by the execution of Charles I. and by extreme innovations. Their Roundhead politics were, in part, the result of kingly exactions, and therefore, naturally, they did not open their purses unstintingly to the king's enemies, but hoped rather for protection for their possessions. As years passed they lost some of their ardour of rebellion, and remembered their private interests and the inconveniences of disorderly times. The trained bands objected to expeditions which took them far from their homes. The traders desired peace.

The attitude of the city with regard to ecclesiastical affairs was more peculiar. The exceptional Puritanism of Londoners, their bitter opposition to ritualism and to an episcopal church, have already been noted. In this period the governing class in the city definitely adhered to one particular form of Puritan religion, the Presbyterianism of Scotland. They were the converts of the Scottish preachers in St. Antholin's church. The Presbyterian polity is peculiarly suited to an urban population, the existence of a large class of prosperous and intelligent laymen, and the activity of interest in church affairs generated by the number and proximity of congregations. The self government of Presbyterian churches accorded with the ancient traditions of independence in the city; and in its aristocratic principles, in the fact that it was governed by elected officials, the Presbyterian system was like the city's own constitution.

Moreover, as was remarked by Professor Gardiner, the introduction of Presbyterianism into London actually gave ecclesiastical power to those who had previously administered the secular government; the elders were the men who had exercised civic control.

In one respect London fell short of the Scottish model. The censorship of morals assumed by the Presbyterian church was never seriously adopted in the city, perhaps because it was really antipathetic to the English temperament.

The middle and lower classes in London were, many of them, inclined to churches more democratic or more anarchical than the Presbyterian. In the latter years of the war the enmity between Presbyterians and Independents in the city was almost as bitter as that between Cavaliers and Roundheads. It was a handicap to Cromwell that he found his warmest citizen supporters among the poorer men.

This was the city which had to be brought to support the war and to acquiesce in the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

In the first months of hostilities enthusiasm was high, and contributions of money and men were made loyally. But in December, 1642, both the Committee of both Houses for the Advance of Money and the Common Council were besieged by a mob who clamoured for peace, and the latter body received a numerously signed petition to the same end. It was rejected, yet the council itself drew up a petition to the king and another to the parliament to ask for peace on reasonable terms. In May, 1643, a Royalist plot in the city was discovered and confounded. On the 7th of August the Common Council in a petition urged the rejection of peace, and they were supported by the preachers in the city and by a vociferous mob in Palace Yard. But on the morrow

another mob, of women, gathered before the Houses to clamour for the opposite course. "Give us those traitors that were against the peace," they cried, "that we may tear them to pieces! Give us that dog, Pym!" In November the London trained bands deserted Waller at Basing House. The magistrates took up their cause, and were asking in the end of the year that the three regiments under Essex might be recalled and the others paid. Another Royalist plot was suppressed.

In 1644 and 1645 parliament received fairly consistent support from the city. As, however, the question of the establishment of Presbyterianism became vital, the divergence between the zeal in this matter of London and the merely politic attitude of the House of Commons appeared. In November, 1645, the Common Council petitioned both houses for Presbyterianism; in the following January they petitioned the Commons against the toleration of the private meetings for religious worship frequently held in the city; in March they rendered another petition against the clause in the ordinance for the establishment of Presbyterianism which gave the right of excommunication to the civil power. In June and July the Presbyterian system was actually established in London. In December the city made a petition unfavourable to the Independents, and in March asked in another that the king might take the Covenant and the army be disbanded.

At this time there was a design, in which the Presbyterians of the city and certain members of parliament co-operated, to use the London trained bands as a makeweight to the army. The city petitioned in March that its militia might be placed under the control of a new committee of its own choosing, instead of the existing one which was nominated

by parliament. The desired permission was given, and in May an ordinance of parliament, passed in the absence of Cromwell, conferred authority on the committee which had been accordingly formed. The city was further authorized to raise cavalry for its own defence.

But the warlike spirit which could make these measures effective was lacking. When the army, who now held the king, issued from Royston a summons to the city, the Common Council drew up a temporising answer which repudiated all intention of resisting the just demands of the soldiers, but requested them to remain at a distance of thirty miles, lest they should raise the price of provisions. The trained bands were called out, but responded tardily and without enthusiasm. Finally, on the 13th of June, the deputation of citizens who had carried the reply of the Common Council to Fairfax came to terms with the soldiers.

With the imminence of the danger, as Fairfax drew nearer to the city, there was however a recrudescence of Presbyterian zeal. Many persons signed, on the 21st of July, a Solemn Engagement to maintain the Covenant and procure the restoration of the king, conditionally on his abandonment for a term of years of episcopacy and the command of the militia. But parliament was less resolute. On the 22nd the Commons, in a thin house, agreed to give back the control of the trained bands to the parliamentary committee, and their action was next day confirmed by the Lords. On the 24th both houses denounced the Solemn Engagement.

At this point the mob intervened. The Common Council on the 26th petitioned parliament for a new transference to the city of the command of the civic militia, and the rabble at Westminster clamoured so fiercely for a favourable answer that the Lords were intimidated into consent. The Commons

were not so easily persuaded. For six hours they persisted in a refusal, although the mob invaded the lobby of the House, and interrupted their deliberations with threatening cries of "Vote! Vote!" They hustled the servants of officers of the army on whom they could lay hands. Repeated messages from the Commons at last brought a sheriff of the city on the scene, but he arrived with only forty halberdiers, a force powerless to reduce to order such a multitude. The rioters could despise his authority. As he appeared they entered the House itself, and announced to the members that none of them should stir until the obnoxious ordinance had been repealed. At eight o'clock in the evening their will was done.

There was no organization behind these violent acts and they could have no permanent success. They served principally the better to excuse the army for marching on the city. The Common Council wrote indeed to Fairfax, on the 28th, to urge him to advance no further, and to intimate that defensive preparations were in course. The trained bands were sent to the walls, and all able men were ordered to be levied for purposes of fighting. But in fact the force in the city was that of anarchy, and its rule was repugnant and wearisome to the responsible citizens. The Independents dared again to make themselves heard, and rendered a petition at the Guildhall, on the 2nd of August, for an accommodation with the soldiers. The redoubtable army was coming nearer and nearer, and in London men were irresolute and confused. On the 3rd the city announced to Fairfax its surrender, and on the 7th the soldiers marched through the streets.

But it was only for fear of worse disasters that they had been admitted. The predominating class in London had

embraced the ideal of a Presbyterian monarchy, and had moreover, a sensitive jealousy, born of long traditions, of all attempts to coerce them. The election of a compliant mayor was procured when soldiers had been placed as guards along the approaches to the Guildhall; but the citizens, with sullen stubbornness, refused to pay the amounts at which they were assessed by those who had assumed ruling power. It became apparent that there were still Episcopalians in London; at Christmastide churches and other public places were decorated, and the Presbyterians looked on in sullen passivity.

Royalist pamphlets and newspapers were in circulation. On the 27th of March, 1648, the anniversary of the accession of the king, there were bonfires in the city, and those who drove along the streets in coaches were compelled to drink loyal healths. Inevitably, when in April the Scots invaded England to support that policy which London had adopted, there were important sympathetic risings in the city.

In its official person London pursued a similar although a more guarded and orderly course. In May, June and July the Common Council petitioned for negotiations with the king on the basis of his obligation by the Covenant, for his liberation, for the cessation of arms. Fears were entertained that the trained bands would secede to the Royalists. When Prince Charles appeared in the Downs he strengthened for a time his cause in the city; but as he lingered for more than a month, blockading the Thames, there was dissatisfaction with the interruption to trade. This feeling contributed to the reaction against Royalism which followed on the defeat of the Scots at Preston on the 17th of August and the surrender of Colchester on the 28th. London gave up for the moment the dream of a covenanting king under whom she should enjoy her old secular and her new ecclesiastical independence.

On the 2nd of December Fairfax was at Whitehall, and the city was at the mercy of the army. On the 18th a parliamentary ordinance ruled that none who had abetted the king's cause or the Scottish invasion might hold a place of trust in the city or vote at civic elections, and the removal of the posts and chains in the street, by which a cavalry charge could be prevented, was directed; and on the 21st a new Common Council, as completely packed as the House of Commons, came into existence.

Cromwell's government of London was a matter of constant difficulty; he never secured the co-operation of any important section of the citizens. The Presbyterians, of whom the aldermanic class were the leaders, became from the date of the king's execution more and more Royalist in feeling. On the 10th of January the mayor refused even to hear the petition which the packed Common Council wished to send to the House of Commons in support of the proceedings against Charles; and it was carried, most irregularly, only after he and the only two aldermen at the meeting had left the room, and a member of the council, unqualified by aldermanic office, had been placed in the chair. The House of Commons pursued repressive measures. They authorised the council in future to elect a chairman, in accordance with this disorderly precedent, in the absence of the mayor or his representative. They made an oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth a condition of all future admissions to the franchise of the city. The mayor refused to proclaim the act which abolished kingship, and at the bar of the House he was deprived of his office and sentenced to a fine of £2,000 and imprisonment in the Tower. His successor was elected by a packed constituency. On the 7th of April five aldermen were discharged from their places and declared incapable of

office by an ordinance of parliament, and on the 31st of May two others, one of them the famous Soames, were also discharged because they had absented themselves, when at last, on the 30th, the new mayor had gathered courage to proclaim the abolition of the monarchy. There was difficulty in finding suitable persons to hold the seven aldermanries thus vacated. In 1648 an explicit act of parliament disabled for office in the city and for voting at civic elections all Presbyterians and Cavalier Royalists. A Royalist conspiracy, which had depended for funds on London merchants, was discovered in March, 1651.

There was naturally some approximation in religious opinions between the two sections of the Royalist party. The Prayer Book was used in many London churches on a Sunday in September, 1649. The presbytery of the city was no longer strong. In 1652 the difficulty of finding suitable elders was noticeable. The Royalists were offended in common by the vagaries of the Sectarians.

In the introduction of the government by major generals into London Cromwell exercised discretion. The controlling office was at first given to the popular Skippon, but he, from infirmity or disinclination, did not exercise his powers, and the major general for Middlesex outside the city was appointed to act as his substitute. Yet it was not until the discovery had been made that London was a place of refuge for Royalists of other districts that the system was enforced in the capital. Then, on the 5th of March, 1656, the Protector summoned to Whitehall the mayor and aldermen and other citizens, and announced to them that thenceforth their city would be governed as was the rest of the country, and this for the "sole end" of "the security of the peace of the nation, the suppressing of vice, and the encouragment of

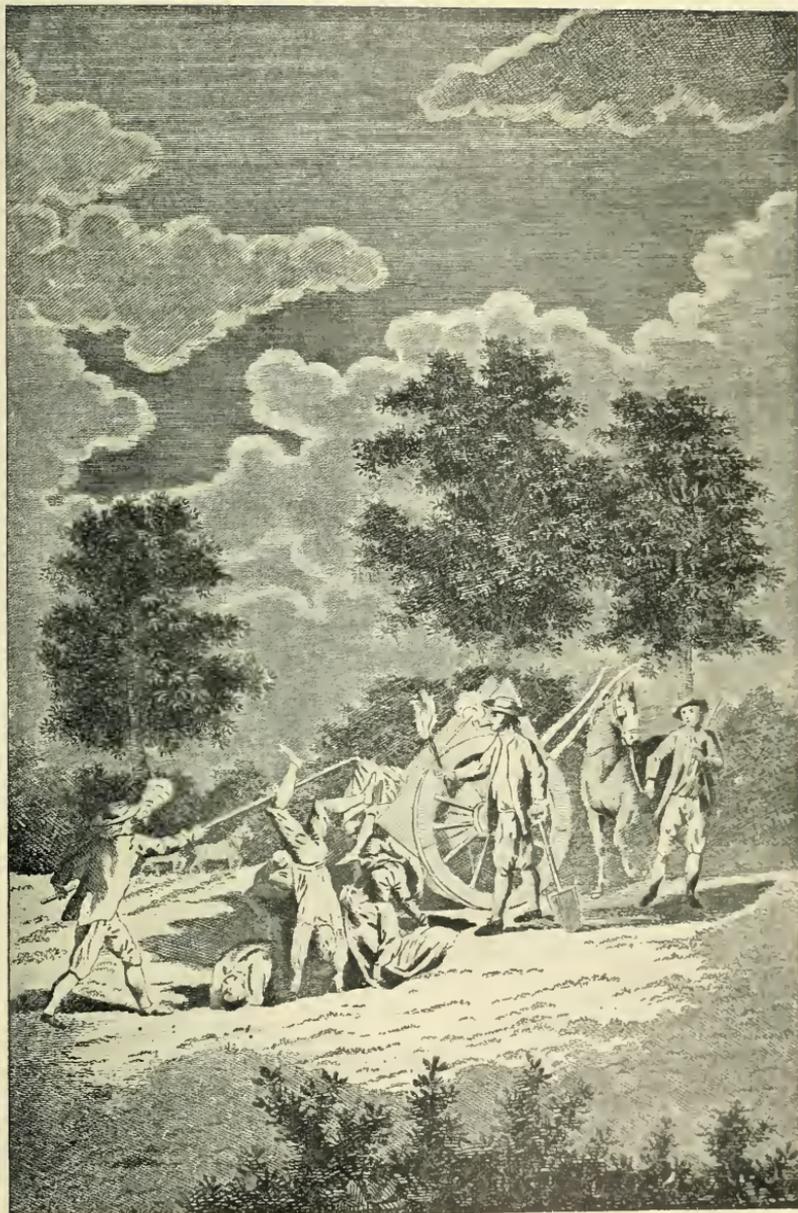
virtue." No militia men other than those raised by civic ordinance were however to be quartered on the citizens.

The more extreme Puritans also gave some trouble to the government. In 1657 two petitions to the Protector opposed his acceptance of the crown, the one from "many thousand religious and well disposed people living in London and parts adjoining," who protested against the "endeavour to introduce the old demolished fabric of government in its essential parts," the other from nineteen Anabaptist ministers of London. The Fifth Monarchy Men had considerable importance in the city, and had there two chief meeting places. They formed a conspiracy against the government, which was discovered and suppressed in April, 1657.

Royalism gathered strength in the last years of the Protectorate. The excise duties on ale and beer and the new rates of customs were very unpopular among London merchants. A Royalist insurrection, in which many citizens were implicated, was planned to take place in May, 1658. It was anticipated, and seven citizens were, as a result, condemned to death. Three of them were executed in Tower Street, Cornhill and Cheapside, but the others were pardoned because "all men appeared so nauseated with blood and so tired with these abominable spectacles." When Charles II. entered London, on the 29th of May, 1660, he received an enthusiastic welcome marred by no dissentient voices, though his progress must have been watched by Sectarians and Republicans, whose thoughts were other than loyal.

The early years of the Restoration were marked for London by the great plague of 1665. There had been a minor outbreak of the epidemic between 1646 and 1648: its comparative unimportance is attested by an entry made by

Pepys in his diary on the 7th of June, 1665; "This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw." The plague had come with the warm weather, and, as usual, it began on the outskirts of the town. On the 10th of June, however, Pepys noted that it had entered the actual city. On the 23rd he observed that the use of hackney coaches had become very dangerous, and at Whitehall, on the 28th, he saw the courtyard filled with waggons and people who prepared to flee from infection. The number of deaths increased week by week, and the 12th of July was appointed as a solemn fast day. Church bells tolled perpetually for the dead. In August the mortality was such that the rule to have burials only by night, in order to lessen chances of infection, had to be transgressed. "To the Exchange," wrote Pepys on the 16th, "where I have not been a great while. But, Lord! how sad a sight it is to see the streets empty of people, and very few upon the 'change. Jealous of every door that one sees shut up, lest it should be the plague; and about us two shops in three, if not more, generally shut up." "But, Lord!" he says a fortnight later, "how everybody looks, and discourse in the street is of death and nothing else, and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken." He had already remarked, on the occasion of an expedition to the country, the general dread in which Londoners were held. "In what fear all the people here do live! How they are afraid of us that come to them, insomuch that I am troubled at it and wish myself away." In September the mayor ordered that great bonfires should be kept burning in the



BURYING THE DEAD IN 1665.

streets in order to purify the air, and they could be seen blazing on either side of the Thames. The precaution of shutting up infected houses came to be observed less carefully. "To Lambeth," wrote Pepys on the 20th of September. ". . . What a sad time it is to see no boats upon the River; and grass grows all up and down Whitehall Court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets!" Illness decreased as autumn advanced, but when Pepys walked to the Tower on the 16th of October he found the town empty and melancholy, "so many poor sick people in the streets full of sores, and so many sad stories overheard as I walk." Ten days later, however, he observed "the 'change pretty full, and the town begins to be lively again, though the streets very empty, and most shops shut;" and on the 30th of November he noted, "my father writes as great news of joy that he saw York's waggon go again this week to London, and full of passengers." At the end of the year the plague was "abated almost to nothing," and in the middle of January the city was almost as full of people as ever. Pepys however did not venture to go to church until the 30th of the month. The king returned to Whitehall on the 2nd of February, but throughout the spring the disease lingered, in weakening force, about the town. Some hundred thousand citizens met their death by the pestilence in the latter half of 1665. It was by far the most deadly outbreak of the century.

From the consideration of the horrors of the plague it is almost a relief to turn to the records of the great fire, which broke out at 10 o'clock on the night of the 2nd of September, and in three days consumed the whole overcrowded and insanitary city. "All the sky," says Evelyn, "was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above forty miles round about for many nights. God grant mine

eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above ten thousand houses all in one flame ; the noise and crackling and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of Towers, Houses and Churches, was like an hideous storme, and the air all about so hot and inflamed that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still and let the flames burn on, which they did for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds also of smoke were dismal and reached upon computation near fifty-six miles in length . . . London was, but is no more !” The flames were checked when the wind had abated and the people had to some extent recovered from their panic. Churches which survived the fire mark the limits of its devastating course ; on the west those of the Temple, St. Dunstan in the West, St. Andrew Holborn, and St. Sepulchre ; on the north west St. Bartholomew’s the Less and St. Bartholomew’s the Great ; on the north those of St. Giles Cripple-gate, St. Alphege and All Hallows London Wall, and St. Botolph without Bishopsgate ; on the east the churches of St. Ethelburga, St. Helen Bishopsgate, St. Martin Outwich and St. Peter le Poor, St. Andrew Undershaft, St. Katherine Cree, All Hallows Steyning, St. James Mitre Square, St. Katherine Coleman, St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Olave Hart Street, and All Hallows Barking. To the south the fire was barred only by the river. On the 5th of September, Evelyn saw the inhabitants of London “dispers’d about St. George’s Fields, and Moorfields as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicateness riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well furnished houses,

were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty . . . The people who now walked about the ruins appeared like men in some dismal desert."

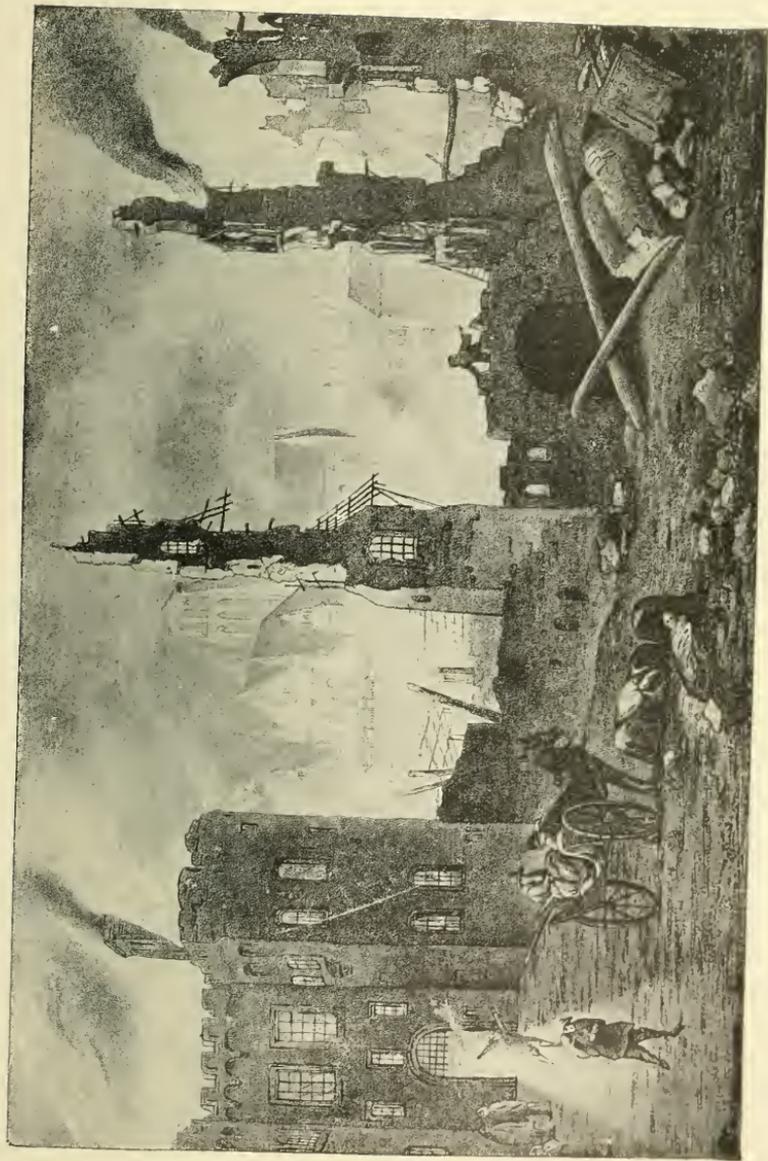
The rebuilding of the city was undertaken immediately. Sir Christopher Wren would have made it on new lines according to a beautiful and symmetrical plan, but the complicated rights of landownership were such that his design was set aside. The city was rebuilt along the mediæval streets, with the single exception of the construction of the new way of King Street and Queen Street, to form a straight road from the Guildhall to the waterside. Even this involved considerable difficulty in dealing with the rights of those over whose property it ran. Some streets, notably Fleet Street and part of Cheapside, were however widened, and Thames Street was raised three feet above its former level. Parliament took some care that the new city should be more solid and regular and less extraordinarily unhealthy than that which it replaced. Houses were confined by statute to four classes : those in by-lanes which must be two storeys high ; those in more important streets which must have three storeys ; those in the principal ways of the city, which must have four, and the large mansions which did not front on streets, and which must not exceed four storeys in height. Thus there was an end to the tumble-down cottages, set at every angle, which in old London had been numerous. All the new houses were ordered to be of brick or stone, with fittings of oak, and to have foundations, and a necessary thickness for party and other walls was fixed. The drainage and the paving of the new city were entrusted to a body of commissioners to be appointed by the Common Council.

Coal duties were assigned to meet the expense of erecting St. Paul's and the other public buildings. As to the losses

of private individuals, they were very heavy, in spite of the fact that a considerable amount of goods was rescued. According to Pepys the sites of houses were commonly computed to be worth one-third of the former value of site and house together: the city landlords must therefore have lost, roughly, two-thirds of their property. The merchants were further impoverished by the burning of the contents of warehouses, especially numerous on the river-bank. The fact that London so soon recovered from the disaster of the fire is proof of the wide and well established nature of her trade, and of the security of the credit of the citizens. The Act for the rebuilding laid down that any sites on which the owners had not built within three years from 1670 might, after due warning and a further interval of nine months, be sold by the mayor, aldermen, and Common Council.

Thirty-three parish churches which had been burnt were not rebuilt. The many churches of London had been founded in a day when it was considered well to multiply the houses of God without regard to the accommodation required by worshippers; and even the greatly increased population of the city could be served by a less number. Unions of parishes therefore took place. Fifty-one parish churches were built again by Sir Christopher Wren, and the interiors of many of them were decorated by the carving of Grinling Gibbons. Of those which had escaped the fire that of St. Katherine Cree, which is still standing, dates also from the seventeenth century, and that of St. Andrew Holborn was re-erected in 1687.

These churches, admirable and interesting as is their construction, lack naturally the rich individuality of the old buildings which had so crowded London with beauty. They express a religion shorn of many elements of grace and



THE GREAT FIRE.
From the contemporary painting by Old Griffier, in the possession of Robert Colden, Es.

humanity, and seem to be rather preaching places than houses of prayer. They would have been indeed in place, and would have had all the distinction of perfect appropriateness, had they stood in the finely planned city which was Wren's dream.

The two last Stewart kings took effective means to rid themselves of the allegiance of the citizens. In December 1681 a writ *quo warranto* was issued for an enquiry into the liberties of the city of London. The scheme had been conceived by the duke of York and he was not satisfied to await the due course of legal procedure. Both sheriffs were at this time elective officers, but, by an obsolete custom, one of them had been nominated by the mayor at the Bridge House feast. The duke procured that a certain Dudley North, a Turkey merchant, should in such manner be chosen to hold the shrievalty, and expected the formal confirmation of the appointment at the election. But the liverymen were largely Whig and determined to elect freely two sheriffs, and they were supported by the lawyers; the Tory mayor was upheld by the Privy Council. There were some disorderly attempts to hold a poll, but at last the court party carried the day against an obvious majority of liverymen and North was sworn sheriff. In September 1682 there was no Lord Mayor's banquet, because, "since the city was come under a military government," it was thought to be "no proper time for feasting." In that year, however, the superior Tory organization procured the election of another mayor of their own party.

On the 12th of June, 1683, the city's charter was declared forfeit by the court of the King's Bench. The judgment was not at once placed formally on record, that the city might have an opportunity for some voluntary submission. On the

18th the citizens humbly petitioned the king, and the lord keeper replied that their charter would be restored to them if they suffered their election of mayor, sheriffs and other officials to be subject to a royal veto. The exercise of the veto would necessitate a new election, and if the person thereby appointed were still displeasing to the king, the vacant office would be filled by royal nomination. These terms were refused by a majority of eighteen of the Common Council, and the decision of the King's Bench was therefore put in force. The city passed under kingly control. It retained its framework of government but all its elected officers became royal nominees.

Anti-papal riots in 1685 and 1688 were an indication of the unpopularity of the government of James II. The restoration of the charter of London was one of the hasty concessions made by the king in 1688, when he realized how insecure was his throne, but the gratitude of the citizens naturally was rendered to William of Orange. The city magistrates sent to that prince an invitation to advance to their defence, and it is noteworthy that he considered this call as a weighty factor in the legalization of his entry into England.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb state justly, in their "Local Government," that the accession of William and Mary began for London "a new era, characterised by persistent non-intervention on the part of the National Executive." It is therefore fitting to review the constitution at this date of the city's government.

In the first place it is notable how wide was the franchise of the city: almost all the resident householders were freemen, although a comparatively small number of them held the higher rank which admitted to government of the livery companies.

The smallest sub-divisions of the city area for secular purposes were the precincts, of which several existed in each ward and each of which included some hundred houses. Each precinct held a meeting which had for its business the nomination of a Common Councilman, a constable, a scavenger, a questman, and sometimes a collector of rates. The ancient court of the whole ward, the wardmote, was still important, and was open to every ratepayer, whether or not he held the city's freedom. At it were elected the clerk and the beadle of the ward; and the nominees of the precincts for the constabularies and for places on the inquest or jury of the ward received or were denied confirmation. This inquest, formed of the several questmen, annually perambulated the ward in order to "inspect the weights and measures, survey the pavements, detect any non-freeman who presumed to carry on business in the ward" and execute other like duties. Another authority for the whole ward was its Common Council, constituted by the four to sixteen Common Councilmen, usually returned by the precincts, who represented it on the Common Council of London. Mr. and Mrs. Webb surmise that they assumed power to meet within the several wards early in the seventeenth century, after the inquest had suffered degeneration. They had for presidents the aldermen of the respective wards and they held frequent meetings for the transaction of executive business connected with paving, lighting, sanitation, and the watches. The machinery of the wards provided the city with "twenty-six complicated little police forces . . . , unpaid constables, or hireling substitutes, beadles or bellmen, street-keepers, or watchmen."

The Common Council of the city had definitely emerged as its principal governing body. Consisting, as it did, of the

mayor and the twenty-five other aldermen, and of the couple of hundred commoners elected, as has been seen, within the precincts, it tended to have a democratic majority. That majority had acquired supremacy under the Commonwealth, and had been set aside in the Restoration period.

The aristocratic section, the mayor and aldermen, themselves constituted a court, that of the aldermen. They were the second chamber in the city's constitution, and exercised certain rights of control over the more popular assembly, as that of presiding over its deliberations, which was overridden in 1649. They claimed ability to veto elections to the aldermanries, and conferred or refused the franchise of the city. The aldermen were, moreover, the justices of peace of the city.

The courts of the Common Council and of the mayor and aldermen were developments of the ancient institutions of the city, but another court was the outcome of the later element introduced by the accession to political power of the trading companies. The Common Hall had powers which may probably be traced back to the enactment of 1475-6 by which the Common Council were enabled to associate with themselves, for the election of sheriffs, "honest men of their mysteries." The election of the great officers of the corporation had, in the two centuries after that date, come to be appropriated entirely by the liverymen as distinguished from the humbler members, the mere freemen, of the companies. The liverymen constituted the court of Common Hall, and chose annually the lord mayor, the sheriffs, the four auditors of the corporation accounts, and the four aleconners, and, from time to time, the chamberlains, the bridgemasters, and the four representatives of the city in the House of Commons. The fact that the executive was so appointed caused the

constitution of the city to have finally an aristocratic rather than a popular character.

The intensity and the multiple forms of the local government of London made many citizens busy on her behalf. To the secular was added the ecclesiastical establishment, the vestries superseded for a time by the presbyteries. A peculiar character, an activity of intelligence which is often petty, a veneration for forms and a zeal for detail, is generated in societies by constitutions of this class. How very numerous in the little city must have been the men of that type so familiar in modern times, the men who love to be on committees! How many citizens must have tried their neighbours in the pride of a trivial office! Seventeenth century Londoners were not without the worst characteristics of public men, the tendency to consider themselves fit objects for the expenditure of public funds. The meetings of precincts, ward inquests, and the Common Councils of wards, were often occasions for dinners and for convivial gatherings in taverns. The habit of quarrelling acquired at assemblies of a small governing body was strengthened by the confirmed habit of quarrelling on matters connected with church or creed. The conceit of the officer was increased by his religious intolerance. At this period, when religious and political animosity were very keen, it is likely that the average Londoner was not an agreeable person.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the city of London fought, with some nobility, for the maintenance of certain principles. In the decade which preceded the Restoration the more powerful citizens abandoned ideals of which the pursuit would have led them further than they were inclined to go; and when, after the Restoration, they had again accepted the old order, the government of the

country dared to flout their power, and met with tame submission. In the years before the Revolution London had to make the best of a position of degradation. All this necessity for compromise had its natural effect. The government of London was no exception to the conditions of other English institutions under the last two Stewarts: there, as elsewhere, the rule was largely cynical and materialistic; corruption and the use of questionable expedients were common.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WEST END UNTIL THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

AT the end of the sixteenth century the man who walked out of the city at Temple Bar found himself in a street of gabled houses, which led without interruption to Charing Cross. On the site indicated by modern Essex Street, with gardens fronting the Thames, was Essex House, in the place of the ancient inn of the bishops of Exeter. Bishop Edmond Lacy had built there a great hall in the reign of Henry VI.; it had passed into lay possession and had been enlarged by William Lord Paget, and subsequently it had been the London house of the two famous favourites of Elizabeth, Leicester, who rebuilt it, and Essex. Arundel Street marks the place of Arundel House, once the inn of the bishops of Bath, but afterwards held and largely rebuilt by Thomas Seymour, lord high admiral under Edward VI. and brother to the Protector. Under Elizabeth the house belonged to the earls of Arundel. Near it was Somerset House, the magnificent palace built for himself by the Protector Somerset, which after his death accrued to the crown. Its site had been occupied formerly by Strand Inn, and the inns of the bishops of Chester and of Worcester. Elizabeth gave it into the keeping of her kinsman, Lord Hunsdon. West of it was the Savoy

Hospital, and west of that Bedford House, which had once been the inns of the bishops of Carlisle, but had passed from them to the earls of Bedford. The Hotel Cecil and Salisbury Street indicate the place of "a large and stately house of brick and timber" built by Sir Robert Cecil, second son to Lord Burleigh. Near it to the west was Durham House, which for many years was the town residence of the bishops of Durham. It was acquired by the crown under Henry VIII., and gained fame as the place of the marriage of Lady Jane Grey, and again as the dwelling-house of Sir Walter Raleigh, on whom it was bestowed by Elizabeth. "I well remember," says Aubrey, "his study, which was in a little turret that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect which is, perhaps, as pleasant as any in the world." York Place occupied the site of Villiers Street, Duke Street, and Buckingham Street. Originally the inn of the bishops of Norwich, it was acquired under Mary by the archbishops of York.

On the north side of the Strand there were fewer great houses. Exeter Hall and Exeter Street show the place of Exeter House, which was built by Lord Burleigh, and acquired its name on the succession to its ownership of his son, the earl of Exeter. The earl of Bedford built for himself, under Elizabeth, a new house on the site marked by modern Bedford Street, in place of that which he held on the river bank. As at present, the church of St. Clement Danes stood on an island in the street, but under Elizabeth there were crowded close around it "one large middle row of houses and small tenements . . . , partly opening to the south, partly towards the north."

Westwards from Holborn Bars, along Holborn and modern Broad Street and High Street, were "many fair houses

built, and lodgings for gentlemen, inns for travellers, and such like, up almost—for it lacketh but little—to St. Giles in the fields.” The parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields was, in the middle ages, an isolated suburban village, and it was not until the latter part of Elizabeth’s reign that Holborn, outside the actual city, could be called a street of London. Stow describes its buildings as for the most part “very new.” At its east end Gray’s Inn Lane, which had, to the limit of the Inn of Court, “fair buildings and many tenements on both the sides,” led “to the fields, towards Highgate and Hampstead.” Southampton House, once the inn of the earl of Southampton, stood very near the present site of Bloomsbury Square, and was in 1591 still surrounded by fields, which interrupted the row of houses along Holborn. Chancery Lane led southwards to the Strand, past the domains of the lawyers. The two great thoroughfares were otherwise joined by Drury Lane, which had houses clustered round its northern end, and which derived its name from Drury House at its southern extremity, so called after the family which held it. There were near Drury House “divers fair buildings, hostelries, and houses for gentlemen of honour”; but the lane, after it had passed these and before it had reached the vicinity of Holborn, was a country road bordered by green fields. Beyond St. Giles’s was an even more rural way, St. Martin’s Lane, which led southwards to Charing Cross, and had buildings only at its southern end, among them the royal mews. Another country road from St. Giles’s followed the line of Oxford Street, and yet another was that of which the further part became Piccadilly. Charing Cross, the origin of which is earlier than the date of Queen Eleanor’s death, stood where is now the equestrian statue of Charles I.

Along the course of Whitehall, from Charing Cross to Westminster, the fashionable had also established themselves recently. On either side of the street there were "divers fair houses" and tenements, "lately builded."

The chief glory of this street was "the White Hall," that most royal of the palaces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It faced the river in the place now occupied by Whitehall Gardens, Montagu House, and the Board of Trade, and it extended to St. James's Park. A house on part of the site was built by Hubert de Burgh in the reign of Henry III. ; it was bought by the archbishop of York in 1248, and for nearly three centuries was attached to his see and known as York House. Wolsey is said to have rebuilt it, and to him is ascribed the "sumptuous magnificence," which "most probably has never been equalled" by "any other English subject, or surpassed in the palaces of many of its kings." The house devolved on the crown when Wolsey was disgraced, and Henry VIII. added to it many "distinct, beautiful, costly, and pleasant lodgings for his Grace's singular pleasure, comfort and commodity, to the great credit of the realm," and "inclosed the premises by a wall of brick and stone for a park, with many conveniences and decorations, fit only for the residence and honour of so great a Prince." In "Henry VIII." there occur, in allusion to the palace, the lines :

" Sir,
You must no more call it York Place ; that's past :
For since the Cardinal fell, that title's lost ;
'Tis now the King's and called Whitehall."

The house was a fine specimen of Tudor architecture. The road from Charing Cross abutted on it, but a passage through its precincts preserved the right of way to Westminster. This was entered by two beautiful gates, the one

at the end of the road from Charing Cross, the other at the extremity of the King's Street which led to Westminster.

Near the palace was the place afterwards known as Old Scotland Yard. It had been the residence of Scottish kings when they were in London, and Stow relates that as such it was occupied by Margaret Tudor under Henry VIII. In the reign of Elizabeth it had fallen into decay. On the other side of the street, opposite St. James's Park, there was "a large tilt yard for noblemen and others to exercise themselves in jousting, tourneying and fighting at barriers."

The park had appertained to the hospital of St. James, Westminster. When surrendered to the crown it became a royal pleasure ground, and Henry VIII. built in it "a magnificent and goodly house." St. James's palace is described in the reign of Elizabeth as "of a quadrate forme, erected of brick, the exterior shape whereof, although it appears without any sumptous or superfluous devices, yet is the spot very princely, and the same with art contrived within and without. It standeth from other buildings about two furlongs, having a farm house opposite to its north gate. But the situation is pleasant, indued with a good air and pleasant prospects. On the east London offereth itself in view; in the south the stately buildings of Westminster, with the pleasant park, and the delights thereof; on the north the green fields." The northern entrance to the palace was from a country road which ran along the north side of the park to Charing Cross, and is now represented by Pall Mall.

King Street, which made way in 1900 for government premises, was "all replenished with buildings and inhabitants." Buildings of various descriptions were clustered round Westminster Palace and Abbey and St. Margaret's

church. From the gateway of the palace Tothill Street led into Tothill Fields, and was bordered by houses, among them one owned by Lord Grey de Wilton, and Stourton House built by Gregory, Lord Dacre of the South, who died in 1594.

Hyde Park, like St. James's, owes its institution to Henry VIII. He reserved to the crown, at the dissolution of religious houses, certain property of Westminster Abbey which included the manor of Hyde, and he disposed 620 acres as a park for hunting. Of this area, then situated in the open country, part has gone to make Hyde Park Corner and part has been included in Kensington Gardens. A royal proclamation issued in 1536 preserved the game in the park and its neighbourhood; it forbade any to hunt or hawk "from the palace of Westminster to St. Giles's in the Fields, and from thence to Islington, to Our Lady of the Oak, to Highgate, to Hornsey Park, and to Hampstead Heath." In 1582 John Casimir, son to Frederick III., Elector Palatine, "killed a barren doe with his piece in Hyde Park, from amongst three hundred other deer;" and in the same year "two new standings in Marylebone and Hyde Park" were made, "for the Queen's majesty and the noblemen of France to see the hunting."

Such was London west of the city liberties at the end of the reign of Elizabeth. The district known in modern times as the West End was little developed in the succeeding half century. Some stately houses were built. On part of the present site of Buckingham Palace was Goring House in which George, Lord Goring, afterwards Earl of Norwich, was living in 1630, and which was subsequently occupied by Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, Tart Hall, which stood next to it, was built for Alethea, Lady Arundel, in 1638, and inherited by her second son, the Lord Stafford

who was beheaded in 1680. The rest of the site of Buckingham Palace was occupied by Mulberry Garden, a pleasure garden known to Pepys. Berkshire House stood at the corner of Pall Mall¹ and the road which led from St. James's Palace to Piccadilly. Spring Gardens were at the eastern corner of St. James's Park and were a great resort of fashion in the seventeenth century. They were described in 1659 as an "inclosure not disagreeable, for the solemnness of the grove is broken by the warbling of the birds, as it opens into the spacious walks at St. James's. . . . The thickets of the garden seem to be contrived to all advantages of gallantry." Visitors were "refreshed with the collation; which is here seldom omitted, at a certain cabaret in the middle of this paradise, where the forbidden fruits are certain trifling tarts, neats' tongues, salacious meats, and bad Rhenish; for which the gallants pay sauce, as indeed they do at all such houses throughout England."

The Haymarket was a mere lane which had at its northern end a gaming house. It was continued northwards from Pall Mall to modern Oxford Street, then known as the way to Tyburn or to Paddington, by a road sparsely bordered by houses which had on its west side a windmill, and of which part is now Windmill Street.

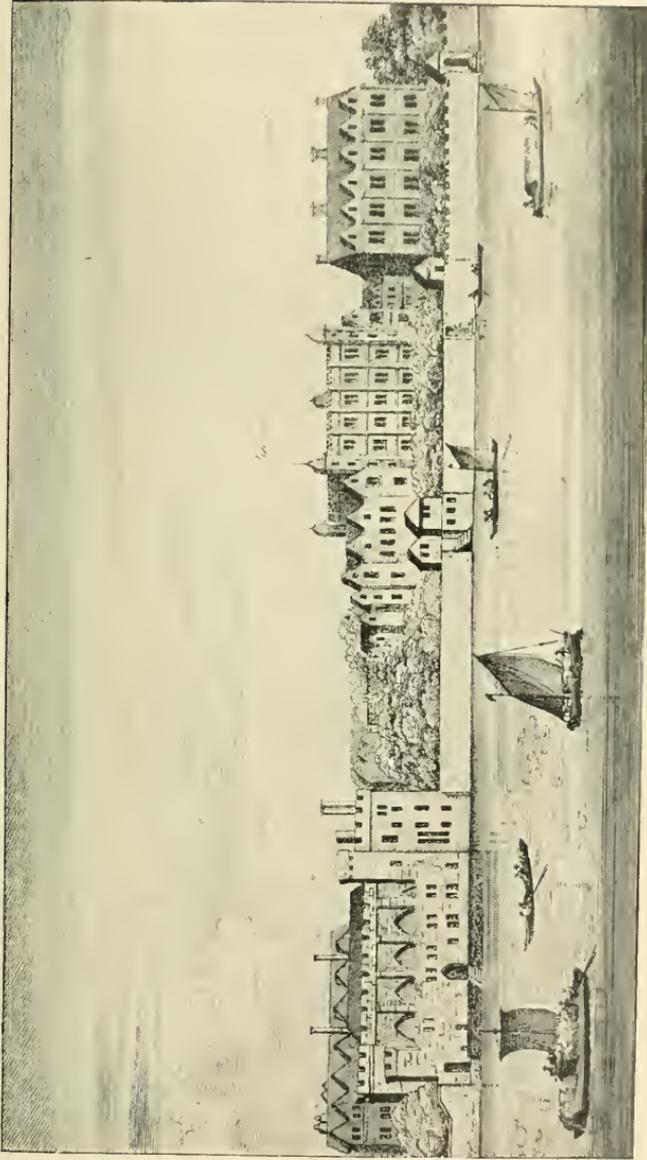
The real West End of the early Stewarts was the West Central district of modern London. The Strand was still a street of great mansions, some of which suffered changes of ownership. The house facing the river which had belonged to the earls of Bedford became the property of Henry, first Marquess of Worcester, and was thereafter known as Worcester House. Drury House was bought and rebuilt by

¹ So called because the game of "paille maille," a species of croquet, was played in it.

the Lord Craven who flourished under James I., and came to be called Craven House. York House was acquired in 1624 by Buckingham, and was demolished and rebuilt. It was bestowed by Cromwell on Fairfax, whose daughter married the second duke of Buckingham. Durham House reverted to the see which had named it at Raleigh's imprisonment; and on part of the site an exchange, known as Britain's Burse, which consisted of various shops, was opened in 1609. At the corner of modern Wellington Street, Wimbledon House was built by Sir Edward Cecil, son to the first earl of Exeter, but was burnt in 1628. Northumberland House had a site at the top of modern Northumberland Avenue. It was built by the earl of Northampton in 1605, and subsequently held by the earl of Suffolk who called it Suffolk House, and, after 1642, by the earl of Northumberland. In August, 1647 the Puritans demolished the beautiful Charing Cross.

“ Undone, undone, the lawyers are ;
They wander about the towne ;
Nor can find the way to Westminster
Now Charing Cross is downe.
At the end of the Strand they make a stand,
Swearing they are at a loss,
And chaffing say that's not the way,
They must go by Charing Cross.”

Along the line of Holborn, Broad Street and High Street, to the junction of the way to Tyburn with that now Tottenham Court Road, there was a serried row of houses. Northwards of Holborn there was little extension, but between 1603 and 1658 the area enclosed by Holborn, Chancery Lane, St. Martin's Lane and the Strand came to be covered with buildings interrupted only by the green spaces of Lincoln's Inn Fields, St. Giles's Fields and Covent Garden. Its chief



DURHAM HOUSE, SALISBURY HOUSE AND WORCESTER HOUSE.

thoroughfares were, from west to east, Long Acre and Queen Street, now Great Queen Street, and the road now New Street and King Street, continued by Russell Street, and by Princes Street and Duke Street, which have become Kemble Street and Sardinia Street. From north to south Drury Lane was still the main way. There were many smaller streets intersecting this district, which until the construction of Charing Cross Road, Shaftesbury Avenue and the Kingsway, was one of the most labyrinthine in all London. The houses were packed closely together and hardly any of them had gardens.

St. Martin's Lane abutted to the north on St. Giles's Fields, an area roughly rectangular of which diagonals are now formed by Earle Street and St. Andrew Street. It had been part of the lands of the leper hospital of St. Giles. A commission was formed in 1618 "to reduce Lincoln's Inn Fields," hitherto a mere waste, "into walks;" and Inigo Jones was requisitioned to make of the place that invention of the period, a London square. He built along its western side the houses known as Arch Row, of which one was the dwelling of the earl of Lindsey. The building of the other two sides, Portugal Row and Newman's or Holborn Row, was delayed by the civil troubles, until in 1657 permission for it was obtained. Covent Garden, so called because it had been a "convent garden," an appurtenance of Westminster Abbey, constituted part of the property on which the Elizabethan earl of Bedford built his house in the Strand. The market was laid out by the sixth earl in 1631, but had as such little importance until the next century.

The whole district was very fashionable. In Drury Lane dwelt Lady Jacob, wife of Christopher Brooke the poet, Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, who also was a poet, and

the celebrated marquess of Argyll of the reign of Charles I. Oliver Cromwell lived in Long Acre in the eventful years from 1637 to 1643, and had for a near neighbour Nicholas Stone the sculptor. In 1646 Cromwell was established in Drury Lane. Inigo Jones about the year 1634 built an open arcade, which enclosed a rectangular space, to the north of Covent Garden Market. It was called the Piazza, and houses which fronted on it were inhabited by Thomas Killigrew the wit from 1637 to 1642 and from 1660 to 1662, by Denzil Holles in 1644 and after 1666, and by Sir Harry Vane the younger in 1647. Lord Stirling in 1637 had moved thither from Drury Lane. "God send you joy of your new habitation," wrote Howel from the Fleet prison in 1645 to the great Lord Herbert, "for I understand your Lordship is removed from the King's Street to the Queen's. It may be with this enlargement of dwelling your Lordship may need a recruit of servants." In this house Herbert died three years later. Fairfax was also living in Queen Street in 1648. Carr, Earl of Somerset, was in 1644 an inhabitant of Russell Street; and in 1659 Evelyn "tooke lodgings at the 3 Feathers in Russell Street, Covent Garden, for all the winter." The crowded building in the neighbourhood explains the occurrence in it of the first outbreak of the great plague.

In Leicester Fields, now part of Leicester Square, the earl of Leicester built a house in the reign of Charles I., and at much the same time the earl of Newport erected Newport House of which the site is indicated by Newport Street. These houses were situated in some isolation.

The West End of modern times was founded in the days of the Restoration. In 1665 Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, petitioned the king. "Whereas the beauty of this great town and the convenience of the Court are defective in

point of houses fit for the dwellings of noblemen and other persons of quality, and that your Majesty hath thought fit for some remedy hereof to appoint that the Place of St. James's Field should be built in great and good houses, it is represented that unless your Majesty be pleased to grant the inheritance of the ground whereon some 13 or 14 houses that will compose the said place are to stand, it will be very hard to attain the end proposed, for that men will not build palaces upon any terms but that of inheritance." The desired grant was obtained in 1665, and St. James's Square was inaugurated accordingly. St. Albans built for himself first a house at the south eastern corner of the square, afterwards Norfolk House, then another at the western corner of York Street, which came to be known as Ormond House. There is in "The History of St. James's Square," by Arthur Irwin Dasent, a detailed account of these houses and of some of the other "palaces" of the square, of Derby House, Ossulston House, Halifax House and Cleveland House. Among their occupants in the seventeenth century were Sir John Duncombe, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Charles II.; the Frenchman Louis de Dumas, afterwards Earl of Faversham, who commanded the royal forces at Sedgemoor; Sunderland whom Queen Anne called "the subtlest, workingest villian that is on the face of the earth"; the twentieth earl of Oxford; the first Lord Belasyse; Cavendish, the zealous Protestant; the great duke of Ormond; Lord Halifax, the Trimmer; and Arthur Capel, earl of Essex. The district of the square was taken from the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields to form a distinct parish for which the church of St. James in Piccadilly was founded. It had a congregation which in modishness outdid all others in the town. Mr. Dasent quotes a dialogue from

“Relapse, or Virtue in Danger,” a comedy by Vanburgh produced at Drury Lane in 1697 :

“*Berinthia* : Pray which church does your lordship most oblige with your presence ?

Lord Foppington : Oh ! St. James’s, madam ; there’s much the best company.

Amanda : Is there good preaching too ?

Lord Foppington : Why, faith, madam, I can’t tell. A man must have very little to do there that can give an account of the sermon.”

Simultaneously with the square the rest of the West End was building. It had in 1675 the streets of Piccadilly, Jermyn Street and Pall Mall, and, to connect Pall Mall and Piccadilly, the Haymarket and St. James’s or James Street. York Street, Charles Street and King Street gave entrance to St. James’s Square, and Duke Street joined King Street to Piccadilly. From Piccadilly Swallow Street and Chip Street, now Sackville Street, went northwards. Suffolk Street was reached from the Haymarket, from which James Street, now part of Orange Street, and Panton Street, led eastwards, and Morris Street, as well as Charles Street, westwards.

In 1664 Clarendon obtained a grant of a site in Piccadilly opposite to St. James’s Street. Here he built Clarendon House, of which Evelyn in January, 1666, says : “I have never seen a nobler pile. . . It is, without hyperboles, the best contrived, the most useful, graceful and elegant house in England. . . Here is state and use, solidity and beauty most symmetrically combined together. . . When I had seriously contemplated every room (for I went into them all, from the cellar to the platform on the roof), seen how well and judiciously the walls were erected, the arches cut and turned, the timber braced, their scantlings and contignations disposed, I was incredibly satisfied, and

do acknowledge myself to have much improved by what I observed." The architect was Pratt. After Clarendon's flight from England, in 1667, the house was inhabited by the duke of Ormond. When the founder had died in exile his sons, in 1674, sold it to the second duke of Albemarle, who named it Albemarle House. In or before 1686 it was bought by Sir Thomas Bond of Peckham and others who founded on its site Stafford Street, Bond Street, Albemarle Street, and Dover Street.

Berkeley House was erected in 1665, on the present site of Devonshire House, for Sir John Berkeley of Buxton, afterwards Lord Berkeley of Stratton. In 1684, after Lord Berkeley's death, his widow let a part of the gardens for the foundation of Berkeley Street and Stratton Street. "I could not but deplore," says Evelyn, "that swete place (by far the most noble gardens, courts and accommodations, stately porticoes, etc., anywhere about the towne) should be so much straitened and turned into tenements." The house was occupied in 1695 by the Princess Anne, afterwards queen, and in 1697 was sold to the first duke of Devonshire. Berkeley Square was laid out on part of the gardens, and the building of it was begun in 1698; but it was not completed for some twenty or thirty years.

The first Burlington House, a mansion of red brick, was built between 1664 and 1667, and was inhabited by the earl of Burlington.

The West End of the seventeenth century did not extend far north of Piccadilly. Pennant describes Oxford Street or the Tyburn Road as it was in 1716. "I remember there was a deep hollow road and full of sloughs; there was here and there a ragged house, the lurking-place of cut-throats: insomuch that I never was taken that way, in my hackney

coach, to a worthy uncle's . . . but I went in dread the whole way." The building of Grosvenor Square was begun in 1695 ; that of Golden Square some ten years earlier.

Green Park, generally known as Upper St. James's Park, lay, as at present, on the southern side of further Piccadilly. Beyond it and beyond Westminster the districts of Belgravia and Pimlico were still entirely rural.

Goring House was bought in 1662 by Henry Bennett afterwards Earl of Arlington, who in 1672 was able to add the Mulberry Gardens to the property. The house was burnt in 1674 and rebuilt as Arlington House. A more celebrated fire was that which in 1678 consumed Whitehall. Queen Square, Westminster, for long called Queen Anne Square, dates probably from the last years of this century. It is described in 1708 as "a beautiful new square of very fine buildings."

But fashion in the late seventeenth century did not reside only in the West End. The district immediately west of St. Martin's Lane was also patronised by the quality ; in 1675 Mr. Secretary Coventry's house stood in what came to be called Coventry Street, and Windmill Street existed as such ; and in the reign of Charles II. the two great squares, Leicester Square and Soho Square, hardly eclipsed by St. James's, were built.

Leicester House was still owned and occupied by the earls of Leicester of the Sidney family, of whom Robert, the father of Algernon Sidney, there had charge of the duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth, while the king was a prisoner. In 1662 the house was let by the earl to the queen of Bohemia, who removed thither from Craven House. "I shall think it a great happiness to me," Leicester wrote, "if the air of my house may contribute to the recovery of her health, or

that I myself may be of any service to her Majesty." It was probably in order to gain fresher air that the queen had left Drury Lane, but the change availed her little for she died in Leicester House very soon after her arrival there. The square was completed about the year 1671. There were in it Ailesbury House, held successively by the earl of Elgin, created earl of Ailesbury in 1665, and by the unpopular Peregrine Osborne, Marquess of Carmarthen, and the houses of Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, and of Lord Chancellor Somers. Some of the neighbouring streets were built between 1680 and 1700, notably Gerrard Street where, on the site of number 43, Dryden lived in the last years of his life, "a poor inhabitant" of "the suburbs, whose best prospect is on the garden of Leicester House," Numbers 34 and 35 occupy the place of Gerrard or Macclesfield House which named the street and where lived the Gerrards, earls of Macclesfield.

Soho Square was made some ten years after Leicester Square, and was at first called King Square, after a certain Gregory King who participated in the work of building it. Its whole southern side was acquired in 1681 by Monmouth, as a site for a house of extraordinary magnificence. "The principal room on the ground floor was a dining room, the carved and gilt panels of which contained whole length pictures. The principal room on the first floor was lined with blue satin superbly decorated with pheasants and other birds in gold. The chimneypiece was richly ornamented with fruit and foliage; in the centre, within a wreath of dark leaves, was a circular space for a bust." Evelyn has the following entry in his diary: "November 27, 1690.—I went to London with my family to winter at Soho in the great square." Thither sometimes the ambitious city

merchant came to live, for in Shadwell's play, "The Scourers," printed in 1691, Sir Will says of Sir Humphrey Maggot: "That's the coxcomby Alderman, that married my termagant Aunt; She has this dolt under correction and has forced him out of Mark Lane to live in Soho Square." Between 1680 and 1700 smaller streets were built around the Square, Dean Street, Greek Street, Frith Street, and others.

Already in 1678 the population of the neighbourhood was such that the parish of St. Anne Soho, which includes part of Leicester Square, was separated from that of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. The foreign character of the lesser streets of the Soho district was established before the end of the seventeenth century. In them many of the Huguenots, driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, probably settled.

One other quarter of London was building in this period, and was becoming a place for the dwelling houses of the great and wealthy; "to such a mad intemperance," in the words of Evelyn, "was the age come, of building about a city." The manor of Bloomsbury had, since the reign of Henry VIII., been held by the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton. A new Southampton House was built under Charles II. for the earl who was the son of Shakespeare's patron. It was known afterwards as Bedford House, and occupied the whole northern side of Bloomsbury Square, then called Southampton Square, to which there is an allusion in 1666 as "the great square" in Bloomsbury. In this square Lord Chesterfield was living in 1681. "I wish," Arlington wrote to him, "you would give me commission to let your house in Southampton Square and hire you another near Whitehall, that I might, with less trouble to you, enjoy the honour and satisfaction of a frequent

conversation with you." Great Russell Street was built about 1670, and contained a house erected for himself by Sir Christopher Wren. Montague House, on the north side of Great Russell Street, was built in 1678 for the Lord Montague, whom Queen Anne made a duke. It was burnt in 1686. Red Lion Square was begun about the year 1698, and at much the same time Queen Square, of which the north side "was left for the sake of the beautiful landscape formed by the hills of Highgate and Hampstead, together with the adjacent fields."

To some extent fashion abandoned the older quarters for the new. The famous mansions of the Strand fell from their high place. Meaner buildings were in course of erection or stood already, in 1675, on the sites of Essex House, Arundel House, Salisbury House, and York House, as well as that of Durham House. Drury Lane and some of its neighbourhood were accounted disreputable towards the end of the century, but the Piazza, a pleasanter place, enjoyed for longer an aristocratic character. Between 1660 and 1700 it was inhabited by Sir Kenelm Digby, Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, the last earl of Oxford, Sir Dudley North, Lady Muskerrey, and two great painters, Lely, who lived at the north east corner from 1662 until his death in 1680, and Knellner, who after 1680 was in a house near Covent Garden Theatre, and had there an "extremely curious and inviting" back garden. Great Queen Street also continued respectable.

The tradesmen who established themselves west of the city naturally supplied the needs of the locality, and in 1700 a pamphleteer condemned the extension of the city because it had attracted many countrymen to live about London as "maintainers of luxury." With one exception the playhouses of the Restoration were in this district. Immediately after

the king's return some of the old actors collected and gave performances in certain theatres which had been in use before the Commonwealth: the Red Bull in St. John Street, Clerkenwell, Salisbury Court or Whitefriars, and the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and in a tennis court in Vere Street, Clare Market, improvised for the purpose. In 1661 Davenant engaged a company, sworn to serve the duke of York, to act in the theatre he had erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and on the 8th of April, 1663, the Theatre Royal, in which the king's company acted and for which Killigrew was responsible, was opened in Drury Lane. It was burnt in 1671-2, but rebuilt, and opened again on the 26th of March, 1674. The duke of York's company abandoned the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1671, in favour of another theatre called the Dorset Garden, on the river side of Fleet Street, which occupied part of the site of a former house of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, the poet. In 1684 the two companies of actors united. The Little Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre was founded by Betterton and opened in 1695.

These theatres differed little in construction from those of the present day. Women's parts were played in them by women. The stage of the Restoration was patronized rather by courtiers than by citizens. The footmen who attended the gallants often predominated in the galleries; the pit was much frequented by men of fashion. The playhouses were more remote from the lives of the people than they had been in the days of Elizabeth.

The new London of the late seventeenth century was very different from the irregular town of timbered and gabled houses which had preceded it. Building and the study of building had become a favourite hobby; letters and diaries show how widespread was knowledge of architecture and

interest in it. Great houses were not built only to allow the satisfaction of the desires of wealthy and liberal people; architects strove also, consciously, after an artistic ideal. The great fire provided them, whether professionals or amateurs, with an opportunity, but they were unable to take full advantage of it, since in the reconstruction of the city originality of design could be expended only on the actual construction, not on the disposition, of the buildings. Yet the rebuilding encouraged, in that it indulged, the taste for architecture, and educated it by experience. In the West End architects were unhampered: their works were robbed of nothing by the surroundings; they built frequently for men of large means. It was therefore in the West End that they most nearly attained to their ideal, an effect of ordered magnificence, of solidity without clumsiness, rather than of grace or richness of fancy. At its best, as it was realised by Inigo Jones and Wren, it was distinguished, in the words of Evelyn, by "state and use, solidity and beauty, most symmetrically combined." In town planning the most admirable innovation in London in this age was the square.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE year 1689 began a new era in the history of London, regarded from other aspects than the constitutional. It was as truly the beginning of another epoch as was the date of the accession of the Tudor kings. In the following century two fundamental changes were established : the one reorganized society within London ; the other altered the position of the capital with regard to the rest of the world.

The mediæval machinery for the control of trade and industry, that of the companies, subsisted throughout the seventeenth century. But its restrictions were irksome to a growing commerce and were not adapted to the greater London which had come into existence.

For long ages Londoners had striven jealously to reserve to those free of their city the fruits of their labour and their traffic. But in the eighteenth century such an ideal had become an anachronism. The mercantilist theory which then had been adopted in England favoured the growth at all costs of manufactures, and to the attainment of this end any limitation of the journeymen whom a master workman might employ was an impediment. As such it was made prominent by the increased supply of unenfranchised workers

available, the countrymen who settled in the growing district outside the liberties, and the highly skilled Huguenots. The restriction of the number of apprentices tended in like manner to reduce productive power. From about the year 1720 the Court of Aldermen usually connived at the employment of more than the prescribed number of non-citizen journeymen, and in 1750 an Act of Common Council practically legalized their engagement whenever it was convenient. The limitation of the number of apprentices was finally abolished in 1787.

The ancient rights of search, by which the companies had more or less maintained a standard of worth among goods which came upon the market, likewise became obsolete. In the exercise of them by the London companies there was an element of weakness, caused by the frequent divorce between the trade actually followed by a citizen and that which his company professed. When members of the Goldsmiths' company were butchers, bakers, grocers, and merchant adventurers, they had as inspectors of articles of gold and silver lost some efficiency. The fact was patent to many; the parliaments of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate frequently received petitions that citizens might belong to the particular company of which they used the trade. Acts of the Common Council which thus confined membership of some lesser companies were passed in the latter half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, and produced a certain effect, for in 1837 nearly half the minor companies had a real connection with the trades which named them. In the greater companies, however, the ancient anomaly continued unmodified. And about the middle of the eighteenth century there ceased to be ground for its reform, because the rapidly growing industry of London had passed beyond the limits which the machinery of the companies

could, in any case, control. Such control, moreover, was inconsistent with the tendency of economic thought. The mercantilist theory was leading rapidly to what seemed its logical conclusion; the maximum of productivity could, it was believed, best be secured by freedom of competition. Therefore, not only were the inspectorial rights of companies abandoned, but there was also a cessation of the efforts of the central government to secure worthy manufactures, of the statutes regulating manufacture which had distinguished the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The principle of free contract was gradually adopted with that of free competition. As the companies discontinued their inspection of goods, their seizure of defective wares, they ceased also to lay down rules for the employment of labour, and parliament no longer legislated on behalf of the employed.

The companies, it has been seen, had been originally associations of craftsmen, and their powers had been engrossed by a section of their own number. In the time of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate there was an attempt to secure for the main body of their members representation in their government. The movement had some success, but of a kind only temporary. The oligarchic constitution of the companies returned before the end of the seventeenth century, and has never been superseded. Thus it was that they did not in any degree resume their early character, but lost, with their control over trade, all place in the economic machinery. They retained only the power and the place which belonged to liverymen as members of the Court of Common Hall, together with those of any holders of property.

They became mere survivals; the whole organization of

industry collapsed, and, until the end of the eighteenth century, little but anarchy took its place. In one section of the population, however, an exception was constituted by a form of that voluntary association which had so often, before the government of London had been finally settled, preceded the acquisition by a new class of political power.

The breakdown of the mediæval system left the unfranchised workmen of London unprotected. At the same time the extension of the area of London, the growth of the population, and the increasing disabilities to which the small master workmen were subject, had largely recruited the dependent workman class. There arose among them associations more effective than any of the early confederacies of journeymen workmen, because they were numerically stronger, because they met a more real need, and because, as an organised force, they were in isolation. Their prevalence appears from a petition made in 1720 by the master tailors of London and Westminster. "This combination of the Journeymen Tailors . . . is of very ill example to Journeymen in all other trades; as is sufficiently seen in the Journeymen Curriers, Smiths, Farriers, Sailmakers, Coachmakers, and artificers of divers other arts and mysteries, who have actually entered into confederacies of the like nature; and the Journeymen Carpenters, Bricklayers, and Joyners have taken some steps for that purpose, and only wait to see the event of others." A petition of 1745 alludes to the large number of monthly clubs which existed among the London handicraftsmen.

The journeymen tailors conducted, with some success, a long struggle with their masters. An Act of parliament in 1720 rendered illegal all their combinations in London and Westminster for the advancing of wages or the lessening of

hours of work. It ruled that they should work from six in the morning until eight at night, with an interval of an hour for dinner, and that their daily wage should be two shillings from March to June, and one and eightpence for the rest of the year, with an additional allowance of three half-pence for breakfast. Master tailors who paid at a higher rate were made liable to a fine of £5. This settlement of the matter in the interests of the masters did not however break up the confederacies. In 1744, 15,000 journeymen tailors and stay-makers were said to have entered into "a very extraordinary combination" for the raising of their wages above the statutory rate, and in 1746 forty of them were imprisoned by certain masters in the Wood Street Counter on a charge of unlawful combination, but were subsequently released by the alderman acting as justice at the Guildhall, because they had been committed without a warrant. In 1752 a number of master tailors and staymakers rendered a petition to parliament, from which it appears that the journeymen of Middlesex had succeeded in raising their daily wage to two shillings for the winter half year, and half-a-crown for the summer, and subsequently had demanded to be paid at the constant rate of two-and-sixpence a day. The city journeymen had been encouraged, thereupon, to solicit the quarter sessions; and they had obtained a rate of two shillings a day for three quarters of the year and two-and-sixpence for the remaining quarter, together with the lessening of their working day by one hour. The Westminster journeymen had then again raised their demands. The petitioners complained that "for some years past, at times," they had been "threatened and terrified and abused by the journeymen tailors . . . in a riotous and tumultuous manner," and they prayed that the previous Act of parliament, which had been

proved insufficient, might be amended. The journeymen however, in 1772, again brought the matter of their wages before the quarter sessions. Evidently they had, in the interval, continued to seek their ends by disorderly means, for they were congratulated on the legality of their present methods, and they obtained an addition of sixpence a day in ordinary seasons, and of one shilling in times of court mourning.

In 1770 the hat-dyers of Southwark violently seized a fellow workman who had worked overtime without extra pay. They mounted him on an ass, labelled him with a description of his offence, and then carried him, with music playing, to visit all the hatmakers in the borough and the city, and they compelled the workers of all of them to go on strike. The coalheavers of the Thames caused, in 1769, a strike of all engaged in unloading ships. In 1787 there is mention of a combination of bookbinders.

The problem of the opposition of the interests of employers and employed had thus already assumed a very modern aspect.

As regards the development of industry in London, the influence of the Huguenot settlers is noteworthy. Especially they established in Spitalfields an important colony of silk weavers. In 1742 the foundation stone of a French church was laid at the north-east corner of Church Street, Spitalfields. In 1768 machine looms were substituted for hand looms among the silk weavers and there were, in consequence, riots at Spitalfields in that year and the next. Similar riots occurred in 1768 at Limehouse, where the sawyers burnt down a sawmill into which machinery had been introduced.

In commerce, as in industry, a radical change had passed over the methods of government. In the year 1663 an Act of parliament permitted the exportation of bullion. This

was the inauguration of the new commercial policy, which was no longer directed to the accumulation of treasure, but to the encouragement of the import of raw materials and the export of manufactured articles, a system of tariffs and of bounties. With regard to continental powers, it sought to preserve a balance of trade which should incline favourably to England; with regard to the Americas, the West Indies and the far East, it endeavoured to secure for England a sole market. The colonial expansion of the seventeenth century, the activities of the East India Company, the plantations in North America, Cromwell's acquisitions in the West Indies, rendered possible the great success of such a policy. The treaties with Spain and with France, which followed on wars, kept its furtherance steadily in view. "There is no place in the town," wrote Addison in the *Spectator*, in the early part of the eighteenth century, "which I so much love to frequent as the Royal Exchange. It gives me a secret satisfaction, and in some measure gratifies my vanity, as I am an Englishman, to see so rich an assembly of countrymen and foreigners consulting together upon the private business of mankind, and making this metropolis a kind of emporium for the whole earth. . . I have often been pleased to hear disputes adjusted between an inhabitant of Japan and an alderman of London, or to see a subject of the great Mogul entering into league with one of the Czar of Muscovy. I am infinitely delighted in mixing with these several ministers of commerce, as they are distinguished by their different walks and different languages; sometimes I am jostled among a body of Armenians; sometimes I am lost in a crowd of Jews; and sometimes make one in a group of Dutchmen. I am a Dane, Swede or Frenchman at different times; or rather fancy myself like the old

philosopher, who, upon being asked what countryman he was, replied that he was a citizen of the world." Addison comments also on the cosmopolitan origin of the accessories to English civilization. "The fruits of Portugal are corrected by the products of Barbadoes; the infusion of a China plant sweetened with the pith of an Indian cane. The Philippine Islands give a flavour to our European bowls. The single dress of a woman of quality is often the product of a hundred climates. The muff and the fan come together from the different ends of the earth. The scarf is sent from the torrid zone, and the tippet from beneath the pole. The brocade petticoat rises out of the mines of Peru, and the diamond necklace out of the bowels of Indostan. . . . Our ships are laden with the harvest of every climate; our tables are stored with spices, and oils, and wines; our rooms are filled with pyramids of China, and adorned with the workmanship of Japan; our morning's draught comes to us from the remotest corners of the earth; we repair our bodies by the drugs of America, and repose ourselves under Indian canopies. My friend Sir Andrew calls the vineyards of France our gardens; the spice islands our hotbeds; the Persians our silk-weavers; and the Chinese our potters. . . . Our English merchant converts the tin of his own country into gold, and exchanges his wool for rubies. The Mahometans are clothed in our British manufacture, and the inhabitants of the foreign zone warmed with the fleeces of our sheep."

This description, even if some allowance be made for the hyperbole of a poet, is evidence of a very flourishing trade. Yet it was one which had not yet reached its zenith but was on an upward path. That part of the mercantilist policy which aimed especially at the encouragement of industry and the export of manufactures was begun only by Walpole

in 1721. Under his guidance England attained to a higher degree of commercial prosperity. In 1739 it was stated by a pamphleteer that the number of adventurers in London had been trebled within the last twenty years. Progress continued after Walpole's fall, aided especially by the foreign policy of Chatham.

London was still the commercial capital of the kingdom ; and, as England came to be the leading trading nation, the city advanced to the position of the metropolis of the trade of the world, and became indeed "a kind of emporium for the whole earth." In the early days of prosperity English ships still carried usually mixed freights, which they collected in the city. English woollen goods were brought to London to form part of a cargo which included also lead and tin, and the sugar and tobacco which had been shipped to the city across the Atlantic. In 1718, however, Liverpool and Bristol, both easy of access for the ships which came from America and the West Indies, had risen to importance as ports ; and in 1739 it was stated that "there was not a seaport, and scarce an inland town in England, that was without adventurers who exported quantities of goods, and did business directly with most of the trading companies in Europe and America." Nor was London any longer isolated as regarded industrial importance. As industrial centres Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Norwich and Newcastle, as well as Liverpool and Bristol, attained to prominence in the first half of the eighteenth century. But in either sphere London maintained a great prominence.

Her position was supported by circumstances contingent on the presence in commerce of a new factor, and one which alone made possible the large enterprises of the day, the extensive use of credit.

The merchants of London had been in the habit of depositing their gold in the Mint at the Tower. Charles I. however, in 1640, seized all the treasure which was there guarded, and in consequence the whole business of keeping superfluous wealth devolved upon the goldsmiths of London, who had for some time acted as moneylenders on a small scale. In a tract of 1660 they are described as "just in the nature of the Bankers at Amsterdam . . . some Goldsmiths in Lombard Street keeping at this day many great Merchants' of London cashes and some noblemen's cash." A little later it became customary for them to receive rents of country estates, and allow on them interest while they retained them. In 1680 city men habitually made payments by bills drawn on goldsmiths with whom they kept accounts, and the bills were in free circulation. Finally, in 1694, by the formation of the Bank of England, the government adopted the expedient; they borrowed £1,200,000 from certain subscribers, who lent on the security that they would receive eight per cent. on their money. Thus credit became an integral part of the national financial and commercial system; and the system of credit centred in London. The freedom to export bullion, the restoration of the coinage from its debased state in 1696, and the growth of English trade, were steps on the road which led London finally to the place of the financial capital of the world. Before, however, such position was secure certain obstacles had to be overcome: the imperfect understanding of the uses of a paper currency, which caused the Bank of England to suspend payment in 1696, 1797 and 1818; and the existence in England of a double metal standard until 1816.¹

Child's Bank and Martin's Bank trace their descents from

¹ From 1664 to 1717 there was a pure silver standard.

the establishments of goldsmiths in the late seventeenth century.

The old companies of merchant adventurers had secured for their members participation in certain trading rights and monopolies conferred on them by the government. They were part of the superseded system of a strictly regulated trade. In the new conditions a new form of association for trading purposes was evolved, that of the joint stock companies, of which the Bank itself was an example. They were founded upon the use of credit. That instrument is one easily abused, and when first its employment became general the speculative spirit carried many to adventure their fortunes at hazards which are almost incredible. It was a gambling age; and on the Exchange men were as reckless as at the gaming tables. Yet, while some were ruined, others were made. Some London merchants, greatly enriched, were the founders of families who attained to high places. Such an one was the retired tradesman, embarrassed by leisure, whom Johnson represented as contributing, in 1753, a letter to the *Adventurer*, and who is a very modern type.

“SIR,—I have been for many years a trader in London. My beginning was narrow, and my stock small . . . I pursued my business with incessant assiduity, . . . and had upon every annual review of my books, the satisfaction of finding my fortune increased beyond my expectation.

“In a few years my industry and probity were fully recompensed, my wealth was really great; and my reputation for wealth still greater. I had large warehouses crowded with goods, and considerable sums in the public funds; I was caressed upon the Exchange by the most eminent merchants; became the oracle of the common council; was solicited to engage in all commercial undertakings; was flattered with

the hopes of becoming, in a short time, one of the directors of a wealthy company; and, to complete my mercantile honours, enjoyed the expensive happiness of fining for sheriff.

“Riches, you know, easily produce riches; when I had arrived to this degree of wealth, I had no longer any obstruction or opposition to fear; new acquisitions were hourly brought within my reach, and I continued for some years longer to heap thousands upon thousands.

“At last I resolved to complete the circle of a citizen's prosperity by the purchase of an estate in the country, and to close my life in retirement. . . . An estate was at length purchased: I transferred my stock to a prudent young man who had married my daughter, went down into the country, and commenced lord of a spacious manor.

“Here, for some time, I found happiness equal to my expectation. I reformed the old house according to the advice of the best architects; I threw down the walls of the garden, and enclosed it with palisades; planted long avenues of trees; filled a greenhouse with exotic plants; dug a new canal, and threw the earth in the old moat.”

The constitutional history of the city has in this period an interest only second to that of trade and finance. In the Court of Common Council the aldermen, belonging, as they did, to the class of wealthy citizens, were Whig, but the mere councilmen, who had been chosen in the precinct meetings from among the householders in the several wards, were often persons of humble standing, and their politics were those of their neighbours, the small tradesmen and master craftsmen of the city, who were largely High Church and Tory. Between the two sections a perpetual conflict was waged in the first quarter of the century, and it centred around two

issues, the qualifications of the electors of Common Councilmen, and the powers of supervision and revision possessed over the council by the mayor and aldermen.

The unenfranchised ratepayers, who attended wardmotes, repeatedly attempted to vote at the elections of Common Councilmen, so inconsistently with the whole spirit of the constitutional history of London that it is impossible not, with the aldermen of the day, to regard them as presumptuous. It was ruled by an Act of Common Council passed in 1692, and confirmed in 1711, 1712, and 1714, that the right to elect Common Councilmen and nominate aldermen belonged to "The Freemen of the said City only, being Householders, paying Scot and bearing Lot." Even however when the claims of non-freemen were set aside, grounds of dispute remained. "The Common Council hold," it was stated in 1715, "that the payment to church and poor is a sufficient qualification for a voter, as formerly it hath been, but the Mayor and Aldermen have held . . . that no less than actual payment to all taxes and rates . . . qualifies a voter." Moreover the aldermen objected to a disqualification as voters of all who had received assistance from the companies, which was proposed by the Common Council.

The quarrel was peculiarly bitter, because the aldermanic party denied even that their opponents could, with pertinence, discuss the question. The first of the powers claimed by the mayor and aldermen, as the second chamber of the city's constitution, was that of "trying the validity of all contested elections in the city," and they denied, further, that the Common Council were competent to withhold or confer a franchise. They claimed that sole right, disregarded in 1649, of presiding at the deliberations of the council, and hence an ability to adjourn its meetings by vacating the chair. No

legislative power, they contended, resided in the Common Council alone. They derived such from the concurrence with them of the Lord Mayor and the aldermen.

So far it can hardly be disputed that their claims could be justified by precedent, whether or not they were equitable. But in 1717 they interpreted their powers in an extreme manner. They then declared it to be the "ancient usage" that the proceedings of a meeting of the Common Council should be submitted to them at their own subsequent assembly, and they attempted to exercise a right of veto. They commissioned the recorder of the city to announce their dissent from an Act of the Common Council to that body at its next meeting. The due conveyance of this message produced a heated debate, and eventually it was not entered in the Journals of the Court of Common Council, because it was found "derogatory to the rights and privileges of the citizens." The aldermen in this instance claimed to revise in their private assembly the completed acts of the whole council.

In 1725 an Act of parliament gave the victory to them. The right to vote for Common Councilmen was confined to freemen of the city holding and occupying houses of the annual value of £10, and paying as much as 30s. a year in rates; and the assent of a majority of the mayor and aldermen was made necessary to an enactment by the council. The immediate result was inactivity on the part of the Common Council; they almost ceased to exercise their powers on the terms, so unpopular with their great majority, which parliament had dictated. The citizens, however, continued to be political, and directed their energies to procuring that vacant aldermanries should be filled by persons opposed to the aldermanic power of veto. By their successes the aldermen, as a body, were rendered more sympathetic to the wishes of

the citizens at large, and a yet nearer correspondence of opinion followed on the general Whig reaction after the Jacobite rising of 1748. In 1746 the clause of the Act of 1725, which had rendered possible an aldermanic veto of the acts of the council, was repealed.

This measure made way for a real change in the balance of power within the constitution of the city. The Common Councilmen had been a mere advisory body, subservient to the supreme legislature, the mayor and aldermen, incapable of independent action. They were, after 1746, gradually transformed "into a supreme organ of administration," itself wielding the whole power of government, which reduced "the lord mayor and aldermen to a mere magistracy." In current opinion there was a tendency to regard the acquisition by the Common Council of this new character as a rehabilitation, a return to an ancient and customary state. There is, on the contrary, abundant proof that a revolution had occurred.

The Common Council, in their new organization, dealt with an increasing amount of administrative business. A system of committees was formed to deal with different departments, and it became customary to remunerate members of committees. In 1802 £4000 was annually devoted to their payment. There were also a variety of perquisite profits which the greedy councilman was wont to make at the expense of the corporation; and he had opportunities for jobbery and corruption, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

The manifold activity of the councilmen was, however, often well directed. They had business in connection with civic buildings, the prisons and markets of the city, and its port. The management of the property of the corporation

became, as its value was enhanced, increasingly complicated. By the act for the rebuilding after the fire all the drainage and all the paving of the city had been delivered temporarily to the charge of the council, and they had been authorized to depute the power, thus devolving, on commissioners, whom they appointed and who were known as the Commissioners of Sewers. An act of 1710 perpetuated such provision, and made compulsory the payment of a rate for the maintenance of sewers. The work of the commissioners was extended by various Acts of parliament, which transferred to the Common Council duties previously incumbent on individual householders. In 1736 an Act for the lighting of the city and liberties ruled that a "convenient and sufficient number of glass lamps" should be fixed on houses and buildings, as the council directed, and should burn from sunset to sunrise, and that the expense should be defrayed by a rate. Hitherto the city had depended for its lighting on an obligation, from 1416 repeatedly emphasized, which rested on every householder to hang a light outside his house. In 1765 another Act vested in the Commissioners of Sewers sole power in connection with the paving, cleansing, and lighting of the city and liberties. They were empowered to water the streets, to make pumps and dust-holes. They were ordered to remove the signs by which houses were still distinguished, and which often were, in the narrow streets, an impediment to traffic, and to replace them by the more practical invention of numbers, and to inscribe the names of streets. Household-ers were still responsible for the cleanliness of footpaths. Already, in 1759, a statute had made the deposit of refuse in streets or common passages, or in gutters, a penal offence.

Some particular improvements and alterations were also made. The Stocks market at the end of Cheapside was

abolished, and on its site the Mansion House was founded in 1739. London Bridge was repaired, and all houses removed from it in obedience to an Act passed in 1757. In 1761 the gates of the city, which often caused a congestion of traffic and had lost their military use, were taken down and sold. In 1765 the building and site of Gresham College were sold to the Government, and were replaced by an excise office. The Gresham lecturers were directed to read in rooms over the Royal Exchange. The Fleet ditch was covered over, and Blackfriars Bridge was made, and opened in 1769. In 1774 a much needed Act of parliament for the improvement of the navigation of the Thames was passed.

To all these changes there was the inevitable opposition. "‘As fine as London upon the bridge’," says a writer of 1771, "was formerly a proverbial saying in the city, and many a serious, sensible tradesman used to believe that heap of enormities to be one of the seven wonders of the world, and, next to Solomon's Temple, the finest thing that ever art produced. When first the reformation in the streets was begun, from the same cause every nuisance had its advocate. It was said to be for the ease of the houses that the midway should be paved with huge shapeless rocks, and the footpath with sharp pebbles for the benefit of their feet. The posts were defended to the last, and the pulling down of the signs, which choked up and disgraced the streets, regretted as a barbarous invasion on the monuments of national taste; the cat and fiddle, goose and gridiron, and the like, being regarded as the greatest efforts of inventive genius; and Cheapside often compared to the Medicean gallery, for its choice collection of paintings, blue boars, green dragons, and kings' heads." It is incontestable that the "blue boars, black swans, and red lions, not to mention flying pigs, and



SOME SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SIGNS.

hogs in armour, with many other creatures more extraordinary than any in the deserts of Africk,"¹ and the legends displayed beside them, from which Steele complains that he learnt bad spelling, had made a strong appeal to fancy. There are frequent allusions to them in eighteenth century essays.

As regards the charity of the corporation, it was most notably displayed in this century by the institution of the Foundling Hospital, of which the first stone was laid in 1742. The hospitality of the city still found expression, from time to time, in munificent banquets.

As in the seventeenth century, the Court of Common Council sought to influence the rulers of the kingdom by petitions to parliament, and their politics were usually "against the government." "The City was proud of the fact that, in the days when the House of Commons was anything but a representative assembly, the Court of Common Council furnished the most prominent platform for the expression of the popular will."² The circumstance had weight in the struggle against the aldermanic veto. "Consider, gentlemen," said on one occasion a leader of the popular party, "that it is in the power of a majority of the Court of Aldermen to put a stop to the most vigorous efforts of your public virtue. Not all the convictions of common sense, nor the universal voice of mankind, nor the apparent and approaching ruin of Liberty, can avail you to procure justice from Parliament should a corrupted majority (among the 26 aldermen) prevail in putting a negative upon your just complaints and remonstrances."³

The Common Council were particularly zealous in their

¹ Addison in *Spectator* No. 23.

² Webb. *Local Government. The Manor and the Borough*, II., 653.

³ *Ibid*, 654.

opposition to Walpole's excise bill, to the treatment by the government of John Wilkes, and to the war with America.

The burning of Number 45 of the "North Briton" at the Royal Exchange, in 1763, was an act very unpopular in the city. Serious riots were caused, and after the public proclamation of peace in March no congratulatory address was offered by the Common Council. The freedom of the city was presented to Chief Justice Pratt, who, on the occasion of Wilke's trial gave an opinion favourable to him. Wilkes, in 1768, failed to secure from the liverymen election as member for the city, but his subsequent success in the Middlesex election provoked enormous enthusiasm among the citizens. In 1769 he was chosen alderman of Farringdon Within. When he was for the second and for the third time elected to represent Middlesex in Parliament, and was refused admission to the House, great crowds of his supporters paraded the city streets, and certain persons who would have demonstrated adversely to him were mobbed. It was desired by his friends to summon a Common Hall to consider the situation, but the Lord Mayor was unwilling. In the following November, however, by passing over the alderman who stood next in the order of rotation, the election of a compliant mayor, the popular Beckford, was procured. He called a Court of Common Hall, which adopted an address to the king. "Since, therefore, the misdeeds of your Majesty's ministers," ran its conclusion, "in violating the freedom of election and depraving the noble constitutions of Parliament, are notorious, as well as subversive of the fundamental laws and liberties of this realm, and since your Majesty, both by honour and justice, is obliged inviolably to preserve them, according to your coronation oath, we, your remonstrants, assure ourselves that your Majesty will restore the Constitutional

Government and quiet of your people by dissolving this Parliament, and removing those evil Counsellors for ever from your councils." In May 1770 the Court of Common Council also resolved an address of remonstrance to the king on the violated right of election, and the lord mayor, accompanied by two aldermen, the sheriffs, and certain councilmen, presented it in person, and made a short speech in defence of the city's right of petition, and the principle in this instance defended. Beckford died a month later, but he was succeeded by the equally valiant Barlow Trecothick. In 1771 the arrest of a certain printer of the city, in obedience to an order of the House of Commons, was attempted. The printer resisted, and was protected by the lord mayor, who, as guardian of the city's liberties, declined to deliver him to the serjeant of the House sent to fetch him. The mayor, therefore, was summoned to the bar of the Commons, and subsequently sent to the Tower, together with an alderman who had abetted him. Both were released at the prorogation of parliament, but meanwhile there had been riots in the city; the expenses at the Tower of the two magistrates had been voted by the Common Council; they had received compliments from the Society of the Bill of Rights, and six cities and towns had conferred their freedom on the mayor. A true bill was found by the Grand Jury against the messenger who had sought to arrest the printer.

In July 1771, the mayor, with a numerous company, presented to the king an address of remonstrance as to the late violations of the right of election and of the city's privileges. Wilkes, who had figured in the resistance to the action of the House of Commons, was this year chosen sheriff. In January, 1772, the Common Council made presents of plate to Trecothick, then ex-mayor, to Wilkes, and to several

aldermen who had distinguished themselves during the incident; and in May the statue of Beckford was erected in the Guildhall. The city in 1773 again supported Wilkes's claim to a seat in the House of Commons, and the Common Hall again petitioned the king for redress of grievances and a dissolution of parliament. In 1774 Wilkes was elected mayor, and the mob drew him through the streets in his coach. The obelisk in his honour was set up at the foot of Ludgate Hill in the next year. In 1777 his creditors petitioned the Court of Common Council for payment of the debts which he had contracted during his mayoralty; and the Council, in consequence, deliberated on the advisability of allowing him £500 a year for his services to public liberty, but decided against such liberality for fear of the precedent which might be created. In 1779 Wilkes was elected chamberlain of the city.

In this manner the city upheld ancient traditions. She did not however command the respect which once had been paid to her. Her remonstrances were received rather peevishly and condemned as "indecent." Her attitude produced some uneasiness and had some influence on politicians, since it involved the disorder of a large class of the people. But the key to power had been lost; London could no longer force her voice upon councils of state. Those days were past in which the English government depended on the citizen merchants. The organization of the finance of the kingdom had made it impossible for London ever again to arbitrate between warring parties in the nation. Therefore in the eighteenth century the politics of the city had come to be matters of secondary interest.

The episode of Wilkes illustrates the extent to which the Court of Common Hall had assumed a share in the function

of voicing the opinion of the city, formerly expressed only by the Common Council. The Common Hall had arrogated the right to themselves at first in a spirit of rivalry; but their tenure of it was practically established after 1769. They appear to have based their claim on the circumstance of their election of the parliamentary representatives of the city. They were handicapped, however, in their activity by their dependence for a summons on the mayor; and repeated attempts made by them in the late eighteenth century to compel him to call them together were unsuccessful. A test case as to whether, on the other hand, a liveryman were obliged to obey the mayoral summons to a Common Hall was brought forward in 1773, and the opinion of the recorder of the city supported its binding force. Two years later, however, this judgment was reversed, and from that date the attendance of liverymen has been optional.

CHAPTER XVIII

WEST LONDON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

“**A**MONG these Suburban Territories, in the way towards Tyburn,” wrote Strype in 1720, “there are certain new and splendid Buildings, called, in Honour of his present Majesty, Hanover Square: Some finished, and some erecting; consisting of many complete, noble Houses. One whereof is taking by my Lord Cowper, late Lord High Chancellor of England. And it is reported, that the common Place of Execution of Malefactors at Tyburn, shall be appointed elsewhere . . . ; for the removing any Inconveniences or Annoyances, that might thereby be occasioned to that Square, or the Houses thereabouts.” And Appletree in his journal in 1725 made the entry: “I went away towards Hyde Park, being told of a fine avenue made to the east side of the park, fine gates and a large Visa, or opening, from the new squares called Hanover Square, etc. . . . In the town I passed an amazing scene of new foundations, not of houses only, but as I might say of new cities, new towns, new squares, and fine buildings, the like of which no city, no town, nay no place in the world can show; nor is it possible to judge where or when they will make an end or stop of building.”

The completion of the district between Oxford Street and Piccadilly, the connection with Oxford Street of the recently made Grosvenor and Golden Squares, as well as the new Hanover Square, is thus recorded. Park Lane, still known as Tyburn Lane in 1772, had its present name in 1795. The last execution at Tyburn Gallows took place in 1783.

On an open space called Brookfields, bounded in 1772, when probably its dimensions had been narrowed, by Curzon Street on the north, Half Moon Street on the east, and Tyburn Lane on the west, the fair called May Fair, which once had been held by the abbot of Westminster, took place annually during the first fortnight in May throughout most of the century. As the town advanced it lost its ancient rustic character. "I wish you had been at May Fair," wrote Brian Fairfax in 1701, "where the rope-dancing would have recompensed your labour. All the nobility in town were there; and I am sure that even you, at your years, must have had your youthful wishes to have beheld the beauty, shape and activity of Lady Mary when she danced. Pray ask my lord Fairfax after her, who, though not the only lord by twenty, was every night an admirer of her while the fair lasted. There was the city of Amsterdam, well worth your seeing; every street, every individual house was carved in wood, in exact proportion one to another; the Stadthouse was as big as your hand. . . . Here was a boy to be seen that within one of his eyes had DEUS MEUS in capital letters, as GULIELMUS is on half-a-crown." All "plays, shews, gamings, music meetings, or other disorderly assemblies" were forbidden at the fair in 1709. It is said to have been finally abolished by the instrumentality of the Lord Coventry who died in 1809, and who, in his house at the corner of Engine Street, now Brick Street, and

Piccadilly, found himself disturbed by the "unceasing uproar, night and day," during fair time.

The project of building on the north side of Oxford Street was formed about the year 1715. In 1717 or 1718 Cavendish Square and several adjoining streets were laid out; and before 1730 Henrietta Street, Vere Street, Holles Street, Margaret Street, Cavendish Street, Welbeck Street, Wimpole Street, Princes Street, Bolsover Street, John Street, and Market Street had come into existence. Lower Harley Street, Wigmore Street and Mortimer Street were planned at much the same time. A market called the Oxford Market was opened in 1731, and had a site between Oxford Street and Castle Street. Oxford Street was so called before 1729, at which date the row of houses along its north side had been completed.

There were yet green fields on the north side of that part of Oxford Street which was still known as the Tyburn Road, which intervened between Marylebone Lane, now Marylebone High Street, and the present site of Marble Arch, and also to the north of Cavendish Square, towards Marylebone village. In 1764, however, the building of Portman Square was begun, and was completed within about twenty years. Portman Street, Orchard Street, and Little Duke Street, with other streets about the square, date from the same time. Manchester Square was building in 1773. It was at first called Queen Anne's Square, but was eventually named after Manchester House, afterwards Hertford House, which was completed in 1788. The brothers Adam, about the year 1778, designed Portland Place, so called after the ground landlord of this and the surrounding property. Its great width is due to the fact that, by a clause in the lease, any interruption of the view from the "grand house," lately erected by Lord

Foley, which stood where is now the Langham Hotel, was forbidden. About the year 1774 the crescent of Cumberland Place, at first intended for a circus, was made; and Upper Berkeley Street, Upper Seymour Street, and others in the vicinity had been constructed before 1792. The stone-fronted houses on the north and east sides of Fitzroy Square were built by the Adams. The north side dates only from 1825.

The ground on which Beaumont Street, Devonshire Street and Devonshire Place now stand was a pleasure garden, the Marylebone Gardens, which Pepys visited in 1668 and found "a pretty place." Bowling greens, fireworks, music, vocal and instrumental, taverns, fruit tarts and other refreshments for sale, lectures, exhibitions of sword play, and a medicinal spring were some of the varied attractions which made the place fashionable. As however it came to be less remote from the town it lost its vogue, and in 1778 it was finally suppressed. The site was let to builders, and Devonshire Street, Devonshire Place and Weymouth Street appear on maps of 1792. Beaumont Street was built before 1795.

In the last forty years of the eighteenth century a great increase of buildings took place in the neighbourhood of Tottenham Court Road, which assumed its present character of a populous street. There is no evidence that it ever was patronised by the quality. "Notwithstanding Tottenham Court Road was so infested by the lowest order," says a writer in 1773, "who kept what they called a Gooseberry Fair, it was famous at certain times of the year, particularly in summer, for its booths of regular theatrical performers, who deserted the empty benches of Drury Lane Theatre, under the mismanagement of Mr. Fleetwood, and condescended to admit the audience at sixpence each."

Bloomsbury was still a fashionable district. Lord Eldon lived from 1791 to 1804 at Number 42, Gower Street. "He could look over the fields . . . as far as Hampstead and Highgate, and had a garden with excellent vegetables, and even peaches."

In 1771 a rather captious critic published some observations on the "so-much-vaunted squares" of the West End of London.

"Let us begin with Grosvenor Square, which is generally held out as a pattern of perfection in its kind. It is doubtless spacious, regular, and well-built; but how is this spaciousness occupied? A clumsy rail, with lumps of brick for piers to support it, at the distance of every two or three yards, incloses nearly the whole area, intercepting almost entirely the view of the sides, and leaving the passage round it as narrow as most streets, with the additional disadvantage at night of being totally dark on one hand. The middle is filled up with bushes and dwarf trees, through which a statue peeps, like a piece of gilt gingerbread in a greengrocer's stall.

"Cavendish Square next claims our regard: the apparent intention here was to excite pastoral ideas in the mind; and this is endeavoured to be effected by cooping up a few frightened sheep within a wooden paling;¹ which, were it not for their sooty fleeces and meagre carcasses, would be more apt to give the idea of a butcher's pen,

'passimque videbant
lautis balare carinis.'

To see the poor things starting at every coach, and hurrying round and round their narrow bounds, requires a warm

¹ The statue of the Duke of Cumberland replaced the sheep soon after this date.

imagination indeed to convert the scene into that of flocks ranging the fields, with all the concomitant ideas of innocence and a pastoral life. . .

“As to Hanover Square, I do not know what to make of it. It is neither open nor inclosed. Every convenience is railed out and every nuisance railed in. Carriages have a narrow ill-paved street to pass round it, and the middle has the air of a cow-yard, where blackguards assemble in the winter, to play at hussle-cap, up to the ankles in dirt. This is the more to be regretted, as the square in question is susceptible of improvement at a small expense. The buildings are neat and uniform. The street from Oxford Road falls with a gentle descent into the middle of the upper side, while, right opposite, George Street retires, converging to a point, which has a very picturesque effect; and the portico of St. George’s church, seen in profile, enriches and beautifies the whole.

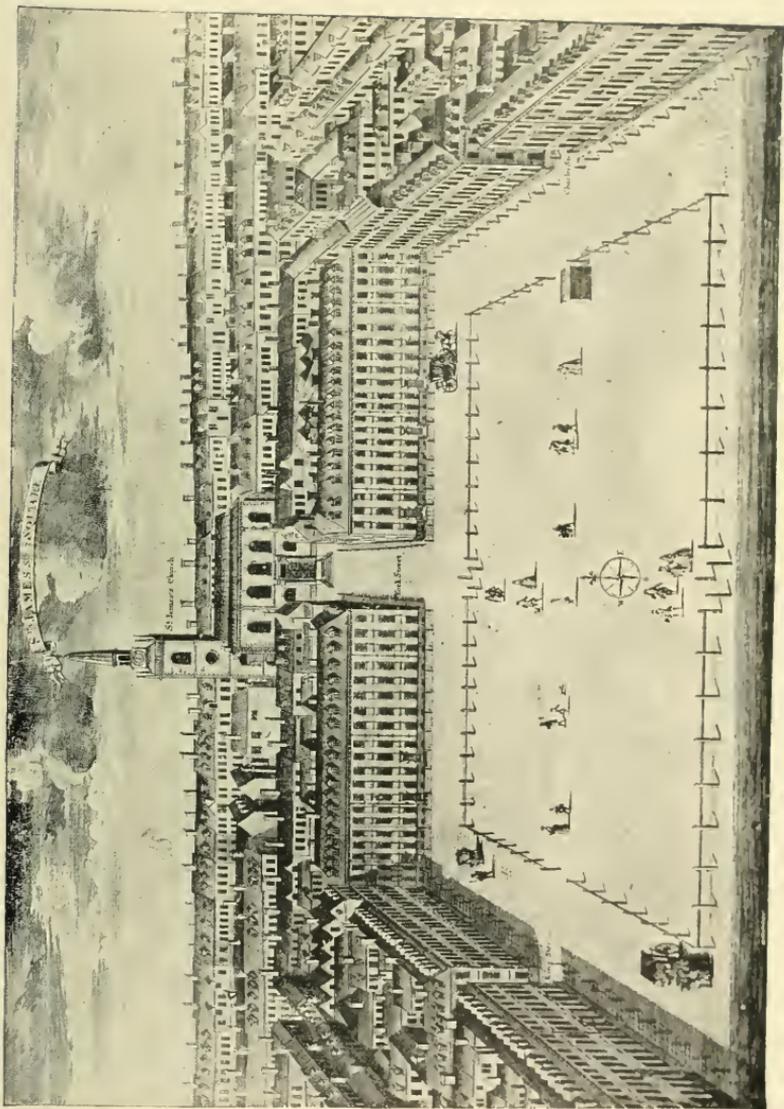
“Red Lion Square, elegantly so called, doubtless from some alehouse formerly at the corner, has a very different effect on the mind. It does not make us laugh, but it makes us cry. I am sure I never go into it without thinking of my latter end. The rough sod that ‘heaves in many a mouldering heap,’ the dreary length of the sides, with the four watch-houses, like so many family vaults, at the corners, and the naked obelisk that springs from amidst the rank grass, like the sad monument of a disconsolate widow for the loss of her first husband, form altogether a ‘memento mori,’ more powerful to me than a death’s head and cross marrow bones; and were but the parson’s bull to be seen bellowing at the gate, the idea of a country churchyard in my mind would be complete.”

As to St. James’s Square, however, the author is of

opinion that it "though far from perfect in that style, and altogether uncompleted on one side, still strikes the mind . . . with something of more ease and propriety than any square in London. You are not confined in your space; your eye takes in the whole compass at one glance, and the water in the middle seems placed there for ornament and use."

But he finds all the squares "more or less tinctured with the same absurdity, an awkward imitation of the country, amid the smoke and bustle of the town." "Yet," he allows, "one is almost disposed to excuse Lincoln's Inn Square. The vast extent of the field, still further extended by the proximity of the gardens, the lofty trees in prospect, the noble piece of water in the middle, all conspire to create an illusion, and we feel ourselves as it were fairly beguiled into the country, in the very centre of business and care. That of which I chiefly complain is the attempt to introduce rural ideas where there is not the least probability of attaining the ends. The royal parks adjoining to London by no means fall under this censure. These, with the many delightful fields which skirt this capital, render it unrivalled in situation; and, what is peculiar, they are all within the reach, and open to the health and amusement, of the inhabitants: a circumstance which renders the mock parks in the middle of the town still more unnecessary and absurd."

With this view as to the absurdity of the green squares of Bloomsbury and the West End, later generations have not concurred. "Dwarf trees" have grown lofty; their refreshment has been very grateful as gradually the "delightful fields" around London have receded. It has been proved more and more how fitly trees and lawns may be impropriated by the planner of a town. The same critic makes other remarks on the improvements recent in his days:



ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, IN 1741.
From an engraving by Sutton, A.abbatis.

“Our streets are now wide, straight and commodious; and although neatness, more than magnificence, seems to be the characteristic of the buildings, they do not fail on the whole to produce a grand effect. . . We have in Oxford Road the outlines of the noblest street in Europe. In length, width and straightness, it surpasses everything of its kind, and requires only to be adorned with ‘gorgeous palaces and solemn temples,’ like the Corso at Rome or the Strada Nuovo at Genoa, to eclipse them both in fame. Nor is it arrogance to expect this: a passion for building in town seems to arise among the nobility at present; how many handsome structures then, may there not be erected along those sides, where at present there are only stables and timber-yards! The new pavement, which goes on with rapidity, sets this street in a new point of view. Already there is begun in it one public edifice¹ of bold and elegant design.

“On a supposition then that men of rank and fortune should hereafter be induced to rear up their mansions in Oxford Road, it may not be presumptuous to hint at some errors which have been too commonly adopted in fabrics of that sort. To such a gateway with a spacious court within is both stately and commodious; but the front to the street should still present something that intimates a relation to the society in which you live; a dead wall of twenty or thirty feet high, run up in the face of your neighbours, can only inspire horror and dislike. I am sorry upon this subject to instance Burlington House. How many are there, who

¹ The Pantheon on the south side of Oxford Road was opened in 1772, and is described by Northouck (1772) as “a superb building . . . dedicated to the nocturnal revels of the British nobility.” It was noted for masquerades.

have lived half a century in London, without knowing that so princely a fabric exists. It has generally been taken for a jail. . . There is however this much to be said in excuse of my Lord Burlington, that he built his house at a time when Piccadilly was almost out of town. . . But what can be said in excuse of those architects who, coming after him, without one spark of his genius, have servilely copied his defects. This cannot be more strongly exemplified than in Bingley House.¹ It presents the same gloomy exterior as Burlington House, with this advantage that its interior is correspondent in every respect. . . At Paris the Hotels of the great are indeed all constructed with Porte Cochères and courts, at the bottom of which the grand apartments lie; but then the Façades to the street are gay and ornamented. . . Were examples at home to be quoted, worthy the imitation of those whose fortunes enable them to attempt that style, I should mention Bloomsbury² and Shelburn House.³ In these seem to be united the gay, the useful and the grand.

“But there is another style which has been a good deal affected by our great men of late, and is perhaps the most judicious for those who have no ground property in town. I mean what is called a street house. Many a nobleman, whose proud seat in the country is adorned with all the

¹ Now Harcourt House, on the west side of Cavendish Square, the residence of the duke of Portland. Built by Benson Lord Bingley, in 1722, and bought by the first earl of Harcourt, whose son, the second earl, much altered it.

² This must be Southampton or Bedford House. It was demolished in 1800.

³ Lansdowne House, No. 54, Berkeley Square, built between 1765 and 1767 by the brothers Adam for Lord Bute, and sold by him before its completion to the unpopular Lord Shelburne, afterwards first marquess of Lansdowne.

riches of architecture, porticos and columns, 'cornice and frieze with bossy sculpture graved,' is here content with a simple dwelling, convenient within, and unornamented without. This is pardonable where only a house is rented for a winter residence, without any idea of property annexed; but where a family mansion is intended to be built, something ought to be produced suitable in dignity to the name it bears. When we hear of a Grafton House,¹ a Gower House,² an Egremont House,³ we expect something beyond roominess and convenience; the mere requisites of a packer or a sugar baker. Would any foreigner, beholding an insipid length of wall broken into regular rows of windows, in St. James's Square, ever figure from thence the residence of the first duke of England? 'All the blood of all the Howards' can never ennoble Norfolk House.

" . . . These sort of fabrics . . . are incapable of much grandeur; but they admit of beauty in any degree. It is therefore this last which ought principally to be aimed at. An unity of order enriched with ornament, in fair and high polished materials, is all that seems required. The two houses

¹ The site of this house, at the south corner of Grafton Street and Bond Street, was bought by the duke of Grafton in 1723, and was afterwards occupied by the Clarendon Hotel.

² Presumably a house in Gower Street occupied by the earl Gower, who, in 1786, was created marquess of Stafford.

³ No. 84 Piccadilly, said to have been the last house built in that street. It was occupied by the second and third earls of Egremont, of whom the latter, the patron of artists, removed thence in 1794. Lord Cholmondeley lived in it from 1822 to 1829, and it was called Cholmondeley House. Subsequently it was the residence of the duke of Cambridge, youngest son of George III., who died in it in 1850, and was known as Cambridge House. The later occupants have been Sir Richard Sutton, owner of the freehold, until 1855, Lord Palmerston until 1865, and the Naval and Military Club now established in it.

lately erected by Mr. Tuffnell in Cavendish Square, are fine examples; as is also that of Mr. Anson, in St. James's Square.¹ When once this last is completed according to the plan the public will be more able to do justice to the classic taste which directed it."

The foregoing extract gives a clear idea of architectural taste in the eighteenth century. It explains also the manner of the growth of that which Fielding calls "the polite end of the town." The great men of the land were still held by the craze for building, and vied with each other in the erection of town houses. Architecture was almost entirely domestic and ecclesiastical; tradesmen and merchants were content with unassuming shops and counting-houses; public offices were comparatively insignificant.

There are some other great houses of the period which deserve notice. Arlington House passed to Isabella, the only child of the first earl of Arlington, who by her marriage became Duchess of Grafton. She sold it to John Sheffield, Marquess of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, and he in 1703 rebuilt it.

" A princely palace on that space does rise,
Where Sedley's noble muse found mulberries."

The new house stood within a courtyard, but its situation by the park, and the fact that it was separated from it only by railings, through which a playing fountain could be seen, exonerated it from the censure applied to Bingley House. It appears to have been a stately mansion worthy of its beautiful

¹ Lichfield House, No. 15 St. James's Square, rebuilt about 1766 when it was acquired by Thomas Anson, M.P. for Lichfield, and sold in 1856 by the Anson family to the Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society, the present possessors.

situation. Buckingham, in his own description of his house, speaks of "a wilderness full of blackbirds and nightingales" beneath the windows of a book-closet, and "a wall, covered with roses and jessamine, . . . low to admit the view of a meadow full of cattle just under it"; but he had regrets which in his age, so contemptuous of past taste, were strange. "I am oftener missing," he says, "a pretty gallery in the old house I pulled down, than pleased with a salon which I built in its stead, tho' a thousand times better in all manner of respects."

Buckingham House was inherited in 1743 by John, Lord Hervey, and, after his death in the same year, by the duke's natural son, Sir Charles Sheffield. From him, in 1762, it was bought by George III., and in 1775 it was settled on Queen Charlotte in lieu of Somerset House, which had been granted to her in 1763. It came to be known as the Queen's House, and in it all the king's children, except George IV., were born. The additions and demolitions through which George IV. and William IV. replaced it by the ugly Buckingham Palace were begun in 1825.

Marlborough House was designed by Wren in 1709-10 for the great duke of Marlborough, and had for site part of St. James's Park. The famous duchess lived there until her death in 1744. The house became a crown possession in 1817.

In 1709 Henry Boyle, Baron Carlton, received a lease of "parcel of the Royal Garden near St. James's Palace, and all that the woodland, or wilderness adjoining to the said garden," and on this site built Carlton House. It was inherited by his nephew, the third earl of Burlington, in 1725, and sold in 1732 to Frederic, Prince of Wales. Until 1772 it was the residence of the dowager princess of Wales;

and in 1783 it was repaired and beautified for the reception of the prince of Wales who became George IV. It was demolished in 1835. It stood where is now the opening between the York Column and the lower end of Regent Street.

Berkeley House was burnt in 1733, and replaced by Devonshire House. Lanesborough House, at Hyde Park Corner, was the residence of James, Lord Lanesborough, who died in 1724, and who inscribed over his door,

“ It is my delight to be
Both in the town and country.”

It became in 1733 an infirmary, and the site is now occupied by St. George's Hospital. Chesterfield House, at the junction of Curzon Street and South Audley Street, was built for the famed author of the *Letters*, who lived in it after 1749, and who made Stanhope Street to connect his house with Park Lane. It was occupied by successive earls of Chesterfield until 1849, and bought by Mr. Magniac in 1889. Burlington House was entirely remodelled in the early eighteenth century; its brick walls were coated with stone; the great gate and the street wall were erected. At the extinction of the Burlington earldom in 1753, it accrued to the Cavendish family, and was sold to the crown in 1854. Apsley House, at Hyde Park Corner, was built by the second Lord Bathurst, Lord Chancellor, who died in 1794, and was originally of red brick. It was settled by the nation in 1820 on the duke of Wellington, and subsequently underwent considerable alteration.

The Horse Guards dates from the eighteenth century, as do some public offices, the old Treasury, which fronted on the Horse Guards Parade, the Admiralty, “a most ugly

edifice, and deservedly veiled [about 1760] by Mr. Adam's handsome screen."¹ In 1753 the will of Sir Hans Sloane enabled the institution of the British Museum in Montague House in Bloomsbury. The old house was entirely removed to give place to buildings more suitable to the new purpose between 1840 and 1849. An important event in the topographical history of London was the building, under an act passed in 1736, of Westminster Bridge. Hitherto only London Bridge had connected the city and the Surrey sides of the river. From the bridges of the eighteenth century, unencumbered by buildings, the whole city could be contemplated. The critic of 1772 had praise for the view, from Blackfriars Bridge, of the amphitheatre which reaches from Westminster to the Tower. On Westminster Bridge, in September, 1803, Wordsworth wrote his wonderful sonnet.

“ Earth has not anything to show more fair :
Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
A sight so touching in its majesty :
This City now doth like a garment wear
The beauty of the morning ; silent, bare,
Ships, towers, domes, theatres and temples lie
Open unto the fields, and to the sky ;
All bright and glittering in the smokeless air.
Never did sun more beautifully steep
In his first splendour valley, rock, or hill ;
Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep !
The river glideth at his own sweet will ;
Dear God ! the very houses seem asleep ;
And all that mighty heart is lying still ! ”

There was much talk of embanking the river, but little was done in this century towards the realization of the project. The brothers Adam, early in the reign of George III., constructed Adelphi Terrace and the fine Adelphi Buildings, so

¹ Horace Walpole.

called after them, which stand on the site of Durham House. The architects are again commemorated in Adam Street, and in the adjoining streets which bear their Christian names, John, Robert, James and William. "The works carrying on amid the antient ruins of Durham Yard," wrote the author of 1771 already quoted, "is a sample of what may be done in that way; and from the terrace of that stately pile we can best judge of the effect of so noble an object as the Thames properly displayed." But the citizens were less appreciative, for they held that the buildings constituted an encroachment on the rights of conservancy held over the river by the corporation.

" ' Four Scotchmen, by the name of Adams,
Who keep their coaches and their madams,'
Quoth John, in sulky mood, to Thomas,
' Have stole the very river from us!'"

Garrick lived at Number 5, now Number 4, Adelphi Buildings, from 1772 until his death in 1779.

Another beginning of embankment was made after the Act of parliament which gave Somerset House to the queen had been repealed in 1775. The Adams then planned the terrace elevation on which modern Somerset House stands. The building was at once devoted to public uses.

An Act of parliament for the paving, cleansing, and lighting of West London, by commissioners whose expenditure should be met by rates, was passed in 1761.

Such was at the close of the eighteenth century London west of the city. So much of it has since been intact that, to picture it, it is necessary only to eliminate the obvious results of years and of modern invention. To the north and the east of the liberties and on the Surrey side of the river there were also extensions, less in size, made by the meaner

buildings which humbler persons had founded. It is convenient to give an account of them in a later chapter, when their history can be continued to the present time. But two suburbs of London had so close a connection with the life of the town in the eighteenth century that it is fitting to notice them here.

South of the way to Uxbridge, now the Bayswater Road, West London was bounded by Hyde Park. Beyond was Kensington parish, which included the hamlets of Brompton, Earl's Court and the Gravel Pits, and Kensington village, and the manors of Earl's Court and Notting or Nutting-barnes. Holland House was built in 1607 by Sir Walter Cope, and inherited by his son-in-law, the Earl of Holland. It was altered by Inigo Jones, and the internal decorations were designed by Francis Cheyne. Campden House was erected about 1612 by Sir Baptist Hicks, who in 1628 became Viscount Campden. In 1691 it was let to the Princess of Denmark, afterwards Queen Anne, who lived in it for some years with her son, the little duke of Gloucester. Afterwards it underwent several changes of ownership, and in 1795 was "an eminent boarding school for young ladies." Kensington Palace was sold to William III. by the second earl of Nottingham, and was a frequent residence of William and Mary, Anne, George I. and George II., but was forsaken by the royal family in the reign of George III. The palace gardens consisted originally of only twenty-six acres, but Queen Anne added to them other thirty, laid out by her gardener; and Queen Caroline, who included in them nearly three hundred acres which had previously been part of Hyde Park, is the real founder of the gardens as they are at present. "The broad walk," wrote Lysons in 1795, "which extends from the palace along the south side of the

gardens,¹ is in the spring a very fashionable promenade, especially on Sunday mornings."

In the eighteenth century various eminent persons, including Bernard Lens, the miniature painter, and, for a time, Swift, lived in Kensington. But an even more popular place with those who wished to enjoy the country, together with an easy access to London, was Chelsea. There were in 1705 only some three hundred houses in Chelsea parish; but within ninety years they were increased to more than a thousand. The village in 1795 extended "almost to Hyde Park corner, including a considerable part of Knightsbridge," but it was separated from Westminster by the still rural district of Belgravia and Pimlico.

In modern street names the ownership of Chelsea, as of some other London properties, is chronicled. In 1712 Sir Hans Sloane, president of the Royal Society and of the College of Physicians, bought the manor from William, Lord Cheyne. He bequeathed it, at his death in 1752, to his two daughters, Elizabeth and Sarah, of whom Elizabeth married Lord Cadogan. The subsequent extinction of the line of Sarah caused the reversion of the whole estate to the Cadogan family.

The house in which Sir Thomas More had once dwelt, and which was called Beaufort House, because from 1682 until 1714 it was a residence of the family of the duke of Beaufort, was also acquired by Sir Hans Sloane, and was demolished by him in 1740. It stood at the north end of Beaufort Row.

Soon after the Revolution some persons of fashion settled in Chelsea. Among them was a very modish lady in reduced circumstances, the duchesse de Mazarin, once a famous beauty of the court of Charles II., who felt severely the

¹ Not to be confused with the present Broad Walk.

loss of the pension of £4,000 allowed to her by that king. But her economies entailed no dulness. It is said that her guests were wont to leave money under their plates to pay for the entertainment she gave them. In any case her house was "the constant resort of people of fashion, who were attracted by her conversaziones, her basset table," and her concerts, at which dramatic works, written and set to music by St. Evremond, were frequently performed. In Anne's reign, Felton Gerrard, last Earl of Macclesfield, John Vaughan, last Earl of Carbery, and Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, lived in Chelsea. But the most famous of all inhabitants of the place is the wicked old Lady Castlewood. When Harry Esmond came out of Newgate prison her ladyship's fellow "in the orange-tawny livery with the blue lace and facings" was in waiting, and from the banks of the Thames near Fleet Conduit called a pair of oars. "They rowed up at length to the pretty village of Chelsea, where the nobility have many handsome country houses; and so came to my Lady Viscountess's house—a cheerful new house in the row facing the river, with a handsome garden behind it, and a pleasant look-out both towards Surrey and Kensington."

In 1714 or 1715 Steele was living at Chelsea. In 1722 Walpole acquired a house and garden by the riverside. He made considerable improvements, and built in the garden, in accordance with the latest and most approved taste, a grotto, and also an octagonal summer-house and a large greenhouse, in which he had a fine collection of exotics. "One summer, when Queen Caroline was regent during the king's absence in Germany, her Majesty honoured Lady Walpole with her presence at a dinner in this greenhouse, which was elegantly fitted up for the occasion, and hung with some of the finest

of those pictures which afterwards formed part of the Houghton collection."

The earl of Huntingdon, who died in 1746, built on the river bank, near the western extremity of the parish, an "elegant villa." It was inhabited in 1795 by Lord Cremorne, and was distinguished by a Jarvis window. Lord Cremorne kept in this house his collection of Flemish and Italian masters. His neighbour was Lady Mary Coke. Others of the great who had houses in Chelsea in the eighteenth century were Lord Oxford, from 1703 to 1707, Lady Bristol in 1705, the duchesses of Buccleugh, Monmouth, and Hamilton, the duke of Kent, from 1714 to 1715, and the duchess of Ormond, from 1720 to 1733. In the last twenty years of the century there was much building in the district called Hans Town. "The principal street," wrote Lysons in 1795, "takes its name from the Sloane family, and is about six furlongs in length; it contains 160 houses, the buildings, for the most part, occupying only the west side; behind this street is a spacious and handsome square, as yet unfinished."

CHAPTER XIX

LONDON SOCIETY UNDER ANNE AND THE GEORGES

IN the eighteenth century, as gradually it was made clear how stable was the court which was established at St. James's, the London season came to figure largely in the life of the nation. The wife and daughters of the squire, whose parents had known no more of the world than they found in their market town, wearied of the long winters when almost impassable roads imprisoned them within the distance which, on fine days, they could walk on their pattens, when the wildest dissipation of their unending dimlit evenings was to "play Pope Joan with the curate," when day after day they saw the same few faces, the same landscape, and fed on the same fare, and year after year their interests were confined to the circle of things domestic, agricultural and sporting, varied only by gossip of the most local kind. As for dress, their only models were some twenty years behind the times. "The rural beaux," wrote Addison, "are not yet got out of the fashion that took place at the time of the Revolution, but ride about the country in red coats and laced hats, while the women are still trying to outvie one another in the height of their head-dresses."

Some papers and an increasing number of books, a

very little music, reached the country ladies, or probably they would never have been inspired even to discontent. Moreover many of them, owing to the growing fashion of boarding schools, had had already direct news of the great world, conveyed in an inaccurate but a romantic and attractive form. And lastly they knew themselves, owing to the greater ease of travelling which modern times had introduced, not to be indeed cut off from the great world.

This improvement in the conditions of travelling was a final cause of the growth of the "polite end." It deprived countryfolk of their best excuse for never leaving their homes. Already in 1669 the first "flying coach" covered the road from Oxford to London in thirteen hours; and in 1678 a conservative pamphleteer could ascribe various evils to the "late grievance" of stage coaches. Throughout the eighteenth century improvements of roads, an increased number of coaches and a better organisation of their stages, was in progress. The two first mail coaches, escorted by armed guards, left London in 1784, and accomplished the journeys to Bath and to Bristol, respectively, in fourteen and in sixteen hours. All this advance benefited the ladies and gentlemen of degree who travelled in their own carriages, as much as the plebeian person who rode in a stage coach. All alike enjoyed the better roads, the better inns, where man and horse found refreshment and lodging, and the stages where fresh horses could be procured. The humblest class of society, still made their journeys in the old and tedious waggons.

The families who came to London to spend a period of pleasant leisure found new streets built and building, and standards of luxury and behaviour equally new, and

bewildering in their novelty. This was a period in which the laws of fashion as regarded dress and manners and all the circumstances of life were very strict and were followed with extreme zeal. The most courtly wits did not disdain to punish the transgression of them with all the ridicule at their command. The life of the fashionable, though idle, was carefully ordered, even complicated.

Already, however, the elaborate formality of an earlier age had been abandoned ; society, while it abhorred what was boorish, aimed at an artful simplicity. "I must observe," wrote Addison, "a very great revolution that has happened in this article of good breeding. Several obliging deferences, condescensions and submissions, with many outward forms and ceremonies that accompany them, were first of all brought up among the politer part of mankind, who lived in courts and cities, and distinguished them from the rustic part of the species (who on all occasions acted bluntly and naturally) by such a mutual complaisance and intercourse of civilities. These forms of conversation by degrees multiplied and grew troublesome ; the modish world found too great a constraint in them, and have therefore thrown most of them aside. Conversation, like the Romish religion, was so encumbered with show and ceremony, that it stood in need of a reformation to retrench its superfluities and restore it to its natural good sense and beauty. At present, therefore, an unconstrained carriage and a certain openness of behaviour are the height of good breeding. The fashionable world is grown free and easy ; our manners sit more loose upon us ; nothing is so modish as an agreeable negligence."

The modish were, in fact, too busy to observe all the

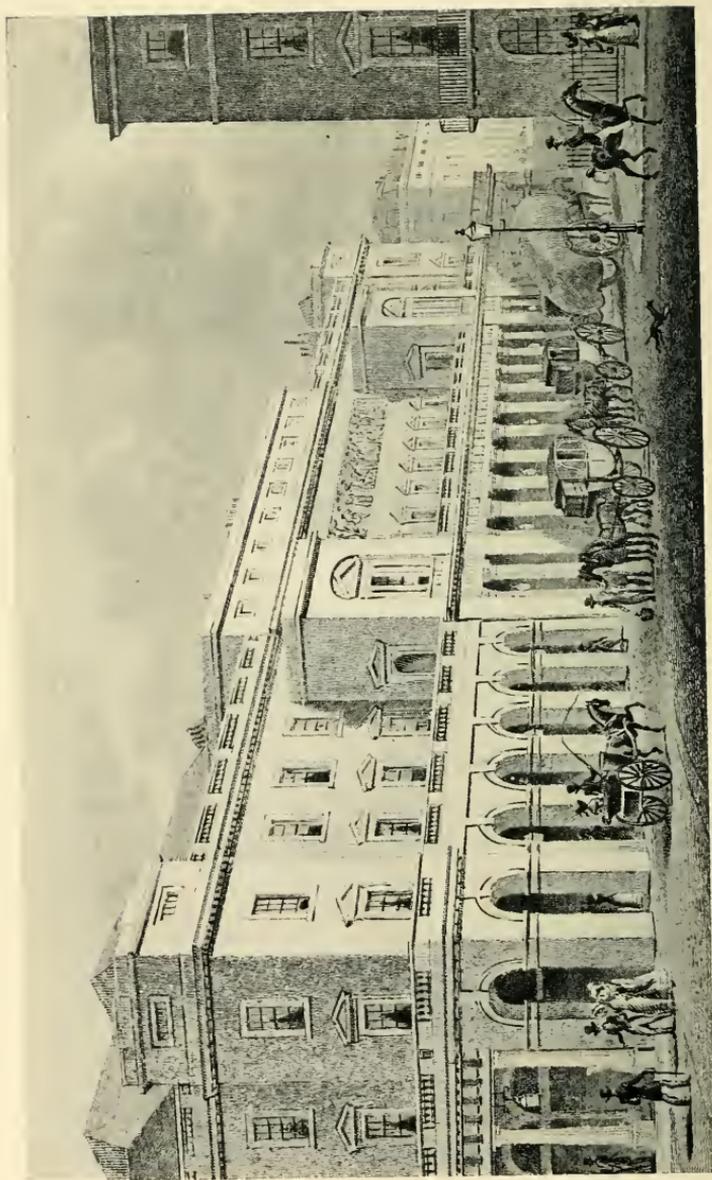
forms which had regulated the duller lives led by their ancestors. Moreover the very circumstance that in London so many who occupied the same social station lived much with each other deprived them of self-consciousness as to their position. And finally a new element had been added to the mental equipment of the cultured of the day ; they possessed a sense of humour. It is the characteristic of an age which is critical rather than creative.

But in the country the old ceremony still prevailed. " One may know a man that never conversed in the world, by his excess of good breeding. A polite country squire shall make you as many bows in half an hour, as would serve a courtier for a week. There is infinitely more to do about place and precedence in a meeting of justices' wives, than in an assembly of duchesses."

In like manner country society was distinguished for that exaggerated and affected delicacy which has given a derogatory sense to the word " genteel " ; while in town persons of fashion had adopted a freedom of speech which often was carried to coarseness.

For long the pulpit, the stage and the books of London had made opinion in England, and they had not lost their influence.

The London preachers of this period did not differ essentially from their forerunners, although on the whole they had lost the fervour of religion. The divines had still their differences, their low church or their high church and Tory principles ; and towards the end of the century the movement led by the Wesleys brought into the church an element of vivid interest which recalls an earlier age. Whitefield's tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road was opened in 1756.



ITALIAN OPERA HOUSE, HAYMARKET.

The drama of the day found its best expression in light comedies of manners, fit productions of an age which set a great value on form. They reached their highest level in the writings of Goldsmith and Sheridan. The playhouses continued to be in Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields until 1732, when Covent Garden Theatre was substituted for that in the Fields. Two new forms of dramatic art arose at this time in London.

Early in the century Italian opera was introduced in a new theatre in the Haymarket called the King's, on the present site of His Majesty's Theatre and the Carlton Hotel. It was fortunate in the patronage of the German kings, but in many unmusical Englishmen it evoked only ridicule. To Addison it was without merit because the Italian libretti were not generally understood. "Music is certainly a very agreeable entertainment; but if it would take the entire possession of our ears, if it would make us incapable of hearing sense, if it would exclude arts that have a much greater tendency to the refinement of human nature,—I must confess I would allow it no better quarter than Plato has done, who banishes it out of his commonwealth."

The other and less dignified innovation was the pantomime. This form of entertainment was first devised by John Rich in 1717, when he was manager of Lincoln's Inn Theatre, as an attempt to outdo in popularity his rivals of Drury Lane; and it met with all the success which still attends the spectacular. Drury Lane was driven to copy the invention. Rich's pantomime consisted of a serious and of a comic part; the former was founded on some fable, often taken from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," and had a splendid accompaniment of

scenery, dresses, dancing, music, and all available stage effects ; and there was interwoven with it a comic story based on the courtship of Columbine and Harlequin, which comprised surprising adventures and transformations produced by the magic wand of Harlequin.

Dramatic art lost its essentially metropolitan character about the year 1775, when several provincial playhouses were in existence.

The writers of books were more numerous than ever before, and at this time they began to form a distinct class in the society of London. Authorship became from the hobby of scholarly men a profession, and Grub Street, "a street in London," according to Johnson, "much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries and temporary poems," was founded. So soon as authors became professional it was inevitable that a class of scribblers should arise, willing to undertake any work which gave a chance of remuneration. The conditions of their labours, especially the necessity of an arduous quest among the great for a patron, were not easy ; but when once the patron had been found at least the writers were subject only to one master. Moreover competition among them was infinitely less than it is at present, in the days of books innumerable, and they were still entirely immune from the restrictions of a social position. The actual Grub Street was near Cripplegate, and has since 1830 been called Milton Street.

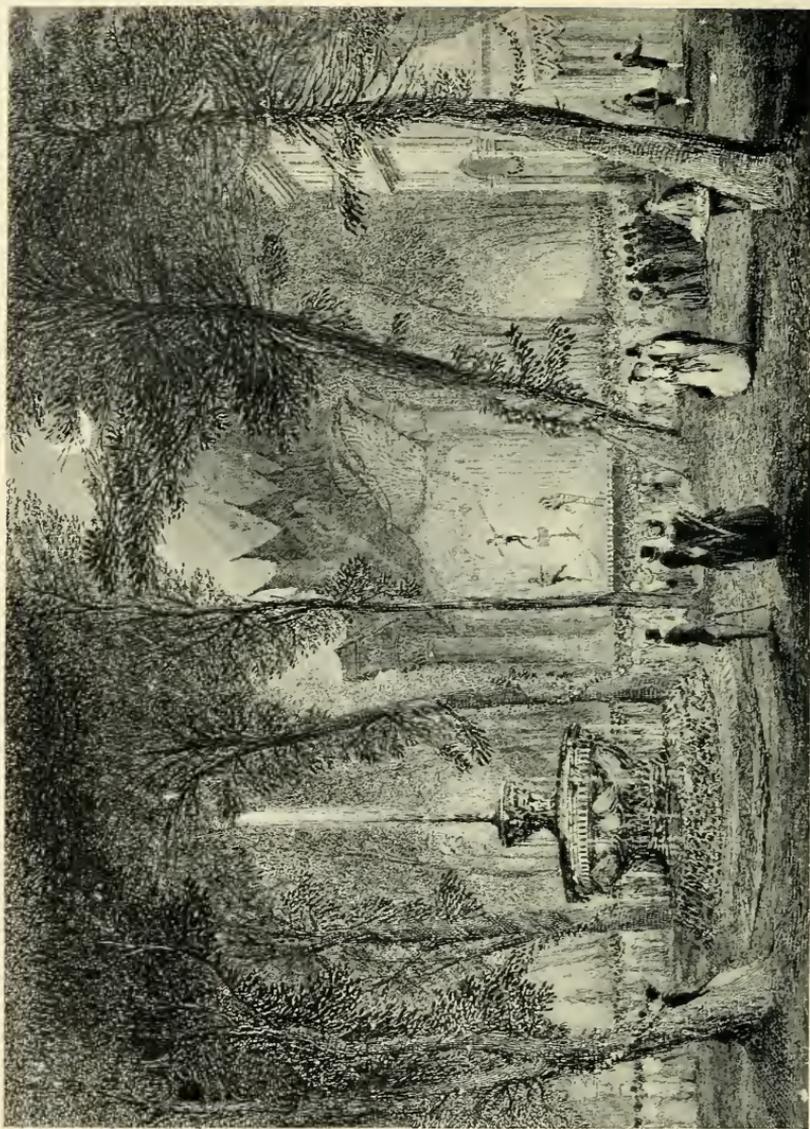
A new art and trade, of an essentially urban character, arose among writing men, and became at once a means of considerable influence. English journalism originated in London in the eighteenth century ; newspapers, magazines and reviews came into existence. It appeared in

its most artistic form in the periodicals to which the great essayists contributed, the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, the *Rambler*, the *Guardian*, and the rest, and it produced also the papers which only distributed news. Its rise was connected with the better means of travelling; for the coaches which brought countryfolk to London carried letters and papers from the capital to all parts of the kingdom. But the journals were most read in London, and in London that famous relation between the morning paper and the breakfast service was instituted. "I would . . ." says Addison in an editorial essay in the *Spectator*, "in a very particular manner, recommend these my speculations to all well-regulated families, that set apart an hour in every morning for tea and bread and butter; and would earnestly advise them for their good, to order this paper to be punctually served up, and to be looked upon as a part of the tea-equipage."

Other arts than those of letters and the drama flourished and were fashionable. It is unnecessary to enumerate here the English painters of real distinction who lived in London in the eighteenth century and who have left to us pictures of their contemporaries. An epoch in the history of English art was marked by the foundation, in 1768, of the Royal Academy under the presidency of Sir Joshua Reynolds. In music Englishmen accomplished little creative work. The Restoration period had been distinguished by the compositions of Lock and Purcell, but in the eighteenth century there were no native composers of merit. A small musical public was, however, created. Mention has already been made of the vogue of the opera, but to this the old English love of the drama, as well as the attraction of novelty, and the enterprise

of the management of the King's Theatre in attempting realistic stage effects, contributed. Yet music must always be the chief element in opera, and opera could not have lived in a London entirely unmusical. Some eighteenth century Londoners had undoubtedly come to love music of a less elementary kind than the melodies which belong to every simple people ; and the man who chiefly gratified their taste was a German who happened to settle in their town, Handel, whose compositions, operatic and other, did so much to educate the English people to an understanding of classical music. Music however was, of all the arts, still to continue for long an exotic thing in England, and appreciation of it was practically confined to London. Even there music which was classical was a ready subject for the sneers of the average public, and was decried as a perversion. "It was Mr. Western's custom every afternoon," we are informed in *Tom Jones*, "as soon as he was drunk, to hear his daughter play on the harpsichord, for he was a great lover of music ; and perhaps, had he lived in town, might have passed for a connoisseur, for he always excepted against the finest compositions of Mr. Handel. He never relished any music but what was light and airy ; and, indeed, his most favourite tunes were 'Old Sir Simon,' 'The King,' 'St. George he was for England,' 'Bobbing Joan,' and some others."

Theatres in the eighteenth century were not open in the summer. About the month of May the players divided themselves into strolling companies, packed up their wardrobes and the other accessories of their calling and departed to entertain the country. In the Londoner's plan of life the place they had occupied was filled chiefly



VAUXHALL GARDENS.

by the pleasure gardens which he enjoyed as his ancestors of the previous century had done. In the eighteenth century the gardens were most frequented by the modish in the evening, and therefore great importance was attached not only to their groves and flower beds but also to their lights. Shady and winding walks lit by lamps, illuminated fountains, grand displays of fireworks, were very popular; and they were varied by the attractions of booths in which picnic suppers might be eaten, and bars whence might be obtained drinks and "thin wafer-like slices of beef and ham, that taste of nothing but the knife." Shows of various kinds were also provided in the pleasure gardens, and the superior of them supported orchestras.

Vauxhall Gardens, and Ranelagh Gardens which were opened in Chelsea in 1742, outdid all the others in fashion; but scattered over London were many cheaper imitations of these places. "Every skittle alley half a mile out of town," says a writer in the *Connoisseur* in 1755, "is embellished with green arbours and shady retreats, where the company is generally entertained with the melodious scraping of a blind fiddler."

Yet even Ranelagh and Vauxhall were far from exclusive. Thither went "poor Mr. John" to see "with a heavy heart the profits of a whole week's card-money, devoured in tarts and cheese-cakes by Mrs. Housekeeper or My Lady's own Woman," and "the substantial cit" who came "from behind the counter two or three evenings in the summer," and many less respectable persons. Indeed the fashionable would appear to have visited the gardens to vary pleasures enjoyed only with those whose manners were like their own, and the unfashionable to

procure the excitement of mingling with genuine followers of the mode. The pleasure gardens maintained their place down to the days when Evelina went to Vauxhall, but they became less and less reputable, and were finally killed by the reaction of society to propriety which happened in the nineteenth century. Nothing in modern times fills their place.

Masks were naturally much used in the gardens. They were a feature of social life in the period ; masked balls and assemblies were often held. Card parties were another frequent form of entertainment, for the rage for games of hazard was stronger than ever before in English society, and play was very high.

A new institution in this period is, in its modern form, not unimportant to the life of London. In Anne's reign citizens, men of fashion, and men of letters had alike formed the habit of meeting in certain houses of entertainment to drink coffee and converse, sometimes to transact business. Merchants went to Garraway's or Jonathan's in Change Alley, or to Lloyd's, where eventually the shipping interest was organised, or to the Jerusalem coffee-house on Cornhill. Doctors resorted to Bateson's at the Royal Exchange ; clergymen to Child's in St. Paul's Churchyard or the Chapter coffee-house in Paternoster Row ; lawyers to Nando's and Dick's near Temple Bar, Serle's in Portugal Street, the Grecian in Devereux Court, Strand, and Squire's in Fulwood's Rents, Holborn.

The coffee houses supplied a want which had existed ever since London had ceased to be a town in which every man knew his neighbour and could chat with whomsoever he saw, in the street or on doorsteps. In the

coffee-house Londoners could meet their fellows independently of all the barriers introduced by a complicated civilisation. Doubtless these places were sometimes dull enough, as dull as the parlours of those who frequented them. But there were some of them which gained an everlasting fame, because in them was cultivated an art which has flourished very rarely in England, the art of conversation. They were largely patronised by literary men, and in this period the talent of writers could easily be adapted to pleasant talk. It was the general tendency, to examine and criticise rather than to preach; fancy played with an idea, placed it in every light, decorated it and stripped it bare. Moreover, since authors were interested in form as much as in matter, it was congenial to them to adapt themselves to a new means of expression, that of conversing like another.

As a mode of expression conversation is at a disadvantage because it must be evanescent. It is hard to doubt, for all his animadversions on his own taciturnity, that Addison was the most charming of talkers; yet we have no record of what passed when he, Swift and Steele met at Button's in Russell Street. Of Will's, also in Russell Street, we know that Dryden before Addison's day presided very autocratically over its assemblies. Another historical house was the Bedford in Covent Garden whither went Foote, Fielding, Churchill, Hogarth and Goldsmith.

The most celebrated of all these societies, and that of which we know most, met at the Turk's Head in Gerard Street and had Johnson for president. Macaulay has finely described it. "The room is before us and the table on which stand the omelet for Nugent and the

lemons for Johnson ; there are assembled those heads which live for ever in the canvas of Reynolds. There are the spectacles of Burke and the tall thin form of Langton, the courtly sneer of Beauclerc, and the beaming smile of Garrick, Gibbon tapping his snuff-box, and Sir Joshua with his trumpet in his ear. In the foreground is that strange figure which is as familiar to us as the figures amongst which we have been brought up, the gigantic body, the huge massy face seamed with the scars of disease, the brown coat and the black worsted stockings, the grey wig with the scorched foretop, the dirty hands, the nails bitten and pared to the quick. We see the eyes and the nose moving with convulsive twitches, we see the huge form rolling, we hear it puffing, and then comes the 'Why, sir,' and the 'What, sir,' and the 'No, sir,' and 'You don't see your way through the question, sir.' "

Some of the societies of eighteenth century coffee or chocolate houses have become modern clubs, but in the process they have lost their old character. The step from coffee-house to club consisted in the acquisition of the ownership of premises and the formation of a list of members who paid subscriptions ; and in the taking of it the old distinction for conversation and good fellowship was superseded by another, political, social or merely culinary. The transition was in several cases accomplished in the eighteenth century. Among clubs which date from that period are the Thatched House, the Dilettanti Society, Boodle's, White's, and Almack's or Brooke's. Almack's was identified in the days of the Regency with the party of the Prince of Wales, and White's with that of Pitt and the Queen.



ST. JAMES'S STREET IN 1735.
From an engraving by Hogarth.

Nothing in England really represents the coffee-house of Anne's day. Upper-class Londoners resumed stay-at-home habits; even in clubs a sense of proprietorship became necessary to their comfort. In houses of entertainment they adopted an attitude of suspicious reserve.

These are some of the elements of social life in London in the eighteenth century, and some of the interests which occupied Londoners in addition to the politics of a very political age, in which the divisions of parties did not correspond to those of the classes of society.

In modern London the problem of travelling from one point to another within the town's vast tract is real, and its solution absorbs much energy and wealth. Even in the eighteenth century town, with the growing West End, it existed, but the means adopted to solve it were comparatively simple. The wealthy owned carriages, sedan chairs and saddle horses. As to public vehicles, a man might still, like Harry Esmond, charter a boat to row him up the Thames from the city to Westminster or to Chelsea, and there were hackney coaches and hackney chairs. In 1710 an Act of parliament empowered certain commissioners to license no more than 800 coaches and 200 chairs, to ply for hire in London and Westminster, on Sundays and weekdays alike. Fares were fixed also by statute; a coachman must drive from the Inns of Court to Westminster for a shilling, and a chairman might exact eightpence for the like journey. The commissioners were permitted in 1711 to license 100 additional coaches, and in 1725 chairs up to the total number of 400. In 1767 it was enacted that they should appoint stands for hackney coaches.

A penny post within London, Westminster, Southwark,

and the immediate suburbs was established in 1698. It became customary to deliver a letter within ten miles of the city if a second penny were paid by the receiver to the man on horse-back who carried it ; and this practice was confirmed by statute in 1731.

CHAPTER XX

MODERN LONDON

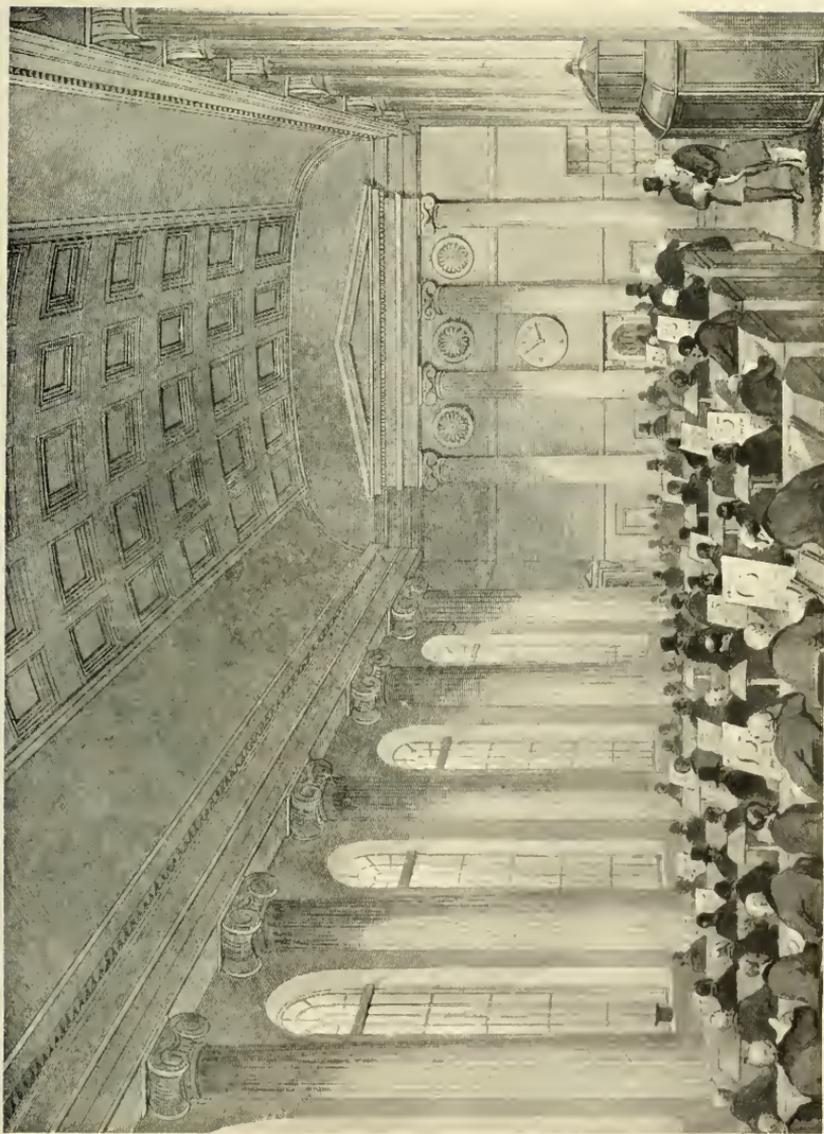
THE position to which London attained in the nineteenth century is extraordinarily complex, and can here be presented only in outline.

The city finally achieved the rank of the financial centre of the world. In 1816 England, first of all commercial nations, adopted the gold standard. In 1844 the Bank Act of Sir Robert Peel ended the issue by the Bank of England of notes for which there was not sufficient cover in specie ; and since that date, except when in 1847, 1857 and 1866 the Act was suspended by government, there has been a guarantee that all claims on England and drafts on London will be paid in gold, the one of all circulating mediums which is least subject to fluctuations in value. The result has been that English bills are everywhere negotiable. The banking system was perfected, the uses of credit multiplied, by the establishment in London after 1833 of joint stock banks, which had existed in the provinces since 1826. The benefits of the clearing house, first founded in 1775, were extended in 1854 to the joint stock banks, and a great saving of time, labour and currency was thereby accomplished. Numerous English banks and branches were established not only in the provinces but also in the colonies, and in various parts of Africa, Asia, China and the Americas.

It was mainly by her gold standard and her sound banking policy that England secured for her capital city the position of the principal money market and the great clearing house of the world. But her commercial advance, and the safety which her island situation was held to give her, were contributory in producing such a result. At this moment it is impossible to judge whether or not she will maintain her place.

The problems of the organisation of modern industry are not local but general, and therefore have no place in the history of a particular town. But it is worthy of notice that a principal feature of industrial conditions in the present day has developed gradually in London from the middle ages onwards. It was one of the first results of an increasingly complex society in the city that the mere craftsman tended to become subject to the merchant, first as the distributor of the fruits of his labour, later as the provider of his material. More and more he came to depend only on his skill and his strength, to bring nothing else into the market ; and inevitably he was degraded to a position in which he drove his bargains not with the consumer but with the merchant, who thus could annex a major share of the profits of the joint enterprise. The middleman and the capitalist had come into existence. In modern times such a position has been much accentuated. It is comparatively rare nowadays to find a workman who supplies his own capital or sells by retail his own handiwork. And so largely have capitalists and middlemen engrossed profits that the industrial population have become co-extensive with the poor, almost with the very poor.

Mr. Charles Booth in *Life and Labour in London*,



FIVE POUND NOTE OFFICE, BANK OF ENGLAND.

points out that London is deficient in a supply of cheap fuel and iron, running water, fresh air, space and light. On this account she cannot be a centre of the iron and steel trades, of chemical production, or of the textile industry with which she was so long connected. It is said that mat-making, originally a London industry, is now centring rather in the provinces. The value of space tends to banish ship-building, and the early and large operations connected with stone dressing, carpentry and joinering. Provincial tan-yards are superseding those of Bermondsey.

The central position of London, the centre of the great railway systems and the centre of retail trade, brings to her industries connected with the final processes by which goods are prepared for market. Paper made elsewhere is converted in London into bags and envelopes ; cloth from provincial manufactories is shrunk in London ; she has become a " fitting " shop in which the different parts of articles are put together.

The same causes have made of her a repair shop, especially in connection with the metal and the ship-building trades. Owing to her central position also, work for which prompt execution or particular supervision is required is largely done in the capital. The high average of intelligence maintained by an urban and partly cosmopolitan population, and the large field from which an employer can choose his workmen, bring to London certain kinds of highly skilled work. The finest and most artistic jewellery, the best stained-glass windows, the best organs, surgical instruments and carriages, are still made in London.

London, moreover, provides an enormous supply of

labour, "unskilled, semi-skilled and over specialised." This is a great reason why, although no great industry centres in the capital, many are important in it. Some would seem to have been established accidentally, and to have maintained a strong position by the help of the labour supply and of trading advantages. It is the labour supply which explains the predominance of London in the industries of cheap furniture, ready-made clothing, wholesale boots and shoes, rope, sacks, rubber, fur, cardboard boxes, and envelopes.

Another class of industries, such as baking, brewing and newspaper printing, are localised by the large demands of the population.

Finally, for a few industries, London to a great extent supplies the material, as for the manufacture of soap, size and glue, the tanning and dressing of leather, and the making of glass from old and broken glass.

The capital no longer stands in isolation as the commercial port of the kingdom ; in 1880 the value of her total foreign trade was almost equalled by that of Liverpool. She occupies, however, an unique position in respect of the extent to which her imports exceed her exports, a circumstance due to her distance from any great manufacturing district, to the fact that she is rather a mart than an industrial town or the port of industrial towns. The accommodation of the Thames has become insufficient for her trade, and many of her imports and exports are now conveyed overland by way of Southampton, Newhaven, Folkestone and Dover, which may be regarded as ports of London. The trade with France, and with India, China and the Baltic is largely concentrated in London.

An enormous population and an increasing prominence as the social capital have emphasized that tendency, noticed with jealousy and with fear even in the reign of Elizabeth, by which British retail trade has been centred in London. The capital is the shopping place of the three kingdoms. As such her position has been strengthened by steamships, railways and motor cars, by the Post Office, the telegraph and the telephone. Of late years there has been a second tendency, to centralise retail trade of all descriptions within a few great shops ; and it has been fostered by the increased means of communication. It seems, especially as regards the food supply of the wealthier classes, that shops in the suburbs and the neighbourhood of London, and shops devoted to the sale of a single class of goods, are on the decline.

Another particular function of the great town is that of a distributor of foodstuffs and of certain other articles.

The old markets of East and West Cheap were, after the fire, superseded by a small market for meat, poultry, vegetables, and sales by retail in general, which occupied the sites of the burnt churches of St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street, and All Saints Honey Lane, and was known as the Honey Lane Market. The thoroughfare of Cheapside was thus freed from serious obstruction to traffic. The ancient Leadenhall, Smithfield and Billingsgate Markets, and another held in the street near Newgate, were continued. In 1700 a meat market was established near the Fleet, and between 1735 and 1737 a fruit market on the ground reclaimed by filling up the Fleet. In the nineteenth century, under various Acts of parliament, the whole market system of London was reorganised.

The Honey Lane, Smithfield and Newgate Markets were closed and that of the Fleet removed to the Farringdon site, so that important markets ceased to be held in streets. The markets which, largely, by the efforts of the corporation, were established or organised in the nineteenth century may be divided into three classes ; those which serve the whole country as centres for the distribution of food, those which distribute the food supply of London, and retail markets.

In the first category are four controlled by the corporation, the London Central Meat, Poultry and Provision Market at Smithfield, the Metropolitan Cattle Market at Islington, the Foreign Cattle Market at Deptford, and the Billingsgate fish market ; and also Covent Garden Market and the Potato Depôt of the Great Northern Railway at King's Cross. These collect produce from all parts of Great Britain ; to some extent, especially in the cases of Covent Garden and of Deptford, from continental countries and from the colonies. They send their wares even to remote parts of the kingdom. They supply also the London tradesmen ; and it is noteworthy that by enabling butchers to buy meat wholesale they have abolished the nuisance of slaughter-houses in London.

The second class are mainly for fruit and vegetables ; East London is served by the Spitalfields and the Columbia Markets, South London by the Borough Market. Their direct customers are the costermongers and the greengrocers. The gay open shops of the greengrocers and the costermongers' barrows, laden with the spoils of orchards and gardens in England, in France and in America, fruits of tropical orange groves and banana plantations, nuts which have ripened under the

hot sun of South America, afford in the poor parts of the town extraordinary relief from the monotony of strictly economical architecture and much dirt. They are proof of the extent to which the poor Londoners are vegetarians. Costermongers, especially those who trade in West London and the city, are supplied also from Covent Garden. They frequently hawk fish and are customers of Billingsgate.

The chief retail markets are that of Leadenhall, which is a collection of shops for the sale of provisions, and the Farringdon for fruit and vegetables, which supplies its own neighbourhood. There are to be found also, scattered variously about the town on different days of the week, aggregations of costermongers and hawkers, of whom some, such as those who constitute the Portman Market in Church Street, Lisson Grove, and the Newport Market in Newport Street, are probably relics of ancient markets of importance, while others exist by force of more recent custom. In that goods are sold in them at a cheaper rate than in shops, they are valuable to the poor of their districts. Hawkers of all kinds have throughout the history of London been a feature of street life; and recurrent efforts of the authorities, influenced by the jealousy of established tradesmen or the necessities of traffic, to suppress them, have met with little success. They are almost inevitably part of the society of a great city, because in it there is a certain real demand for their services. In the present day the hawkers who enjoy most dignity are the newspaper boys and the flower sellers. The sellers of flowers in modern London, ill-favoured women, usually elderly, figures distinguished by a strange exaggeration of line, who sit behind banks of

fresh and lovely flowers, make at some principal street corners an effect of grotesque beauty.

Two other notable markets of London are that held in Bermondsey for hides and skins, and Tattersall's, which was established by Richard Tattersall who died in 1795, and is the chief English mart for horses.

The century has witnessed an extraordinary development of means of communication. Sedan chairs and the boats of the Thames passed out of common use with other eighteenth century fashions, and vehicles were for many decades practically always horse drawn. An Act of 1802 permitted hackney coaches to be licensed up to the number of 1,000, and in 1833 all limit to the number of carriages which might ply for hire was withdrawn. Omnibuses were introduced from Paris about the year 1828; and in 1834 the Common Council received a complaint as to the manner in which the streets were crowded by cabriolets and omnibuses. In December of that year Joseph Aloysius Hansom took out a patent for the cab he had invented. The underground railway from Farringdon Street to Paddington was opened in 1863, and its subsequent extensions have made the system of the Metropolitan and District Railways. Tramways, owing to the narrowness of many thoroughfares and their crowded state, have never been used in central London. It was decided in 1873 that they should not be suffered within the city. The first electric underground railway, the City and South London, was begun in 1890; the Waterloo and City Railway followed in 1898; and in 1900 the Central London Railway from Shepherd's Bush to the Bank, which until recently was known as the Two-penny Tube. In the last half-dozen years there has been

a rapid development of means of transit. The single line electric railways called tubes have been multiplied, and have been connected with the earlier tubes and with the Metropolitan and District Railways, which also have been electrified, as well as with the termini of the great overland lines. It has become possible by the agency of this strange network constructed beneath the foundations of London, to travel underground from almost any point in the town to another. There are a large number of people who every morning pass directly from their homes to subterranean regions, which they leave only to spend the day immured within a great building of the city ; and at night they descend again, and are carried beneath the earth until they are once more within a stone's throw of the houses in which they sleep. Except on Sundays and during a short holiday they hardly see the sky or the sunlight.

So rapid has been the increase of resort to London from all parts of the world, and of the habit of pursuing occupation abroad rather than at home, that traffic has hardly been appreciably lessened by the underground railways. On the streets it has within the last five years been distinguished by the supersession of horse-drawn by motor vehicles. Motor omnibuses, motor cabs, motor vans seem to be about to replace their forerunners. Their superiority in point of speed, by which so many more journeys can be made in a given time, must have dissipated the traffic which, were horses in undiminished use, would be concentrated ; yet still there are no signs that the streets of London grow empty. The ceaseless and dense stream of men, women and children, and of the vehicles which carry them and their goods, is unceasing and dense as ever.

In this connection it is noticeable how vain have been all efforts to restore the river to its old position as a city thoroughfare. The persistent sacrifices of a county council, almost hopelessly enamoured of the scheme, could not induce Londoners to regard the cheapest and most express of steamboats as intended for anything but their pleasure jaunts. The reason is geographical ; the Thames does not, like the Seine, cut through the heart of its city ; it meanders round the busiest part of the town.

It would appear that the habit which Londoners have acquired of sleeping and maintaining households far from the central district in which they transact their business was at first a cause rather than the effect of the facilities for travelling. In the time of Jane Austen the rich merchant still lived, usually, above his place of business in Cheapside, Cornhill, Lombard Street, Thames Street or Holborn ; but before 1831 the wealthiest Londoners had abandoned the city. Probably their fashionable neighbours of the West End had infected them with a distaste for cramped quarters. The second exodus, that of the poorer resident population, took place after 1851. It was mainly a consequence of the higher value of city property which followed not only on the needs of a growing commerce, but also on a diminution of the area available for building caused by the making of new streets and the widening of others. Southwark Bridge was opened in 1819, and the new London Bridge, which occupied a slightly different site from its predecessor and therefore necessitated some diversion of the streets leading to it, in 1831. Cannon Street was widened and extended to St. Paul's Churchyard in 1854. In 1856 the ground was cleared for the construction of the Farringdon

Road which continued Farringdon Street. The Holborn Valley Improvement Act, which resulted in the construction of Holborn Viaduct, was passed in 1864. Queen Victoria Street was opened in 1871 and Throgmorton Avenue in 1876. In 1877 Temple Bar was removed.

In 1866, a few years after the opening of the first underground railway, the persons who actually lived in the city constituted about one-eighth of those who were in it every day. It was computed in 1860 that four hundred thousand of them walked daily in and out of the city, while eighty-eight thousand travelled by omnibus. Of the smaller class who drove in cabs and private carriages no estimate was made. The introduction of new means of communication has not only reduced the number of those who sleep in the city, or elsewhere in central London, but has also extended widely the limits of the greater London in which Londoners have their dwellings; and the term of such expansion has not yet been reached.

Thus the ancient city of London, once alive with all the interests of a powerful and intelligent population, has become a place in which men make money by day, and which at night is left desolate, a dead thing of offices and warehouses. It has been partly reconstructed in accordance with its new character. For some decades extensive rebuilding has taken place, and large and ostentatious buildings, often Renaissance or pseudo-Renaissance, but sometimes bewilderingly mixed in style, have been raised in many city streets. Evidently it is the rather vulgar ideal of their architects to produce an impression of wealth. Constructurally they are uninteresting because they usually depend on iron frameworks. Buildings of

this type are found in all the prosperous commercial parts of the town, in the West Central district and in some West End streets as well as in the city.

The Londoners' custom of living at a distance from the place of their work is not confined to the middle classes. In the industrial districts, East and South London, the value of space has induced many workers to live where a long walk, or even a train journey, separates them from the factory, yard or workshop, or other place in which they are employed.

In the residential parts of London, rich and poor, the most remarkable recent feature is the extent to which buildings containing flats have taken the place of houses constructed to accommodate one family.

Until almost the end of the nineteenth century there was no provision of a central authority for the general government of Greater London. The corporation of the city continued to exercise their ancient functions, although with the shrinkage of the resident population it became increasingly difficult to fill the lesser administrative offices. The corporation of Westminster had governing powers which extended to the limits of Westminster. Furnival's Inn and Staple Inn, the four Inns of Court, the Charterhouse and the close of Westminster Abbey, were ruled by corporations of their owners; and the Tower was a liberty of the crown. Administrative powers outside the limits of the City were exercised by the vestries of parishes. The whole of London was exempted from the Municipal Corporations Acts of 1835, 1882 and 1883. Certain new authorities with particular powers, which had for their sphere all the metropolitan area, were however provided. In 1829 an Act of parlia-

ment created the Metropolitan Police Force, an establishment of police officers and courts. But while this was entitled after 1839 to assume power over any other district within fifteen miles of Charing Cross, the actual city was excepted from its scope. In 1832 the city itself remodelled its police force on a plan which, in so far as day arrangements were concerned, approximated to the Metropolitan Police system while it made the Common Council the supreme authority, but which left the duties of a nightly police to the old agency of watchmen and beadles. In Southwark, which belonged to their jurisdiction, the civic authorities maintained order by day only by means of one marshalman, one messenger and one housekeeper, while at night, since the borough had no wardmote, it had not even a watch. Shortly before 1837, however, Southwark was included in the sphere of the Metropolitan Police.

Police duties on the river had already, early in the century, been allotted to a special force over which the corporation had no rights; and in 1839 the Thames together with its creeks, inlets, waters, docks, wharves, quays and landing-places, within and without the city, was made part of the Metropolitan Police district.

The second great authority, which acquired power over the area of London in general, was that of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The primary object of its institution was the improvement of sanitary arrangements. These in 1847 were controlled by seven different commissions, including the City Commissioners of Sewers, each of which was entrusted with a particular district. The Metropolitan Board of Works was constituted under an Act for the better management of the metropolis passed

in 1855. It acquired power over the whole metropolitan area, not excepting the city, and consisted of three members elected by the Common Council, and of forty-three chosen, singly, in twos or in threes, by each of twenty-three vestries and of fourteen unions of small vestries in the rest of London.

This body was the object of frequent jealousy on the part of the corporation, but accomplished much useful work. Hitherto all the main sewers of London had discharged into the Thames, and matter had remained stagnant at low tide, and at high tide had been forced into low-lying streets and houses. Many houses had no sewer accommodation, and every extension of the town had multiplied the filthy and dangerous cesspools. The whole drainage system was remodelled on scientific principles by the Board of Works.

They had power also over streets and roads ; and in such capacity were responsible for the finely constructed Victoria, Albert and Chelsea Embankments, for the widening and improvement of some streets, and the making of some new thoroughfares. They had a control over building. By various Acts they were charged with the formation of parks and the management of open spaces ; and through their initiative Finsbury, Southwark and Victoria Parks were opened to the public, and Blackheath, Hampstead Heath, Shepherd's Bush Common, Hackney Commons, Tooting Bec Common, Leicester Square, Clapham Common, Bostall Heath, King's Road Wastes, Parson's Green, Brook Green, and the commons of Tooting Graveney, Eel Brook and Streatham were improved or acquired. The Fire Brigade was placed under their direction in 1866. In 1872 by the Infant Life Protec-

tion Act they became the local authority for the executions of provisions which regulated baby farming. They were able to compel the removal from the metropolitan area of dangerous or obnoxious businesses. By various acts they acquired power to supervise the construction of tramways, to regulate the speed of road locomotives, to execute the Act for the prevention of contagious diseases among animals, to exercise certain control over the water and gas supplies.

Thus the Metropolitan Board of Works largely superseded the vestries and to some extent the corporation. They were, in fact, as the only existing general authority, invested with powers to administer all the new departments of local government invented by the legislature, for which a special authority was not created.

Among such special authorities were the Conservators of the Thames, constituted by an act of 1851, on whom the ancient rights of conservancy exercised by the corporation devolved. They included the mayor, two aldermen and four Common Council men, but consisted also of five members appointed independently of the city; and later acts which remodelled their body gave a preponderance to that section of them who were unconnected with the corporation.

In 1867 the Metropolitan Poor Act transferred the duties of poor relief from parochial authorities to Boards of Guardians, to each of which a parish or union of parishes was allotted. As a result of the same Act the Metropolitan Asylums Board was constituted to maintain and manage hospitals for the sick, the infirm and the insane.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 gave the con-

trol of public education in London to the London School Board.

Thus in 1888 London was governed in a somewhat chaotic manner. The two corporations of the city and of Westminster and the lesser long established local authorities existed side by side with new authorities, each of which in isolation exercised certain new duties, and likewise superseded to some extent the functions of the ancient bodies.

In 1889, under the Local Government Act of the previous year, the whole London area, consisting of the city and of adjacent parts of Middlesex, Kent and Surrey, became the new county of London. The boundaries were to some extent altered by another Act passed in 1899. The chief officers of the county are a lord lieutenant, a *custos rotularum*, and a sheriff appointed by the Crown.

The central authority is the London County Council, which consists of a chairman, nineteen aldermen, and one hundred and eighteen councillors, of whom four are elected by the city, and two by each of fifty-seven other divisions of the county. This body acquired all previous capacities of the Metropolitan Board of Works, the administrative functions of the quarter sessions in such parts of Kent, Middlesex and Surrey as are now in the new county, and certain powers of the Court of Aldermen and the justices of the city. In 1890 it became the local authority for the maintenance of lunatic asylums, and under the Education Act of 1903 the local education authority. By various acts the powers with regard to the maintenance of public health, inherited from the Board of Works, have been increased.

The Metropolitan Police authority and the city's man

agement of its own police, as well as the poor law arrangements, have not been affected by the creation of the county.

In 1899 an Act of parliament abolished vestries and district boards of work outside the limits of the city, and divided the whole county, except the city, into twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs, governed by metropolitan borough councils. From the sphere of these all affairs connected with the church or ecclesiastical property are exempted. They are the local authorities for the maintenance, cleansing and lighting of streets and for sanitary matters, and they may make bye-laws for the peace, order and good government of their boroughs.

The electors of the London County Council are qualified as are those of other county councils, while the electors of the Metropolitan Borough Councils must have the qualifications of those of urban or rural district councils elsewhere in the kingdom.

The corporation of London has survived the establishment of London County. The Common Council exercises within the city those powers which belong in other parts of the county to the borough councils, and has also certain capacities held elsewhere in London by the County Council. The powers of the City Commissioners of Sewers were vested in the Common Council in 1898.

In 1908 by the Port of London Act the process of unifying administration was finally advanced. The up-river limit of the port was fixed at Teddington Lock, and control below that point was granted to a new authority, which consists of ten persons elected severally by the city corporation, the London County Council, the Board of Trade, the Admiralty, and Trinity House, and of

eighteen representatives of private persons interested in the traffic and wharves of the river. This body acquired all powers previously held by the Thames Conservators within the limits of the port, and all those once exercised by the Watermen's company in respect of the registration and licensing of vessels and the regulation of lightermen and watermen ; and it was made fully competent to authorise construction works.

The social divisions of Londoners are less simple than they were in the days of Stow. Yet still the great population may be classified in accordance with their means of livelihood ; there are the financiers, the merchants, and the manufacturers with their employees, who live by the commerce and the manufactures of the town ; there are the idle rich whom fashion will never lead away from London while it is still the seat of the court and of parliament, and still presents large opportunities for the pleasant spending of money ; there are those who serve all the others, artists, professional men, retail tradesmen, servants, some workmen ; and finally there are more than ever " the many begging poor," whose begging is now to some extent done for them.

CHAPTER XXI

THE COUNTY OF LONDON

THE division of London county into boroughs is to some extent arbitrary; the boundaries have not always a meaning either historical or economic. Yet roughly it is possible to arrive at a general idea of that great district which is London by considering singly each of the metropolitan boroughs which compose it.

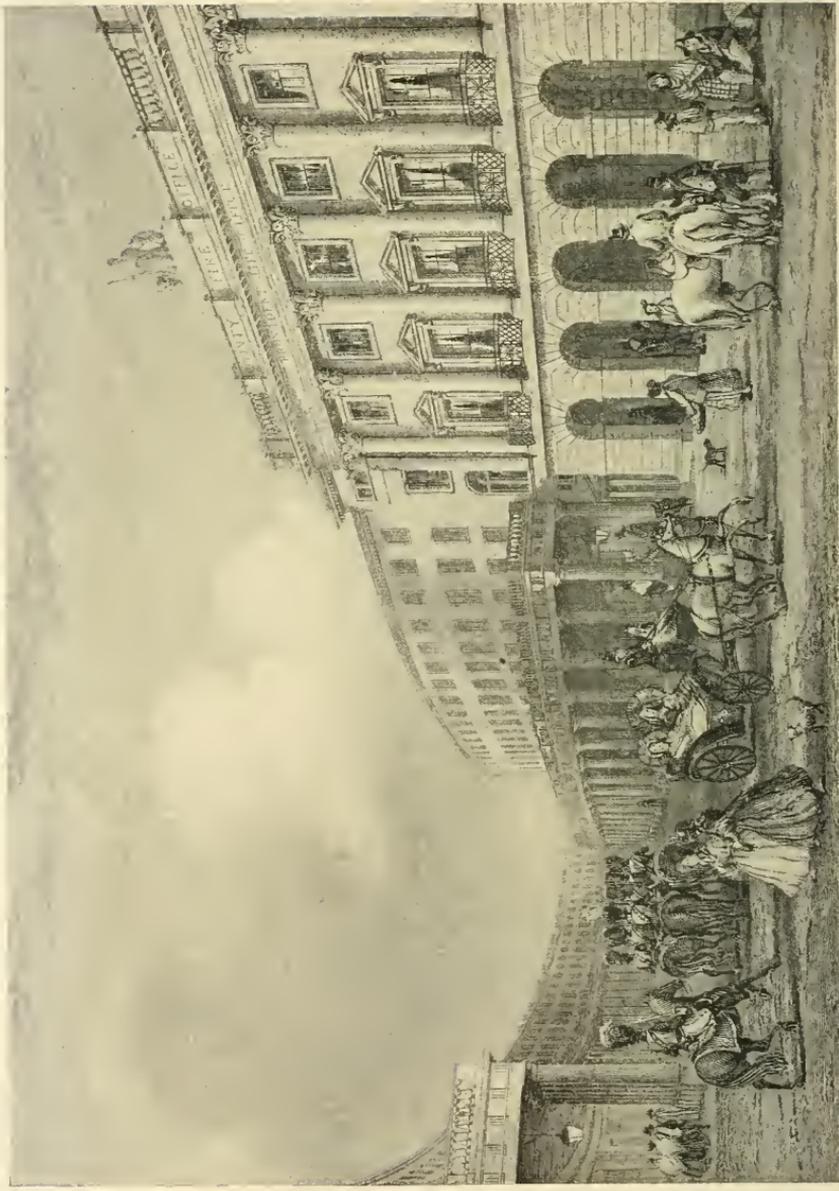
It is unnecessary to say more of the city itself, the chief of all London's divisions, which has been the subject of much of this book. Of the others Westminster is undoubtedly the most interesting. For long known as a city it was incorporated as such only in 1900, and has now authority to style itself city instead of merely borough. The modern boundaries differ slightly from those of ancient Westminster; the northern limit coincides with Oxford Street as far east as Tottenham Court Road, and with a line somewhat to the south of New Oxford Street and Holborn; on the east the boundary is formed by the city and the river, on the south by the river only; and on the west it includes Hyde Park, and south of the park, where it separates Westminster from Chelsea, follows the course of Sloane Street and Chelsea Bridge Road.

Within this area was the little town which grew up

around the palace of Edward the Confessor and the Abbey, the famed Westminster Hall, the road from Ludgate to Westminster Palace and the historic inns of the Strand, Whitehall and St. James's, the houses of the Tudor and Stewart kings, the ancient royal parks, the West End of the early Stewarts around and north of the Strand, and the modern West End with the squares and the "palaces" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is hardly a street in all the district which has not been peopled by the great novelists of the Georgian era. From the Restoration until the present day it has included all the theatres of London. The clubs have always been situated in it. The chief royal palace of London is still within its boundaries. It contains the law courts and the government offices; and it is the principal shopping quarter of modern London.

The buildings of Westminster were extended in the nineteenth century over Belgravia and Pimlico. Thomas Cubitt leased some land known as the Five Fields from the Grosvenor family in 1825, and erected on it Eaton Square, Belgrave Square, Lowndes Square, Chesham Place and other rows of houses. Victoria Street was planned by the architect Abraham and opened in 1851. It was one of the first London streets to contain mansions of flats, and was not completely built until 1887. Victoria Station, which now engrosses a large part of Pimlico, was opened in 1860.

The topography of the West End was in the nineteenth century notably affected by the making of Regent Street. This street, distinguished by its fine line, was planned by Nash, the favourite architect of the Prince Regent, and was almost complete in 1820. It was intended as a way,



THE QUADRANT ABOUT 1840.

of communication between Carlton House and Regent's Park, and included the northern continuations of Langham Place and Portland Place. Foley House was bought as part of the plan. Nash adopted a device of the brothers Adam by which, in order to secure some uniformity, a single façade served several houses. Regent Street inaugurated an age of slight building, for its houses were of brick and composition, a circumstance which inspired a popular epigram :—

“Augustus at Rome was for building renown'd,
For of marble he left what of brick he had found ;
But is not our Nash, too, a very great master ?
He finds us all brick and he leaves us all plaster.”¹

The Quadrant was also designed by Nash. Its whole footway was covered by an effective arcade, supported by iron pillars, which was removed in 1848. The architect built All Soul's Church at the northern end of Langham Place, as a termination to the view from Oxford Street.

A contributor to the “Quarterly” of June, 1826, refers to “the new square at Charing Cross,” and the project of erecting on its north side “a splendid building, designed for the use of the National Gallery of Paintings and Sculpture . . . to supplant the mews and to extend from Pall Mall East to St. Martin's Church” ; but Trafalgar Square in its present form, with Nelson's Column as its central point, was not completed until about the middle of the century. The equestrian statue of George IV. is by Sir Francis Chantrey. The lions are more recent additions and are after Landseer's studies.

Three modern thoroughfares traverse an historic dis-

¹ “Quarterly Review,” June, 1826.

tract and have obliterated some landmarks ; Shaftesbury Avenue, which cuts through Seven Dials rendered famous by Dickens, was opened in 1886, and Charing Cross Road in the following year. The wide Kingsway, which joins the Strand and Holborn, and is as yet only partially built, has existed only for a few years.

The classes of the population of Westminster are very various. There are the fashionable residential districts of Mayfair and Belgravia ; and in Soho, near the Strand, and near Victoria Street and the Abbey, there are crowded streets inhabited by casual workers and the poor who do not work, some of them persons of doubtful character, and other streets in which live the respectable poor who are in regular employment. Soho is still the foreign quarter of London. Middle class dwellings are found principally in the Victoria and the Pimlico district.

The small borough of Holborn is situated around New Oxford Street and Holborn, from Tottenham Court Road to the city's boundary. New Oxford Street, on the site of the "Rookery" of St. Giles was opened in 1847, and diverted the main line of traffic from High Street and Broad Street. The buildings of the borough are to a great extent commercial, but it includes the residential district of Bloomsbury, which, in modern times, is largely learned and respectable, and largely a place of middle class hotels and boarding-houses, but also slightly disreputable. Much of the old lawyers' quarter of London, Gray's Inn, Furnival's Inn, Staple Inn and Lincoln's Inn, is in Holborn Borough, as well as the ancient parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, now a shabby place of partly doubtful reputation.

The borough of St. Pancras, formed out of the parish

so called, adjoins that of Holborn on the north and west. It reaches from Oxford Street to Highgate and is clustered about the line of Tottenham Court Road, the Hampstead Road, High Street, Kentish Town Road and Highgate Road. It is a development of the eighteenth century suburbs of Somers Town and Camden Town and the village of Kentish Town, and their connections. The district is mean and airless, and chiefly inhabited in its residential parts by members of the lower middle class and by the working poor, and elsewhere by the tradespeople who supply their wants. Certain streets are disreputable. Tottenham Court Road is a shopping street of a more general character, a centre of the retail trade in furniture.

West of St. Pancras is the parish of St. Marylebone, now Marylebone borough, which historically is of great interest. It extends on the north side of Oxford Street from Tottenham Court Road to Marble Arch, but reaches little eastwards of Cleveland Street. On its north side it includes almost all Regent's Park and much of Primrose Hill, and St. John's Wood to the south of Boundary Road. Its western boundary is Maida Vale and the Edgware Road. It thus comprises a considerable part of the "polite end" of the eighteenth century, as well as the northern part of Regent Street with Langham Place and Portland Place. Regent's Park is a royal park, and was designed by Nash together with all the terraces about it but one, Cornwall Terrace, the work of Decimus Burton. Bryanston and Montagu Squares, and Dorset Square, which occupies the site of the original Lord's cricket ground, date from the same period. Blandford Square was building in 1833. This district constitutes the

second extension in the early, nineteenth century of fashionable London. The park was not accessible to the public until 1838. The Zoological Gardens were opened by the Zoological Society in 1828, and the Botanic Gardens by the Botanic Society in 1840.

The Duke of Bedford, who feared the nuisance of dust behind Bedford House, insisted on the gardens of the houses in Marylebone Road. The street was part of a new road from Paddington to Islington made in 1756-7. It was a crowded thoroughfare in 1833 and its buildings were then described as "pleasing and picturesque." At this date the west side of the Edgware Road, of which part is now Maida Vale, was built as far as Kilburn Priory, and included some "detached houses of a most splendid style of architecture." The suburb of St. John's Wood was building and had "villa residences, situated in large gardens, erected in every variety of architectural elegance." It was already an artists' quarter, inhabited by Thomas and Edwin Landseer, R. J. Lane, G. Sintzenich, and Ugo Foscolo, the Italian poet.

In this period the poorest parts of Marylebone borough were that behind the Edgware Road, northwards from Marylebone Road to St. John's Wood Road, and eastwards to Lissom Grove and Grove Road, which from the first was given up to the jerry builder; "the densely populated mass of buildings north and south of Wigmore Street, from Duke Street and Marylebone Lane"; and Portman Town, the district between Grove End Road and Lord's.

In the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the population of Marylebone borough was almost doubled.

In the eighty years which have since elapsed there have

been many changes. The district about Regent's Park and that north of the western part of Oxford Street are still fashionable, but Harley Street and the streets around it have been very largely appropriated to doctors. St. John's Wood, grown much more populous, is still a pleasant place of many gardens much inhabited by artists. The "splendid" detached houses of the Edgware Road have disappeared, but Maida Vale remains a road of private dwellings. The houses in Marylebone Road, no longer either pleasing or picturesque, have completely the air of decayed gentility. Of the neighbourhoods stigmatized in 1833 as wretchedly poor that of Grove End Road has been improved.

Paddington, the borough which adjoins Marylebone on the west, and which comprises the districts of Bayswater, Westbourne Park, Maida Vale and Kensal Green, is, in its urban character, largely a creation of the mid-Victorian age. In 1830 the Edgware Road might be called the western boundary of London. At about that date the building of Bayswater was begun, and after the opening of Paddington station in 1840 there was considerable building in its vicinity. Yet in 1849 there were green fields to the north of Westbourne Grove and Bishop's Road, and the houses on the east side of Maida Vale were not continuous. There are still small open spaces about Maida Vale, and the artisan quarter of Kensal Green is very modern.

The borough has been changed in recent years by the conversion of numerous houses in the Bayswater squares into boarding houses, and by the erection of many mansions of flats in Maida Vale. Westbourne Grove is an important shopping street. There are shabby streets in

Paddington inhabited by the working classes, especially near Praed Street and the Harrow Road, but there is little extreme poverty.

The borough of Kensington styles itself, as the birth-place of Queen Victoria, not "metropolitan" but "royal." In 1837 it still consisted mainly of its several villages clustered around the principal highways, Kensington about the High Street, Brompton about the old Brompton Lane or Road, Little Chelsea on the north side of the Fulham road, Earl's Court on either side of Earl's Court Road or Lane, and Notting Hill around the Uxbridge Road. From Kensington to Knightsbridge there were however continuous buildings, except on an open space now occupied by the Albert Hall, which in the forties was the site of the Exhibition. In 1844 there were in Notting Hill High Street only two shops which were more than one storey high.

Modern Kensington contains the important shopping streets of Knightsbridge, the Brompton Road and Kensington High Street. It has some public buildings and monuments, all artistically deplorable; the Albert Hall and Memorial, the Imperial Institute and the South Kensington Museum. St. Mary Abbots, the old church of the parish, has been rebuilt. There is considerable poverty in the Notting Hill district, especially in the vicinity of Ladbroke Grove and the Portobello Road; but for the most part the borough is inhabited by well-to-do people, and, like other residential parts of London, it has been invaded by the flat. There are still some great houses on the road to Knightsbridge, and there are still streets and squares which have a sober dignity, reminiscent of the days of the courtly suburb. Ken-

sington has faintly the atmosphere of traditions which in Bayswater is so entirely lacking.

The small borough of Chelsea, once the parish of St. Luke, has a form roughly triangular indicated by Sloane Street, Walton Street and the Fulham Road, and the river. The King's Road was made by Charles II. as a way to Hampton Court, and was the private property of the crown until 1830. The two districts, the older near the church and that of Hans Town, grew rapidly in the early nineteenth century. Many great houses were however demolished about the year 1830, and in some cases squalid streets replaced them. Throughout the nineteenth century Chelsea, especially Cheyne Walk and its neighbourhood, was a favourite dwelling place of artists. It was inhabited by Turner, Rossetti, Carlyle, Leigh Hunt, George Eliot, and many more. To some extent its picturesqueness was impaired by the embanking of the Thames; yet Chelsea by the river has never ceased to be, in the opinion of many, the most beautiful place in all London. It has still fine houses and is still an artists' quarter. About King's Road and the Embankment there are poor streets and many habitations of the working classes; and poor households are provided by the shops of the King's Road and by one of the picturesque irregular markets of London which there has its site.

Sloane Street has shops which supply the less localized demands of a more luxurious class. As a residential quarter its neighbourhood has increased in fashion. Dickens described Cadogan Place, which strictly is in Westminster, as "the one slight bond that joins two great extremes; it is the connecting link between the aristo-

cratic pavements of Belgrave Square and the barbarism of Chelsea. It is in Sloane Street but not of it."¹ But in the present day there is no opprobrium attached to a connection with Sloane Street.

The three remaining boroughs in the western part of London county, Fulham, Hammersmith and Hampstead, may even now be described as suburbs.

In 1813 Fulham parish consisted of the village around the ancient palace of the bishops of London, and the out-lying hamlets of Parson's Green, Walham Green and North End. Hammersmith was a riverside village which for more than a hundred years had been "a summer retreat for nobility and wealthy citizens." In Hammersmith parish there were the hamlets of Shepherd's Bush, Gaggles Goose Green, Stamford Brook Green, Pallingswick or Paddingwick Green and Brook Green. The copyholders of both Hammersmith and Fulham had rights on the common of Wormholt Scrubbs. In either place the principal industry was market gardening for Covent Garden and other London centres of distribution.

There was little change between the years 1813 and 1849; and the modern urban characters of these two boroughs is greatly due to the increased means of communication. They are largely inhabited by respectable working people and members of the lower middle class. Some riverside property is occupied by casual labourers and rough characters.

Hampstead in the sixteenth century is said to have had for its principal residents the washerwomen of "the nobility, gentry and chief citizens." Later it attracted the retired tradesman who wished to establish himself in

¹ "Nicholas Nickleby,"

the country. Early in the eighteenth century Hampstead Wells were opened, and about 1706 a comedy by Baker called "Hampstead Heath," which had for subject the pleasures of the Wells and of the adjacent assembly rooms, was produced at Drury Lane.

In 1818 buildings "stood thick" about High Street and Heath Street, and between High Street and the Heath, and there were elsewhere scattered houses, and the hamlets of Frognaal, West End, Kilburn,¹ North End, Pond Street and Haverstock Hill. But even in 1849 the houses up to the limit of the borough were, outside the village about High Street, detached, and commanded views of green fields and of hills. The latest additions have been the buildings in West Hampstead and in the Belsize Park district, which date from the late nineteenth century.

These finally brought Hampstead within the vast tract of London; and the annexation was completed by the construction, two or three years ago, of the Hampstead Tube Railway. But until very recent times Hampstead was a pleasant outlying village, and it has not yet lost its individuality.

From the time of FitzStephen the land to the north of the city was a pleasure ground of Londoners. In it they followed athletic pursuits and practised archery; and in it, at a later date, the trained bands were exercised and mustered. Some sort of right of common was claimed by the citizens over the Moorfields and Finsbury Fields and an indefinite tract stretching to the north of these, for in 1516 a protest was made against certain enclosures. "Before this time," says Hall the chronicler, "the towns

¹ Part of Kilburn is in Willesden and outside London County.

about London, as Islington, Hoxston, Shoreditch, and other, had so enclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that nother the young men of the City might shoot, not the auncient persons might walk for their pleasure in the fields, except either their bows and arrows were broken or taken away, or the honest and substantial persons arrested or indicted, saying that 'No Londoner should go out of the City, but in the highways.' This saying sore grieved the Londoners, and sodianly this year a great number of the city assembled themselves in a morning, and a turner in a fool's coat came crying through the city, 'Shovels and Spades,' and so many people followed that it was wonder, and within a short space all the hedges about the towns were cast down, and the ditches filled, and everything made plain, the workmen were so diligent." "So after," Hall concludes, "the fields were never hedged"; yet Stow, half a century later, states that they were "in worse case than ever, by means of inclosure for gardens, wherein are built many fair summer-houses." Throughout most of the seventeenth century, however, a very considerable remnant of unenclosed land was left to the enjoyment of the citizens. "Walked over the fields to Kingsland and back again," wrote Pepys in May, 1667; "a walk, I think, I have not taken these twenty years; but puts me in mind of my boy time, when I boarded at Kingsland, and used to shoot with my bow and arrows in this field." Artillery Ground is part of a much larger tract over which, as late as 1792, the Artillery Company successfully claimed a right of practice.

Of the northern boroughs that of Finsbury consists of the district of Clerkenwell, of a former part of the parish

of St. Giles Cripplegate, which in the eighteenth century became St. Luke's parish, of an extra-civic division of St. Sepulchre's parish, and of the liberties of Charterhouse and Glasshouse Yard.

Its earliest growth as an urban place must be ascribed to the situation in it of religious houses ; Charterhouse, the Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary on the present site of St. James's church, and the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, of which the place is marked by St. John's Square. The well which named Clerkenwell was near the priory, and Stow relates that on the green beside it, Clerkenwell Green, "the parish clerks of London . . . of old time were accustomed . . . yearly to assemble, and to play some large history of Holy Scripture."

In the seventeenth century several distinguished persons came to live in this suburb, and it was, moreover, one of those most attractive to the industrial population who wished to escape from the tyranny of the companies. But the citizens still resorted to the northern part of the modern borough in search of rural pleasures. Sadler's Wells, sometimes called Islington Wells, near the present junction of Rosebery Avenue and St. John's Street, were opened in 1683, and their waters were drunk throughout the eighteenth century. Certain bowling greens and houses of entertainment, of which one was the first Sadler's Wells Theatre, were near them.

Building in the northern part of Finsbury, known as Pentonville began about the year 1773, and the intervening district of the borough was covered with streets and buildings in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Modern Finsbury is a crowded and busy place of unlovely streets inhabited by the poor, sometimes of the

miserable or even criminal class, sometimes respectable working people. A few eighteenth-century brick houses, strangely distinguished beside the uninteresting buildings which flank them, can still be seen, and many streets and squares plainly consist of former dwellings of the middle classes, deserted at the time of the great migration to the suburbs. For a long period the trade of working watchmakers, clockmakers and jewellers, and such subsidiary industries as those of lapidaries and hair-workers, centred in Clerkenwell. The centre of the high-class jewellery trades is now Hatton Garden, which is immediately outside the western limit of Finsbury borough, but there are still in Clerkenwell a considerable number of jobbing jewellers. Dealers in precious stones are in Hatton Garden, lapidaries in Clerkenwell or in Soho. The watchmaking and clockmaking trades still centre in Clerkenwell; but many of the men employed, both in them and in the jewellery trade, live further afield in North London.

The borough of Shoreditch, formed from the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, adjoins Finsbury on the west and the city on the south. It consisted originally of the liberty of Norton Folgate, outside the city's liberties, which belonged to St. Paul's Cathedral, the ancient village of Shoreditch on the old road which led northwards from Bishopsgate, the outlying village of Hoxton on the north side of the way now Old Street, and the hamlet of Haggerston at a more northerly point of the road from Bishopsgate. Halliwell Priory, which has named Holywell Street and Holywell Lane, was in the parish. Norton Folgate had been built over in 1720; there were then houses also on either side of the High

Street, extending to the eastern limit of the parish, and, in some places, as far west as Curtain Road ; and Hoxton, still confined to the north side of Old Street, had a market place and various streets. The Curtain Road, so called after the Elizabethan playhouse which had been situated in it, did not yet reach to Old Street. The building of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has converted Shoreditch borough into a poor and crowded neighbourhood much like that of Finsbury. Its sole claim to beauty is in the fine perspective of the Kingsland Road, the beginning of Ermine Street, along which from Roman times men have travelled from London to the north. The district is mainly one of artisans. The furniture trade is largely localized in the Curtain Road and its neighbourhood.

Bethnal Green was originally a part of Stepney parish. The settlement in it of Huguenot weavers was a stimulus to rapid growth ; and in 1720 the hamlet of Spitalfields had come to be well populated and closely built. In 1743 the inhabitants of all Bethnal Green were so numerous that it was constituted a distinct parish with a church dedicated to St. Matthew. Before 1839 it was necessary to build a second church, and such was the subsequent increase of population that before 1891 twelve additional churches were erected.

Modern Bethnal Green is poor and crowded, a place of wide streets and mean houses. Some needed freshness is afforded by the Victoria Park. The district is, like Shoreditch, largely inhabited by artisans. The weavers have from the latter end of the nineteenth century been on the decrease. Some streets have all the worst characteristics of a slum.

The parish of St. Luke, Islington, comprised in 1735 the considerable village of Islington on the road from London to St. Albans, the hamlets of Upper and Lower Holloway, Newington Green and Kingsland Green, and the manors of Highbury, Canonbury, and Barnsbury. It had assumed a suburban character in 1842 when continuous buildings connected it with the city, but it still included much open land. In the latter half of the nineteenth century it was built over entirely. It is now inhabited chiefly by the working poor and by families of the lower middle class ; here and there are squalid localities in which dwell the wretchedly poor. Highbury Fields form the one open space left to this borough, which some sixty years ago was a pleasant place.

Hackney village contained in 1795 several streets, and in the parish there were the hamlets of Clapton, Homerton, Dalston, Shacklewell, and a part of Kingsland. A manor was named the Wick. In Hackney, as in other places equally near to London, there were, from the sixteenth century onwards, various fine houses ; many of them were demolished in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. The conversion of this parish into part of London took place mainly in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and some important open spaces have been left to it ; London Fields, Hackney Downs and Stoke Newington Common. Moreover, Victoria Park lies around its south eastern boundary, and Hackney Marsh, a public park of some extent, is at its south eastern, and Hampton Hill near its northern limit. Hackney has not, therefore, become one of the monotonous and mean districts of London. There are pleasant houses, inhabited by well-to-do people, around Victoria Park,

Hackney, Downs and Stamford Hill. Extreme poverty is found also, especially in Lower Clapton and near the river Lea. The borough is largely inhabited by respectable working people and by persons of the clerky and shop-keeping classes.

The borough of Stoke Newington, formed of the parish of St. Mary, Stoke Newington, together with a part of South Hornsey, has, in modern times, a character very like that of Hackney. The village which was its nucleus was situated about Church Street, and was in 1849 a village only.

Eastwards of the city, between the liberties and the river Lea, with the Thames as a southern boundary, there are only two boroughs, Stepney and Poplar. The district is traversed by an ancient thoroughfare, the way from London to Essex, from Aldgate along Whitechapel High Street, Whitechapel Road, Mile End Road, and Bow Road, and by a great nineteenth-century road, Commercial Road, which from Whitechapel High Street leads past the docks eastwards to the road to Barking, and which by Commercial Street is connected with North London.

East London was never fashionable. From Aldgate a straggling suburb, of cottages and dirty alleys, reached in the beginning of the seventeenth century half a mile beyond Whitechapel. On the river bank "a continual street, or filthy straight passage, with alleys of small tenements or cottages builded," stretched almost to Ratcliff. Many small tenements had lately been raised towards the manor of Shadwell. Ratcliff had increased to the eastward so that it was joined to Limehouse, and premises of shipwrights and small dwellings of sailors extended almost to Poplar and Blackwall. It is said that

between 1590 and 1630 the population of the district east of the city, especially of its waterside part, was trebled. Although the eastward extension of London was humble, there were here and there within the present limits of Stepney and Poplar boroughs, as in Bethnal Green, country houses of wealthy men who wished to live near the town. In 1720 "many fine seats and noble structures" were still "scattered about those parts," although they had been abandoned to meaner uses.

Sir Christopher Wren in the late seventeenth century reported on the Mile End Road as a healthy place convenient for the habitation of mariners, and of manufacturers connected with shipping. Building along this road was therefore undertaken in a less haphazard fashion than heretofore. There were along the way, from Aldgate, in 1720, the populous parish of Whitechapel, and the hamlets of Mile End New Town, which was joined to Spitalfields, and of Mile End Old Town "built with many good houses, inhabited with divers sea captains and commanders of ships." Yet the northern part of Stepney had still "the face of a country, affording everything to render it pleasant."

Stepney by the river had already something of its modern importance with regard to shipping; it was distinguished by "Populousness, traffic, commerce, havens, shipping, manufacture, plenty and wealth." Wapping, Shadwell, Ratcliff and Limehouse formed to the eastern limit of the present borough, along the river bank, a continuous line of buildings which to the north extended to Cable Street or beyond it. White House Street, which had buildings on both sides, led, as it does now, from Ratcliff to Stepney Church and thence to Mile End.

Poplar was an insignificant hamlet in Stepney parish. At Blackwall there was, however, a wet dock of unusual size. The Isle of Dogs was "a fine rich level for fattening cattle."

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the docks at Blackwall were extended until they covered an area of nineteen acres. The buildings of Limehouse and of Poplar had met by the middle of the nineteenth century; yet, beyond Whitechapel, East London, except near the river, where streets, lanes and houses were closely packed, did not yet constitute a crowded district. There were open spaces especially within the limits of modern Poplar. Beside the river Lea the villages of Stratford-le-Bow or Bow and Bromley-by-Bow, of which both are now part of that borough, had not yet lost individuality. Both the West India Docks and the London Docks were at this time in existence. The Isle of Dogs was still a deserted tract.

Mr. Charles Booth, in his "Life and Labour in London," considers modern Stepney borough as divided into the several districts of Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, which is a parish formed of central Stepney in the eighteenth century, Mile End Old Town, and the largely riverside area which alone still belongs to Stepney parish.

Whitechapel is the Jewish quarter, and a great proportion of the inhabitants follow the employments of the Jews; they are tailors, bootmakers, tobacco workers, street sellers and general dealers. A small percentage are employers of labour, usually sweated.

Stepney is a labourers' district, and St. George's partakes of the two characters. Mile End has "a little of

everything ;" the labour of Stepney, the trade and industry of Whitechapel, and the artisan element of Bethnal Green and Shoreditch ; and it " very closely represents the average " of East London.

Of all the poor districts which surround the city on the north, the east and the south, St. George's is, in the opinion of Mr. Booth, " the most desolate." It has not, like some of the others, the charm of a life which is vivid even if it is miserable. It has that squalor, that hopeless, unabashed and unutterably dull poverty which is the limit of degradation. The street life of Whitechapel, on the other hand, is full of colour and incident, of drama, of possibilities. No race could be more different from another than are the Whitechapel Jews from that class of the hopeless and the degenerate who drift into the worst slums of the East End. The Jews have many hopes and schemes ; they have quick brains and strong feelings, and many of them live in considerable comfort. To know all this it is only necessary to watch them when in Petticoat Lane¹ on Sunday mornings they noisily and showily sell to Christians clothes, food, furniture, gaudy ornaments, patent medicines, all manner of necessaries and luxuries. There are some other street markets in Whitechapel. The fanciers bring pet birds, rabbits and guinea pigs to sell in Brick Lane ; and, as in other poor quarters of London, the costermongers on Saturday night drive a thriving trade in cheap food, beneath the glare of flaring torches.

Stepney parish has two miles of water frontage, which have all the beauty of the misty river and its strange crafts and sounds, with the half-seen buildings of distant banks.

¹ Now officially called Middlesex Street.

It is moreover intersected by the Regent's Canal, and therefore it derives interest from the waterside and river faring population who form a section of its inhabitants, and who have usually a wider outlook than the very poor of inland places. Like Whitechapel it has a foreign element. Mile End is comparatively fresh and clean, and has frequent small open spaces.

Poplar now includes a large area of dockyards, of which the whole Isle of Dogs is practically part. About the fifteenth-century church of Bow some little steep-roofed houses, and the line of the streets, still suggest the roadside village, Stratford-atte-Bow, which grew up about the bridge over the river Lea; and even now Bow and Bromley have not the crowded and closely-packed streets of central London. North Bow and some other parts of Poplar have, however, been impropriated by the jerry builders. "Desolate looking streets spring into existence and fall into decay with startling rapidity, and are only made habitable by successive waves of occupation." The foreign element in the population of Poplar is small. The inhabitants are mainly labourers and artisans.

The topography of South London has been largely affected by the building of the several bridges over the Thames. Its oldest part was situated at the southern end of the first bridge of all, the ancient borough of Southwark, of which the history begins before the Norman Conquest.

Southwark in mediæval times had importance as the place in which were situated the inns of some great ecclesiastics. Its river bank, Bankside and Tooley Street, was as convenient a place as the Strand for the houses of men who wished to live where, by way of the river, they had easy access to parliament and the court. The

borough was otherwise distinguished by the disorder and the loose morals of its inhabitants. This was due to its proximity to the city combined with its exemption from the civic jurisdiction ; it was an easy place of refuge for London criminals. From the reign of Edward III. successive charters of kings placed it within the scope of the authorities of the city ; yet its independent history had produced certain peculiarities and customs which the royal grants did not completely override, and although, after a grant by Edward VI., Southwark became Bridge Ward Without, no complete uniformity between its arrangements and those of other wards in the city was ever produced. A second cause of disorder was the existence in the borough, down to the final abolition of such institutions, of an unusual number of places of exempt jurisdiction, in which immunity from arrest under the public law was enjoyed. Paris Garden, as a former possession of the Knights Templars, the adjacent Clink liberty, which belonged to the bishop of Winchester, the Mint which adjoined the King's Bench and Marshalsea prisons, were all such privileged places, and one or other of them was, in different periods, a popular haven for criminals and debtors. Moreover, they were convenient sites for places of amusement to which the city authorities might take exception. The bear gardens and playhouses in the Paris Garden and the Clink Liberty have already been noticed. In the Clink there were situated also from an early period the public stews which were abolished only under Henry VIII. When, after the dissolution of religious houses, most of the inns of ecclesiastics in Southwark were converted to other uses, the character of the borough suffered a further degeneration.

Throughout the middle ages it was fairly populous. Its most ancient thoroughfare is the road from the city to Kent, now the Borough, the High Street, Tabard Street and the Old Kent Road. Newington Causeway, which continues the High Street towards Newington, is a mediæval way, as are Long Lane and Abbey Street which led to Bermondsey Abbey, and, by the river, Bankside and Tooley Street or St. Olave's Street. The old borough had a river frontage which extended eastwards as far as Dockhead, but towards the south it included an area rather less than that of the metropolitan borough.

Of the other boroughs of South London none had until modern times an urban character. Bermondsey derived some importance from the situation in it of the great abbey of St. Saviour. Its history, as recorded in the monastic chronicles, is largely concerned with recurrent floods of the river over its low-lying territory; and in modern times it is still a damp and foggy place, very suggestive of the swamps which once were on its site. Lambeth is historical because it has contained for many centuries the archiepiscopal palace. There were in Lambeth parish the manor of Kennington, a possession of the Black Prince and of his descendants, kings of England, the manors of Vauxhall and Stockwell, the district of Brixton, and the hill called Herne Hill. Rotherhithe, now part of Bermondsey, was known for its shipping even in the sixteenth century. Battersea, and, beyond it, Clapham, Wandsworth, Putney and Roehampton, Streatham and Tooting, which now form Wandsworth borough, were only villages until modern times. Camberwell borough, which includes the early parishes of Newington, with its hamlet of Walworth, and of Camberwell,

with its hamlets of Peckham and Dulwich, was equally rural. Of the boroughs which were taken from the county of Kent, Deptford, like Rotherhithe, was anciently important in connection with shipping, for Henry VIII. made there a dock in which the royal ships were built and repaired. The parish included the hamlet of New Cross. Greenwich is celebrated for the palace and park, made by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, on an ancient royal manor, and a favourite residence of Edward IV. and of later kings and queens before the Civil Wars. A rebuilding of the palace was begun by Charles II., yet it did not return to its ancient use, but, by a grant of William and Mary, became Greenwich hospital. The Ranger's House was part of the old palace. Charlton village stood within the limits of Greenwich borough. Docks were made at Woolwich in the reign of Elizabeth, and this village gradually superseded Deptford as the place in which the royal navy was built. The metropolitan borough of Woolwich comprises the old parishes of Woolwich, Plumstead, and Eltham, which included the hamlet of Shooter's Hill, and which contained a palace inhabited by kings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Within the present boundaries of Lewisham borough were Lee parish, and the parish of Lewisham, with its hamlets of Perry Street, South End, and Sydenham. Sydenham Wells Park commemorates the discovery in the village, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, of some mineral springs, and its consequent increase in size and prosperity.

As elsewhere around London the districts on the south side of the river, which were absorbed in the town at a late date, were places for the country houses of retired

citizens and others whose tastes were not completely rural. Such persons were living in the eighteenth century in most of the villages which went to form the southern metropolitan boroughs.

Westminster Bridge was opened in 1750, Blackfriars Bridge in 1768, and Battersea Bridge in 1772. As a consequence new thoroughfares were made, notably, in Southwark and Lambeth, several of those important streets which centre in St. George's Circus, and houses, population and business increased rapidly. A further advance followed on the opening of Vauxhall Bridge in 1816, of Waterloo Bridge in 1817 and of Southwark Bridge in 1819, and on the making of the new London Bridge. These bridges have effected the annexation of South London, and a curious reproduction on the south bank of the Thames of the conditions which prevail on the north; a portion of Southwark near the river has become part of the city, a place of offices and warehouses deserted every night; around it the rest of Southwark, Bermondsey, Lambeth, and a part of Battersea, form a ring of districts which correspond in character to Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Stepney; beyond them to the south and west, as to the north and west of the inner boroughs on the north side, are prosperous residential quarters, and to the east there are the boroughs which, like Poplar, are chiefly important for their dockyards.

The bridges over the Thames built since the middle of the nineteenth century have been less instrumental in extending London, and have had consequence rather as a means of diverting traffic.

In modern South London the great thoroughfares which are connected with the bridges centre at a meeting of

ways known by the name of a public house, the Elephant and Castle. These streets, which form the main lines of communication, are wide and comparatively prosperous, but behind them a network of smaller streets, alleys and courts traverses some of the most wretched neighbourhoods in all London.

The old borough still enjoys the infamous distinction of a pre-eminently evil reputation. It is a district which has not the squalid monotony of some parts of the East End ; but to the disreputable traditions of its past it has added in modern times a certain new meanness which proceeds from extreme poverty and decay. The ancient streets of Southwark have a depressing quality which is their own. They have an individual atmosphere born both of the shiftless, unlovely, and tragically cheerful poor who now inhabit them, and of those graceless scoundrels and brawlers who lived in old Southwark, in Dirty Lane and Melancholic Walk.

East of the old borough, along the river bank to the south of Jamaica Road, there is another very miserable quarter ; and there are yet others in Lambeth, in Battersea, and near Clapham Junction.

Beyond these neighbourhoods, in southern Bermondsey, Camberwell, Lambeth, much of Battersea, and part of Wandsworth, and much of Deptford, the houses are mainly dwellings of the poor in regular employment. To a great extent the district is suburban ; many of its inhabitants daily cross the bridges to go to their work in London north of the Thames ; others are employed in the factories of Bermondsey, Southwark, Lambeth, Battersea, and Greenwich. The leather trade centres about the Leather Market in Bermondsey, and there is the usual

amount of waterside labour along the river bank. A large part of Rotherhithe has been engrossed by the Surrey Commercial Docks ; and in Woolwich employment is provided by the dockyards and the arsenal.

The outlying district of South London is entirely suburban. The large majority of its inhabitants, whether the wealthy merchant of Dulwich or Wandsworth or the artisan of Brixton, travel every morning to their work in the central part of the town.

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