

A
acknowledgment
with the kind regards
of
T. N. Brushfield

RALEGHANA.
PART V.
THE HISTORY OF DURHAM HOUSE.
BY
T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at Sidmouth, July, 1903.)

[Reprinted from the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art. 1903.—xxxv. pp. 539-580.]



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RALEGHANA.

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Fig.

RALEGHANA.

PART V.

THE HISTORY OF DURHAM HOUSE, LONDON.

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at Sidmouth, July, 1903.)

OF the numerous residences occupied by Sir Walter Raleigh during his varied career¹ none was more intimately associated with his life-history than that of Durham House, in the Strand, where, "in the days of his splendour," as Gardiner remarks, he spent the happiest years of his active and chequered life.

It was one of many large mansions, palaces, or "Inns," belonging to noblemen or to ecclesiastical dignitaries (of whom Jesse states that "at one period no fewer than nine Bishops" occupied them),² that extended from the Fleet Ditch or River to Westminster. There were a few on the north side of the main street that ran parallel to the river as far as Charing Cross, but the majority formed a line of palaces fronting the Thames, and with their numerous stables, outbuildings, courts, and gardens filled the space between the river-bank and the present line of the Strand, their memories being still retained in the names of the adjacent streets.

Durham House was one of the largest and oldest of these mansions, and its historic associations and vicissitudes were perhaps greater than those of any of its neighbours. The ground covered by it measured about 500 feet square; the main building was on the south border, the outbuildings on the north one, there being large courts between them. A garden and orchard existed on the east side.

To the west York House and grounds probably adjoined

¹ His "London and Suburban Residences," formed the subject of several articles in the *Western Antiquary*, iv. 83-7, 109-12; vii. 73-4.

² *London* (1871), iii. 317.

the Durham estate, but at a later period were separated by George Street (now represented by George Court and York Buildings), as shown in Stow's plan of 1720 (*vide* illustration), and this terminated at the river-bank in a public landing-place or stairs. Ivy Bridge Lane³ originally formed the east boundary of the estate, and parted it from the land on which Salisbury House was erected towards the close of Elizabeth's reign. But on two occasions, in 1544 and 1603 respectively (*vide post*), tenements and a strip of the garden on that side passed by purchase, etc., into other hands, so that Ivy Lane by the commencement of the seventeenth century had ceased to be the east border line of the property of the see. Although this lane has ceased to be a public thoroughfare by being incorporated into the site of the Hotel Cecil, it yet exists, and forms the boundary of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. It was for several centuries one of the principal modes of approach to the Thames, where it terminated in a public landing-place or "stairs."⁴

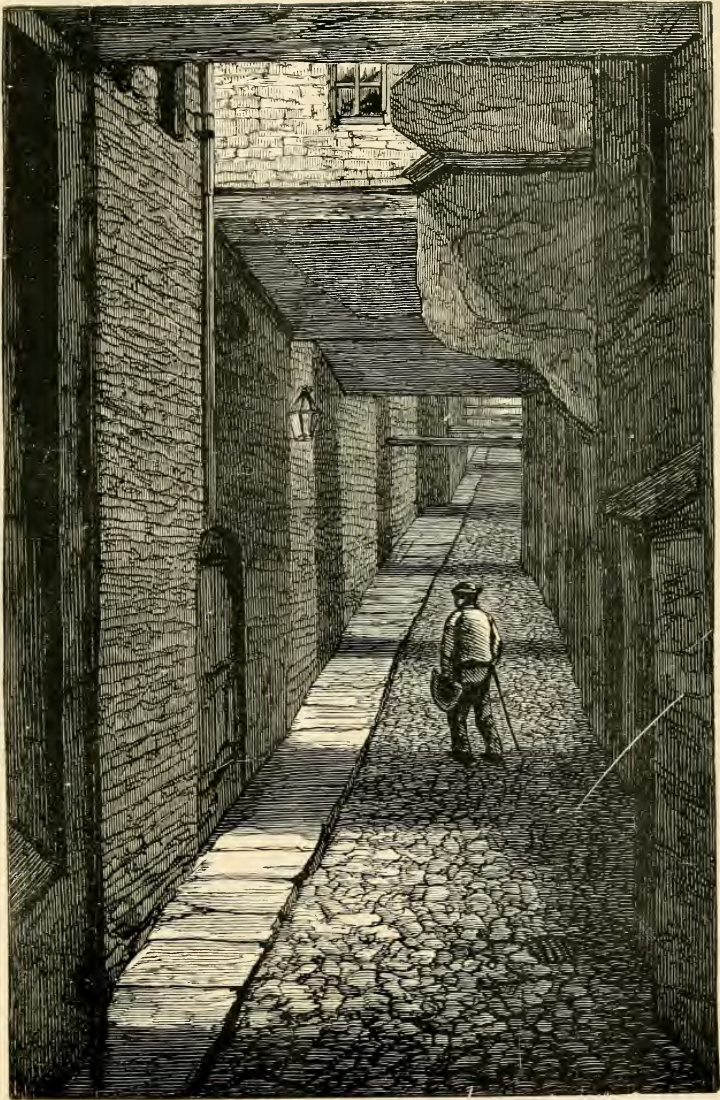
The position of the buildings on the Durham property, as well as its boundaries (excepting the western one), are shown in the accompanying facsimile of a rough sketch plan (dated 1626) preserved in one of the State papers.⁵ As it is referred to in other portions of this paper, it is called the plan of 1626.

As in the instances of other riverside mansions, the principal approach to Durham House was from the "silent highway," the landing-stairs opening by a water-gate directly into the building. In this respect it was similar to the houses at Venice situated adjacent to the canals; the likeness being further paralleled by the circumstance of each residence having (or had) its own boats and barges, with waterman retainers. Some of the landing-places on the Thames possessed water-gates of considerable architectural pretensions, as in the beautiful Jacobean example of one that originally formed the river-entrance to York House. This has, happily, been preserved, although made to appear insignificant owing to the ground in front of it having been

³ The illustrations of Ivy Lane, Britain's Burse, and the Adelphi buildings have been supplied by Mr. Elliot Stock.

⁴ A good representation of this lane will be found in WALFORD'S *London*, iii. 102 (shown in the accompanying illustration). There was a bridge where it joined the Strand for the accommodation of foot-passengers during heavy rains, when the lane acted as a watercourse to drain the main street. The bridge was probably removed soon after the Strand was paved in the early part of the sixteenth century.

⁵ *Dom. Charles I.*, vol. xxi. p. 64. Obtained through the courtesy of the Deputy Keeper of the Record Office.

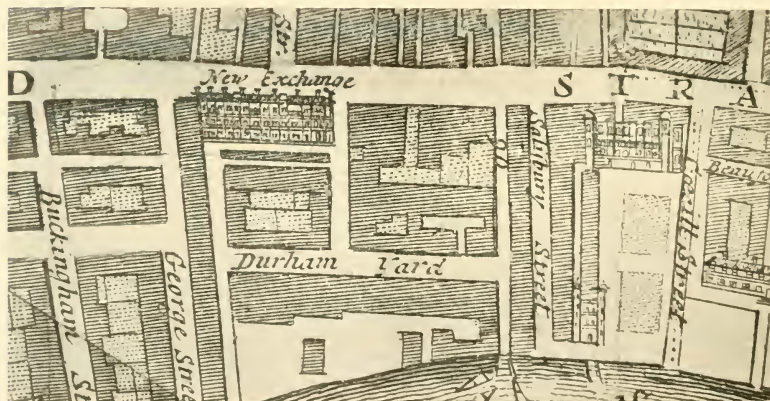


View of Ivy Lane.



River Front of Durham House, c. 1630.

From a Drawing by Hollar in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge.



Plan of Durham House Estate, showing Britain's Burse in the N.W. Angle.

From Stow's Survey, 1720.

so much raised to form the present Thames Embankment. There was another good example at the river-entrance to Salisbury House (*vide* illustration from Stow's *Surrey*, 1720). The Exchange stairs shown in the plan of 1626 was a private mode of access to Britain's Bourse, and dated from the early part of the seventeenth century.

The early history of Durham House is obscure. According to Pennant (who does not give his authority) it was "built originally by Anthony de Beck, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Bishop of Durham, in the reign of Edward I., designed by him for the town residence of him and his successors."⁶ Although Wheatley believes⁷ this to be doubtful, two incidents, related by Jesse, seem to testify to its correctness. He records that, in 1247, Henry III. walked in a religious procession from St. Paul's, and when "near Durham House" he was met by the abbot and monks of Westminster (i. 279). And in 1258, when the same monarch was travelling on the Thames in his barge, a violent storm ensued, and the King, much terrified, landed at Durham House, then occupied by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester (*ibid.* ii. 62). It may be noted that the neighbouring palace of the Savoy was built in the reign of the same King.

Whatever doubts may be entertained as to this portion of its history, its subsequent one, as related by Stow, is now generally accepted as trustworthy, viz. that it was erected ("rebuilt," according to Pennant) by Thomas Hatfield, who held the see of Durham from 1345 to 1381.⁸ In his *Catalogue of the Bishops of England* (1601) F. Godwyn states that Hatfield built "Durham place in London to receive himselfe and his successors when they should haue occasion to repaire thither" (527).

Early in the following century (1412) the *Chronicle of London* records how that "prince Herry lay at the bysshoppes inne of Dorham, fro the seid day of his conyuge to towne unto the Moneday nest after the feste of Septem fratrum."⁹

Early in the sixteenth century it formed the temporary residence of Catharine and of Anne Boleyn; and in the year when the latter was married (1532) an Act was passed for paving the Strand as far as Charing Cross.

On July 1st, 1536, the Bishop of Durham (Cuthbert Tunstall) granted to the King

"all that his capital messuage or mansion house called Durham Place, with all houses, &c., . . . to the same belonging, in the

⁶ *History of London* (1813), i. 200, 201.

⁷ *Antiquary*, ix. 259.

⁸ *Survey of London* (1633), 404.

⁹ Ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas (1827), 94.

parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, late in occupation of Thomas Earl of Wilts; and all other his messuages &c. &c. in the said parish and in the parish of St. Margaret and elsewhere in Westminster . . . of the clear yearly value of £18. 18. 0, over and above all charges and reprises, . . . in consideration whereof the King grants to the Bishop all the capital messuage or mansion house called Cold Herbrow, set and being in Teames Strete in the parish of All Hallows the Less, which messuage George Earl of Shrewsbury holds for his life . . . to hold the same of the King by fealty only."

The King also included in the purchase five tenements, in the parish of All Hallows, Barking, and three in the parish of "Graschurch."

"The King affirms that the above premises over and besides the messuage called Cold Herbrow, be of the clearly value of £18. 18. 0, over and above the yearly charges." ¹

From this it is fairly evident, that although the Bishop may have made the exchange under some amount of royal pressure, he lost nothing by it, especially as the Earl of Shrewsbury died in 1541. The deed is of importance for showing the date when the transfer was made (1534), which, according to Cunningham,² was unknown. (The history of Cold Harbour is noted by the last-named as being "a little confused." Walford affirms that "Richard III. . . . gave Cold Harbour to the Heralds, who were afterwards turned out by Cuthbert Tunstall" (ii. 17), and with respect to the manner in which it was obtained by the Heralds, it is confirmed by Stow (252). How this body was dispossessed of it we are unaware, but Cunningham records it was given by Henry VIII. to George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury; and this is evidently correct, as he possessed it at the date of the above deed of exchange.)

A deed, dated July 4th, 1544, is a highly important one for recording the first severance of a portion of the Durham House estate. By it the King, in consideration of the sum of £501 12s. 4d., granted to

"William Forth *alias* Ford . . . all those messuages or tenements and gardens in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields and St. Margaret's Westminster following, formerly bought by the King of the Bishop of Durham, namely, 20 messuages or tenements, and 2 messuages and gardens in St. Martin's in the Fields, between the mansion called Durham Place and a certain lane called Ive Lane."

¹ *Hatfield MSS. Deeds*, 136/1.

² *Handbook for London* (1849), i. 224.

Other small properties are also mentioned as being included in the purchase, all "to be held in socage, and not in capite."³ The Durham estate tenements, etc., would probably be limited to the east border above the principal garden adjoining Ivy Lane, and most likely are the houses represented in that part in Norden's map of 1593 (*vide* illustration).

On May-day, 1540, "a great and triumphant Iusting was holden," and "after the Iusts were performed, the Challengers rode unto this Durham house, where they kept open household, and feasted the King, and Queene (Anne of Cleves), with her Ladies and all the Court."⁴ It was utilised as a mint in the reign of Edward VI., and was subsequently occupied by the Dudley family. (A MS. inventory of the furniture—principally of bed and bedding—it contained in the reign of Henry VIII. is preserved in the London Guildhall Library, No. 231).

On May 21st, 1553, six weeks prior to the King's death, three marriages took place in the mansion, the memorable one being that of Lady Jane Grey with Guildford Dudley (*D. N. B.*). A letter, dated January 14th of that year, from the Duke of Northumberland to the Lord Chamberlain, shows that some disagreement had taken place between the Princess Elizabeth and himself respecting the occupancy of Durham House. In it he remarks, "her grace semythe . . . to be fully satisfied, but not with out conceyvinge some displeser before against me, for that I wolde mak labor or meanes to have the hous, with out fyrst knowinge her mynd." He concludes his letter thus: "she . . . ys desyerous that she might borro Sainct Iaymes to ly in for the tyme, be caus she canot have her thinges so sone Reddye at the Strand hous, but I am suer herr grace wold have don no les tho she had kept Duresme hous styll."⁵ The Princess was evidently desirous to reside for a time in that mansion, but there is no additional information to prove that she ever did so.

Some writers have asserted it to have been the scene of the interview between Lady Jane Grey and the Duke of Northumberland, when she unwillingly consented to accept the crown, but there is greater reason to believe it took place at Syon House.⁶

On Mary's accession she restored Durham House to

³ *Hatfield MSS. Deeds*, 216/2; *Legal*, 4/7.

⁴ *Stow*, 494. ⁵ *S.P. Edw. VI.*, xviii. 6.

⁶ AUNGIER, *History of Isleworth* (1840), 94.

Bishop Tunstall, who in a letter to Cardinal Pole, dated August 16, 1558, only three months before Mary's death, "thanks him for procuring the grant to him of the reversion of Durham Place,"⁷ but he was soon deprived of it when Elizabeth ascended the throne; and she appears to have retained possession of it for twenty-five years, during which, as well as at later periods, foreign ambassadors were frequently located there. The Queen is reported to have supped there with the Earl of Leicester in 1566,⁸ and a letter from Walter Earl of Essex to Lord Burghley, written from that house, is dated December 2nd, 1572.⁹

Among its occasional residents, the most celebrated was Alvarez de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, the Spanish Ambassador (1559-1563), during whose occupancy it became "the focus of conspiracy; and by the water-gate leading to the Thames disaffected Catholics, Irish chiefs, political intriguers, and even ministers of state sought his presence, sent their messages, and received their instructions from Philip. The latest of these visitors had been Shan O'Neil, the great Irish rebel."¹ De Quadra died in August, 1563. In the previous February he had written to the Spanish monarch an account of an occurrence at his residence which displayed the bitter feelings entertained by the nation at the possibility of a Catholic successor to Elizabeth:—

"On the day of the Purification the foreign Catholics in London came as usual in large numbers to hear mass at Durham Place. The guard at the gate took their names as they passed in: and before the service was over an officer of the palace guard entered from the river, arrested every Spaniard, Fleming, and Italian present, and carried them off to the Fleet. They were informed on their release that thenceforward no stranger, not even a casual visitor to the realm, should attend a service unsanctioned by the laws."²

Here is a cotemporary account:—

"1562-3. The ij day of Feybruary callyd Candyllmasse day ther was serten men whent to Duram plase and to sant. Marc Spyttyll to here masse, and ther was serten of them cared for by the gard and othur men to the contur and odur plases."³

We now approach the period when Durham House became associated with the fortunes of Sir Walter Raleigh,

⁷ *Cal. S.P. Mary*, xiii. 57.

⁸ *Cal. S.P. Eliz.*, xxxix. 82.

⁹ *Ibid.* xc. 8.

¹ J. A. FROUDE, *Hist. of England*, vii. (1864), 307.

² *Ibid.*, 489.

³ *Diary of a London Resident*, Camd. Soc. (1848), 299.

and the year 1584 seems to have been the most eventful one in his early history, as the starting-point from whence he launched forth to fame and success during the lifetime of Queen Elizabeth. The circumstances that led to his great efforts to discover and to colonise certain parts of the great American continent, and guided to a large extent by his enmity to Spain, need not be considered here; suffice it to say that on March 25th of this year (1584) were issued "the letters patents, granted by the Queenes Maiestie to M. Walter Raleigh now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6 yeeres and no more."⁴ On the 25th of the month following he sent out two expeditionary vessels under Captains P. Amadas and A. Barlow, who returned in the middle of September after having discovered North Carolina, with Roanoke and adjacent islands.

It has been suggested by W. Oldys⁵ and other writers that the Queen herself gave the name of Virginia to the newly discovered country; but it would be preferable to attribute the act to Raleigh, as a graceful tribute to his Sovereign whom he so highly esteemed, and this seems to be confirmed by his early biographer, J. Shirley, who affirms it was "called in honour of the Queen *Virginia*."⁶

It was during the absence of his ships he made that well-known appeal to Mr. Duke, of Otterton, for his consent to purchase "hayes a farme som tyme in my fathers possession . . . for the naturall dispositio' I have to that place being borne in that howse"—an appeal that was not successful.

Shirley (25) asserts that Raleigh was knighted in September, 1584, after the return of his ships from their successful voyage, and Oldys (58) that it was some time between the middle of December, 1584, and February 24th, 1585, basing his opinion on the circumstance of his name appearing in a subsidy committee list of that date, wherein he was "styled sir Walter Raleigh," the earliest occasion known to Oldys. But although the actual date of his knighthood is unknown,⁷ the fact of his being termed "now knight" in the heading of the Letters Patents of March 25th, 1584, appears at first sight to indicate a period prior to the departure of his ships. This is, however, negatived by the following item in the *Middlesex County Records* (1886):—

⁴ HAKLUYT'S *Voyages*, xiii. (1889), 276.

⁵ *Life of Raleigh*, in *Works* (1829), i. 58.

⁶ *Life of Raleigh* (1677), 24.

⁷ Cf. CAYLEY'S *Life of Raleigh* (1806), i. 70.

"26 April, 26 Elizabeth (1584). True Bill that, at Westminster on the said day, Hugh Pewe late of London gentleman stole a jewel worth eighty pounds, a hatt bande of pearls worth thirty pounds, and five yards of white silk called damaske worth three pounds, of the goods and chattels of Walter Rawley esq. at Westminster co. Midd. Putting himself 'Guilty,' Hugh pewe asked for the book, read like a clerk and was remanded by the Court. G. D. R., 5 Oct., 26 Eliz." (i. 149).⁸

Unless "Westminster" was intended for the Court, this incident refers to Durham House, and if this surmise be correct that residence had been assigned him before the return of his ships from their successful voyage. That he was knighted in 1584 (the above quotation shows it could not have been earlier) is proved by his seal of office as Chief Governor of Virginia bearing that date and the legend containing the word "militis."⁹

The gift of Durham House to Raleigh by the Queen is a well-established fact, but the conditions she attached to the gift are at the present date unknown. Edwards affirms she granted him a "lease of the greater part of it";¹ but Stebbing's statement, that she gave him "the use of a principal part" of it and "the remainder she permitted Sir Edward Darcy to inhabit," seems to be more correct.² This is corroborated by a passage in a letter of Lady Raleigh of October, 1600 (*vide post*), showing Darcy's occupancy to have coincided in duration with that of Raleigh, and that his apartments were below those of the latter. Norden, who was living at that period, remarks, "Her Ma^{tie} hath comitted the use thereof to Sir Walter Rawleigh" (*vide post*). That the mansion was capacious enough for the accommodation of several families is certain. Gardiner declares it to have been "so extensive that the bishop of Durham contented himself with occupying a small portion."³ Again, in 1619 it accommodated several ambassadors.⁴

Durham House was the London residence of Raleigh from 1584 to the year of his downfall, in 1603; but during that period he dwelt occasionally in other houses in the suburbs. The one best known for being associated with his name was at Islington, "about a bow's shot on this side the church,"

⁸ May the heading already quoted *ante* have been added by Hakluyt at a later date some time after Raleigh had been knighted?

⁹ *Vide* illustration in *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, xv. (1883), facing 174.

¹ *Life of Raleigh* (1868), ii. 262.

² *Life of Raleigh* (1891), 104.

³ *Hist. of England*, vi. (1884), 70.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, App. 4th Rep., 284.

and was “popularly reported to have been a villa of his (Ralegh’s).⁵ It was subsequently well known as the Pied Bull Inn.⁶ Nothing was known to corroborate this tradition until the publication of the first volume of the *Middlesex County Records* in 1886 (already noticed), from which the following is extracted:—

“17 December, 20 Elizabeth (1577). Recognizances, taken before Jasper Fysshers esq. J.P., of Walter Rawley of Islyngton co. Midd. esq., and Martin Eyre of London gentleman, in the sum of fifty pounds each, and of William Pansfurthe, servant of the aforesaid Walter Rawley, in the sum of one hundred pounds, for the said William’s appearance at the next Gaol Delivery. G. D. R., 23 Dec., 20. Eliz.” (i. 110).

Two days later we find this entry:—

“19 December, 20 Elizabeth. Recognizances, taken before Jasper Fisher esq. J.P., of Thomas Cobham of Golding Lane co. Midd. esq., and John Rigges of Davis [*sic*] Inne London gentleman, in the sum of forty pounds each, and of Richard Paunsford yeoman, servant to Walter Rawley esq. of the Court (de curia) in the sum of one hundred marks; for the appearance of the said Richard at the next Session of the Peace co. Midd., to answer to such matters as may be objected against him. G. D. R., 23 Dec., 20 Eliz.” (*ibid.* i. 110-1.)

Notwithstanding the different mode in which the two names are spelt, “William Pansfurthe” was probably closely related to “Richard Paunsford”; but in neither case is the nature of the charge reported, nor is there any further allusion to the matter in the Sessions Records.

There are three points of much interest on which these items throw some light on Ralegh’s history. The first is that he was connected with the Court as early as 1577; the second, that he was a resident of Islington seven years prior to his inhabiting Durham House: and although we possess no positive information on the subject, he probably retained the former residence until the latter was conferred upon him. An important statement made by all his early, and by some of his later, biographers, that he was present under Sir J. Norris at the battle of Rimenant, on Lammas-day (August 1st), 1578, appears to have been first promulgated by Sir R. Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia* (1641), 30, who simply notes he was “in the Low Countries” in that

⁵ Oldys, i. 178.

⁶ A description of it, with an accompanying engraving, will be found in *Gent.’s Mag.* for 1791, i. 17. It is there designated “the mansion of s^r Walter Rawlegh.” The house was pulled down in 1827.

year. The fact of his being in Islington in December, 1579, and as a signatory to a deed preserved in the parish chest at Sidmouth, and dated April 11th, 1578,⁷ and further that he was at sea in November of the latter year, show that, although it is within the limits of possibility he was in the Netherlands in August, *i.e.* between the two latter dates, there is a greater probability he was not absent from England.

From several different authorities, both before and after Durham House was occupied by Raleigh, we are able to form a proximate estimate of the general character of the mansion that was for twenty years his abode. The first consists of a rough sketch plan, showing the elevation of the principal buildings, preserved in the Public Record Office (already mentioned as the plan of 1626), of which a facsimile is now given; and although drawn eight years after Raleigh's execution, there can be little doubt that the principal building and the courts had undergone little or no change from the time they had been given up by Raleigh in 1603. The second is a drawing made by Hollar, *circa* 1630 (preserved in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge), and, as shown in the accompanying facsimile, it portrays the river-front of the mansion, with the gardens and orchard on its eastern side.

There is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a drawing made in 1543 by Ant. van den Wyngaerde, which displays the course of the Thames from Westminster to Greenwich and its progress beyond, its principal object being a general view of London and its environs, some of the principal buildings having their names written over them. Above the rough sketch of Exeter House "Durham House" is written, but this is evidently intended for the mansion on the river-bank immediately below the latter.⁸ Mr. Wheatley⁹ deems the words "Durham House" in Wyngaerde's drawing to be in a later hand, and to be "incorrectly written over Burghley or Exeter House. Durham House is on the riverside to the east of Charing Cross"; but the only large building there shown belonged to St. Mary Rouncivall. Moreover, the illustration of "Durham House, 1660," in his work (*ibid.* 6) bears some resemblance to a feudal castle of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and in all respects differs from the views shown in the accompanying illustrations, as well as from

⁷ *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, xv. 174.

⁸ An accurate copy of Wyngaerde's drawing in eight sections is contained in BENHAM and WELCH'S *Medieval London* (1901). A more elaborated edition, drawn by N. Whittock, was published a few years since, but it omits the names.

⁹ *The Adclphi and its Site* (1885), 5.

that in the map of R. Aggas of 1578. Unfortunately no reference to the work from whence it is copied is given, and it is questionable whether the mansion had not been destroyed prior to 1660 (*vide post*).

In his *Walks in London* (1878), i. 15, A. J. C. Hare describes the residence as having "great round towers, battlemented like a castle towards the river." This may apply to the one figured in Mr. Wheatley's work, or to Exeter House, alluded to by Jesse as "a spacious brick mansion with a square turret at each corner" (iii. 364).

In 1593, during its occupancy by Raleigh, John Norden published his *Speculum Britanniae* (Middlesex), which contains a map or bird's-eye view of Westminster. In this the river-front of the mansion is shown to be very similar to that depicted in the rough sketch of Wyngaerde. Both differ from those of later date in representing three projecting square towers instead of two. (The one drawn in Aggas' map of 1578 is totally unlike any other known.)

We may fairly accept Hollar's drawing for correctly displaying the elevation of the building in 1630, and for its general agreement with the plan of 1626. The latter points out the position of "the great Hall" (indicated in the former by the higher structure immediately behind, and parallel with, the river-front of the main dwelling), having in its rear, and at the eastern end, "The Chapell," to which it is connected by a retreating wing. A large "Garden" occupies the southern half of the Ivy Lane border. Probably the narrow strip of ground on the west side was originally laid out in a similar manner; but this had been much encroached upon by buildings, as well as by a long passage of access from the river-bank to the rear of Britain's Burse, which had been erected in 1609 on the site of some outbuildings that had been destroyed by fire in 1600.

The general aspect of the south front of the mansion, the extent and position of the great hall, and the situation of the principal garden, exhibited in Hollar's drawing of 1630, receive corroboration in the plan of 1626, and also in Faithorne's map of 1658, taken shortly before the house was pulled down.¹ The large open space in the centre was divided into an outer and an inner court, the former being entered by the gatehouse and the latter from the private landing-stairs on the river-front of the house, or by a door of communication between the two courts.

¹ A facsimile of the portion of Faithorne's map west of the Savoy will be found in T. TAYLOR'S *Leicester Square* (1874), facing 21.

Raleigh's study is alluded to by Aubrey in the following well-known passage :—

“Durham-house was a noble palace ; after he came to his greatness he lived there, or in some apartment of it. I well remember his study, which was a little turret that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect which is pleasant perhaps as any in the world, and which not only refreshes the eye-sight but cheers the spirits, and (to speake my mind) I beleieve enlarges an ingeniose man's thoughts.”²

Edwards (i. 368) records that Raleigh “wrote a letter to the Council” in July, 1603, in which “he mentions the fact of his having noticed—from a window of his residence in London which overlooked the river—that Lord Cobham once or twice, after paying him a visit at Durham House, was rowed past his own mansion at Blackfriars, and taken across the river to St. Saviour's.” The letter does not appear in the correspondence in the second volume of Edwards' work, and the account is evidently taken from a statement made by Raleigh at his trial.³

Water was obtained by the entire establishment from a conduit situated in the “Utter Court,” from whence all residents on the Durham estate appear to have had “free liberty” to fetch their supply, or from “any other conduit whereby the main house shall be served with water” in case of any failure in the former. The source from whence it was derived was “a certain spring head or conduit situate in the Covent Garden.”⁴ At a later date some difficulty had arisen with respect to the quantity or the quality of the water furnished from this source. On October 28th, 1635, the Council gave an order for L. Whitaker and T. Baldwin to report to them on the subject, which they did on January 6th, 1635–6, to this effect: They had viewed those places in the Covent Garden, where the head of the spring is that brings the water to Durham House, and they report how the water may be brought to that house for the present and secured for the future. The head of the spring was then under a new-made cellar in an ill-built house on the skirts of the Covent Garden, where a floor was made over it. The writers recommend a variety of practical arrangements, by which the spring and a watercourse connected therewith might be kept free from contamination from its

² *Brief Lives* (1898), ii. 183.

³ Shirley, 99. It was also noted by Coke at an earlier stage of the proceedings (*ibid.* 88).

⁴ *Hatfield MSS., Deeds*, 226/14. July 31st, 1607.

source to Durham House; they also recommend that the works suggested by them should be effected and maintained by the Earl of Bedford, but that the Bishop of Durham should be at the expense of the necessary legal instruments for securing the benefit of the same to the Bishop and his successor.⁵

As a rule only one water-gate is mentioned in the various deeds relating to the mansion; there is, however, a notable exception in one dated July 31st, 1607, which grants "free way leave to pass and repass in and out at both water-gates of the said house to and from the river of Thames."⁶

Each appears to be shown in Hollar's illustration, the central being the main entrance into the principal building; the second, to the extreme west, being restricted to the domestic offices, the position of which is described in a deed of June 7th, 1609.⁷

We possess but scant information as to its internal arrangements. Norden describes it as "a howse of 300 years antiquitie, the hall whereof is stately and high, supported with loftie marble pillers. It standeth upon the Thamise verve pleasantly."⁸

Although the private entrance to the house from the waterway probably continued to be the principal mode of access to it until the building was demolished towards the middle of the seventeenth century, yet the approach from the Strand, after the latter was paved in the reign of Henry VIII., must have been employed to a greater extent after that had taken place. The gatehouse entrance from the main thoroughfare was a highly important structure, and must have possessed many apartments judging from the contents of a lease of it granted "by the Earl of Salisbury to Sir William Beacher of Westminster and Thomas Bonde of Westminster, Esq.," dated January 30th, 1623, by which the lessees are to have "all rooms, lodgings, &c." excepting the "Porter's Lodge, . . . with the portership or keeping of the gate towards the street," which is retained by the lessor. Let for a term of thirty-one years, at an annual rent of £40.⁹

There are many references to it in the Hatfield MSS. as well as in the State Papers. Here is one:—

⁵ *Cal. State Papers*, Charles I. (Dom.), vol. cccxi. 29.

⁶ *Hatfield MSS.*, *Deeds*, 226/14.

⁷ *Ibid.* *Deeds*, 111/18.

⁸ *Harl. MSS.*, 570, printed in Introduction to Norden's *Description of Essex* by Sir H. Ellis (Camd. Soc., 1840), p. xvi. It is dated 1592, and is not contained in Norden's *Speculum Britannicæ* (Middlesex), 1593.

⁹ *Hatfield MSS.*, *Deeds*, 48/6.

“1634. Aug. 1. (Letter from) Endymion Porter to his wife Olive Porter at his house in the Strand over against Durham House gate.”¹

In J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster* (1807) there is on the first plate (facing p. 5) a view of “Durham House, Strand. Drawn by Nathaniel Smith 1790 & etched by J. T. Smith.” It is described in the text as “a view of the only remaining part of the house, as it had been re-erected apparently about the time of James I. . . . it continued in this state till the year 1790, soon after which it was taken down.”² The illustration evidently represents the Strand front of the gatehouse of that period, with the dwelling adjoining as marked in the plan of 1626. The entrance was a plain square opening, with a pillar of support on one side, and above it were two stories, as well as an attic story, the rooms being apparently of good size. It is shown to be the entrance to a descending street, wide enough for a horse and cart, which are seen to be emerging from it, and at the present date is represented by Durham Street, which now terminates in the dark arches of the Adelphi. The central open space (originally the Bishop's inner court) was known as Durham Yard early in the seventeenth century:—

“1619, Dec. Letter from Sir Thomas Wilson (From my house in Durham Yard.”³

It continued to be so designated to the middle of the eighteenth century:—

“1741. Mar. 31. Dr. Johnson mentions his removal ‘to the “Black Boy,” in the Strand over against Durham Yard.’”⁴

All that remained of the “Yard” was obliterated by the erection of the Adelphi Buildings a few years later.

From a domestic as well as from a social point of view, the year 1586 was an important one in the annals of Raleigh's history. Among those who were sent out by him in the second expedition to Virginia in the previous year was Thomas Hariot, his “servant,” whose office it was to report upon the resources, etc., of the new colony. The whole of the colonists were brought back to England at the end of a year by Drake, when the potato and tobacco are

¹ *Cal. S.P. Charles I.*, cclxiii. 3.

² A copy of it adorns the heading of chapter vii. in W. Thornbury's *Haunted London* (1865), 134, from which the accompanying illustration is taken.

³ *Rep. Hist. MSS. Com.*, iv. 284.

⁴ Jesse, iii. 342. This was evidently Durham Street which led into the Yard.

generally considered to have been first introduced into this country.⁵ We may be certain that as soon as possible after landing at Portsmouth, on June 28th, Hariot visited Raleigh at Durham House, to report the result of his sojourn in the "new found land of Virginia." This would be followed by many other interviews and discussions on the subjects embodied by Hariot in his work published two years later. Of the potato it is significant that soon afterwards we learn that Raleigh was planting it in his newly acquired Irish estates. With respect to tobacco, it had been employed as a remedial agent for several years prior to this date. But Hariot had learnt something beyond this, as during his stay in the colony he ascertained that the Indians did "take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie" as a luxury, and on imparting this knowledge to Raleigh the latter took kindly to the practice, and we can scarcely doubt that, in company with Hariot, he smoked his first pipe in Durham House. We know that he continued the use of the "Indian weed" to the last morning of his life, and it was to him "a solace, a luxury, and a necessity."

There is a curious tradition in the north of England that, about the year 1591, Raleigh visited the celebrated "mathematician and astrologer," Dr. John Dee, in Manchester; and the library of the Chetham Hospital there is stated to contain a heavy "oblong table composed of as many pieces as there are in the ordinary year," at which "the renowned Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have sat at one period of his eventful career, and upon a wall hard by is to be seen the original of a letter dated 1591, written by that unfortunate statesman and framed in wood taken from the flagship of the redoubtable Drake." The earliest known allusion to this tradition was made at the Congress of the British Archæological Association held in Manchester in 1850, when "Mr. Crossley remarked" of the room in Chetham College in which the members were assembled, it "was that in which the celebrated Dr. Dee received Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Henry Saville."⁶ In all probability Mr. Crossley simply related that which was at the time a current tradition. Turning to Dr. Dee's Diary we find these entries:—

"1583. April 18th, the Quene went from Richmond towards Grenwich, and at her going on horsbak, being new up, she called for me by Mr. Rawly his putting her in mynde, and she sayd 'quod defertur non aufertur,' and gave me her right hand to kisse."

⁵ *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, xxx. (1898), 158-97.

⁶ *Journal*, vi. (1851), 347.

"1583. July 31st. Mr. Rawlegh his letter unto me of hir Majesties good disposition unto me."

"1595. Oct. 9th. I dyned with Syr Walter Rawlegh at Durham House."⁷

This proves Dr. Dee to have visited Raleigh at Durham House on October 9th, 1595, but as Mr. C. W. Sutton (Manchester Public Library) notes, this was four months before Dee "set foot in Manchester," and he attributes the tradition to "a careless reading of Dee's Diary."⁸ We have no information that Raleigh ever visited Lancashire.

The year 1595 was one of the most memorable in Raleigh's life. During his exile from Court, in 1593 and following year, he was maturing another expedition to the New World, which culminated in a voyage on which he started on February 6th, 1595, and returned in August of the same year, the sum of his labours being published in London in 1596, under the title of *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtifvl Empire of Gviana*. This was "the climax of the various events and actions in Raleigh's life," as it was termed by Sir R. H. Schomburgk, who edited the work for the Hakluyt Society in 1848. It was printed and published in London, and although we possess no definite information it was probably prepared for press at Durham House, where Raleigh could be assisted by Thomas Hariot, his intimate friend and associate for nearly forty years. "In Raleigh's presence Hariot was his guide, philosopher, and friend; in his absence Sir Walter's faithful agent."⁹ There is reason to believe he resided in and took care of Durham House during the absence of Sir Walter. Very few of his letters have been preserved, many having been burnt with other papers as directed in his will;¹ but two that have escaped destruction, being of present interest, are noticed here. One dated July 11th, 1596, and addressed to Sir R. Cecil, contains "proposals for the framing of Charts of Guiana, from the papers of Raleigh and Keymis." In this he remarks, "according to the order of trust that Sir Walter left with me, before his departure, in that behalf, and as he hath usually don heretofore."² This was written during Sir Walter's absence from England with the expedition to Cadiz.

⁷ *Private Diary of Dr. J. Dee*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (Camd. Soc., 1842), 20, 21, 54.

⁸ Some of these particulars have been taken from the *Manchester City News*, of May 31st and June 7th, 1902.

⁹ H. STEVENS, Intro. to *Hariot's Virginia* (1900), xii.

¹ H. STEVENS, *Thomas Hariot and his Associates* (1900), 193-203. Edwards, ii. 420.

The second, dated July 3rd, 1597, was also addressed to Cecil, Raleigh being absent from home and engaged in making preparation for the Islands Voyage Expedition.

“Relative to a writing of importance which Sir Walter hath sent unto me in great haste to send him to be used by himself before his departure. He desires that it may come to him by the running post to Weymouth, where he awaits the coming of the fleet, having the soldiers there ready to embark. But if Sir Walter be gone, then the paper to be returned. 3 July. Durham House.”³

Two days later Raleigh wrote from Weymouth to Cecil respecting the preparations, and on the 10th the ships left England, but soon returned, and did not again leave for their destination until late in August. On October 13th he writes again to Cecil from Durham (or as he spells it, “Derum”) House.⁴

In 1600 Raleigh was appointed Governor of Jersey, his patent being dated August 20th. He arrived there in September, and on the 20th took the oath of office.⁵ During his absence a fire destroyed the stables, etc., at Durham House, of which an account is given in a letter (dated October, 1600) from Lady Raleigh to Cecil, so quaint in its orthography and interesting in its details as to be worth quoting *in extenso* :—

“Sur,—Hit tis trew that your packet brought me the newes of the mischans of feeiar at Durram Houes, wher, I thanke God, hit went noo fardar. Other wies, hit had rid ous of all our pour substans of plat and other thinges. Unly now the loos is of your cumpani and my Lord Cobham’s, wich I thinke by this menes wee cannot injoy this wintar.

“Hit will be now a fit time for you to get sum intres in that rotten houes for your selfe and your frind: other wies, I knoo none so un wies that will besto so mani hundred pounes as Sur Wattar hath dun, without fardar intrest or asurans of hit. I besuch remembar hit now, soo shall not the Quine be trobled to bild the Bushope’s ould stabels.

“I ded heer from Sur Wattar within too dayes after he Landed at Jarsi: wher he was safly and rioly intertaned with joye. But he was too dayes and too nites on the see, with contrari windes; not withstanding hee went from Wamouthe in so fayer a wind and weether, as littell Wat and my selfe brought him abord the

³ *Cal. of MSS.* at Hatfield House, pt. vii. 285.

⁴ Edwards, ii. 169, 170, 179, 180.

⁵ The record of the ceremony is inscribed in the Rolls of the island, and is printed at length in the *Antiquary*, iii. (1881), 279.

shipt. Hee wrytteth to me hee never saw a plesanttar iland ; but protesteth unfannedly hit tis not, in valew, the veri third part that was reported, or inded hee beliffed. My cossin Will is heer, very will, and louketh will and fat with his batheing. This, wishing you all honnar and the full contentements of your hart, I ever rest

“Your asured pour frind,

“E. RALEGH.

“(Postscript.) I am glad this mischans of feeiar cam not by ani neckelegans of ani sarvant of mine, but by me cossin Darci’s sarvant—a woman that delleth just under our loggong, and anyoeth ous infenitly. I hope hee will now remoueev heer. I humbely besuch you let this lettar heer inclosed be sent.

“Addressed: ‘To the most honorabell Mr. Sekretari, &c. &c.’

“Endorsed: ‘1600. October. The Lady Raleighe to my Master.’”⁶

Although not dated, except in the endorsement, it was evidently written early in October, as shown in a letter from J. Chamberlain to Dud. Carleton, of October 10th, 1600.

“His (Sir W. Raleigh’s) lodgings at Durham House were almost burned the other day with fire that began in the stables.”⁷

The following year (1601) was one made memorable by the mad conspiracy of the Earl of Essex. As one of his accomplices, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was arrested and sent to the Gatehouse, Westminster, where, on July 14th, he penned a vindication of his conduct to Essex, of which the MS. is still preserved in the *Cotton. MSS.*⁸

On Sunday, February 8th, the day of the insurrection, Raleigh attempted, “out of particular kindness” (Oldys), to befriend Gorges, and the interview between them is thus recorded by the latter:—

“cap. 2. The cause and manner of my goinge to Sr Walt. Rawly, and my conference w^t him, not any wayes p̃judiciall to the Earle his proceedings.

⁶ Edwards, ii. 404, 405. From *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield.

⁷ *Letters of J. Chamberlain* (Camd. Soc., 1861), 89, 90. This was not the sole occasion of loss by fire experienced by Lady Raleigh, *e.g.*—

“1623. Nov. 15, 28. Chamberlain to Carleton. A dreadful fire broke out at Sir Wm. Cockayne’s, burnt three or four houses, and twelve more were pulled down, amongst which was Lady Raleigh’s. Cockayne has lost 10,000 l.” (*Cal. S.P. Dom. James I.*, cliv. 110).

⁸ Julius, F. vi. fo. 423. Printed at length in *Archæologia*, xxxiii. 247 *et seq.*, with the following heading:—“A breefe answer to certayne false, slanderous, and idle objections made agaynst Sr Ferd. Gorges, Knighte, as if he had ben a man of purpose imployed to practize the ruine of the late Earle of Essex, playnly shewing the untruthe and impossibility thereof. Written in the Gatehouse.”

“I was sent unto that morninge by Sr Walt. Rawligh to com in all haste to Durram Howse, to speake wth him, and by any meanes I was to go by water. But before I wente, I advertised my Lord of as muche, shewinge him wth all the direction and manner how I was assigned to goe (w^{ch} I needed not to have don if I had purposed any treachery), who upon counsell and deliberation was willinge I should goe, but directed to speake wth him upon the Thames, the w^{ch} I observed, and to take wth mee a garde for the securinge of my returne, doubting least any thinge might bee purposed for the impeachinge thereof.

“As for the conference that passed between Sr Walt. Rawley and myselfe it was only this, I protest to the Almighty God. When his boate came to mee (he beinge all alone, and I havinge w^t mee two Gent^l) he toulde mee that hee had sente for mee to admonish mee to make all haste out of the Towne downe to my charge, for that there was a warrant out for the sendinge mee to the Fleete. For his kinde advertisement I gave him thanks.”⁹

The meeting in all probability took place in the vicinity of Raleigh's abode, as Gorges had with the rest of his party been holding a meeting at Essex House, to which they subsequently returned. In the confession of Gorges made to the Privy Council eight days after the insurrection, he stated that “sir Christopher Blount had persuaded him to murder or seize sir Walter Raleigh at his meeting upon the water.”¹ Although Gorges rejected this suggestion, Blount himself endeavoured to kill him, but was unsuccessful, although he fired at him four times.² According to St. John,³ after the meeting above recorded, Gorges “shoved off the boat wherein Sir Walter then was, and bade him hie hence—which he did, perceiving a boat to come out of Essex Stairs, wherein were three or four of the Earl of Essex's servants with pieces, who had in charge either to take or kill Sir Walter Raleigh upon the water.” After his narrow escape Raleigh returned to Durham House to wait for the progress of events which terminated so disastrously for Essex. Oldys does not allude to this second boat; but that Blount was one of the “two Gent^l” who accompanied Gorges is unlikely, otherwise he would have alluded to it in his “breefe answer.” E. Gosse affirms the boat described by St. John to have been “manned” by Blount.⁴ Whether the latter made the actual attempt to assassinate Raleigh, or whether, as seems more probable, it was the act of those who accompanied him acting under his

⁹ *Archæologia*, xxxiii, 250, 251.

¹ Oldys, 331.

² Oldys, 333; Edwards, i. 257.

³ *Life of Raleigh* (1868), ii. 32, quoting from a “MS. State paper office.”

⁴ *Memoir of Raleigh* (1886), 119, 120.

orders, it is fairly certain he was personally responsible for it. This is corroborated by the circumstance that while on the scaffold, and immediately before his execution, Blount thus addressed Raleigh: "I had an infinite desire to speak with you, to ask your forgiveness ere I died; both for the wrong done you, and for my particular ill intent towards you: I beseech you forgive me." Raleigh answered "that he most willingly forgave him, and . . . for his part, he never bore him any ill intent."⁵

Durham House was the scene of a robbery in 1602, of which the only information we possess is thus reported in the *Middlesex County Records*:—

"1 April, 44 Elizabeth. True Bill that, at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields co. Midd. in the night of the same day, Thomas Nicolls yoman and John Moore taylor *alias* John West yoman, both late of London, broke burglariously into the dwelling-house of Sir Walter Raleighe knt. in the said parish, and stole therefrom two linen 'pillowbeeres . . . fitted with silke and golde' worth ten pounds, a linen 'cushinge cloth' adorned with silke and gold worth five pounds, and a diaper tablecloth worth forty shillings, of the goods and chattels of the said Sir Walter Raleigh." Also two other charges against the same persons for similar robberies at the houses of Sir John Stannehopye and of Lord Burghley" (i. 279, 280).

During the latter years of his residence in Durham House, and to within a few months of the Queen's decease, he sat in Parliament and took an active part in the proceedings.⁶

The year 1603 was the most eventful in the life-history of Raleigh. It was the culminating and turning point of his great career, and from March 24th, the day on which the great Queen Elizabeth died, his downfall was speedy. James was scarcely seated on the throne when, with hardly a note of warning, the hopes, the fortune, and the public career of Raleigh received their death-blow. He was deprived of his Captaincy of the Guard, and of his monopoly of the wine licences, followed by his being literally turned out of his occupancy of Durham House, which had been his London home for twenty years.

As already noted, this house had been the residence of, and had belonged to, the successive Bishops of Durham down to the reign of Henry VIII. Except in the time of Queen Mary, it had remained in royal hands, and had been conferred on Raleigh as a residence by Queen Elizabeth in 1584.

⁵ Oldys, 336.

⁶ Recorded in *Four Last Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth*, 1588-1602 (1680).

With a full knowledge of these facts it is difficult to conjecture why J. P. Collier made the following misleading statement in a note prefixed to a copy of the King's order, printed in *The Egerton Papers*, of which latter Collier was the editor.

“We learn from the following and subsequent documents that Sir Walter Raleigh and some of his adherents had at this date quartered themselves [*sic*] in Durham House, in the Strand, claimed by Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham.”⁷

There is great reason to believe that long before the death of Elizabeth a powerful undercurrent was at work to procure the summary removal of Raleigh from his London residence at the earliest opportunity that presented itself. This opportunity arose soon after the accession of James to the English throne, when the King was induced to issue a royal order calling on Raleigh to surrender his house to the Bishop of Durham without delay. This fact is well known to all readers of history, but the details of the manner of its accomplishment (which can scarcely be deemed creditable) few are acquainted with, and may fittingly be noticed here.

Basing his authority on a letter of Bishop Matthew (dated April 7th, 1603, preserved in the Hatfield Collection), Edwards remarks:—

“Not the least curious incident in the history of ‘Durham House’ is the fact that its temporary restoration to the ancient owners was contemplated by Sir Robert Cecil before the Queen’s death. He it was who instigated the application by Bishop Matthew, and who paved the way for its success. Whatever else had happened to Sir Walter Raleigh on the accession of King James, there had been a foregone determination that he should lose his town residence” (ii. 267).

The following is a transcript of the Bishop’s letter, now given for the first time *in extenso*:—

“Right honōrable. Whereas yōr Honōrs have written unto me by this bearer John Tayler, authorizing him to deale w̄th me by word of mouthe in some thinges w̄ch you holde not so fitt to committ to paper, as to whome I maie give credit in that w̄ch he shall imparte unto me from yōr Honōrs, & as to a person well instructed, to deliver me yōr mindes in all thinges that shall concerne this busines, w̄ch being in perticuler touching my house called Duresme-place in the Strande, I have had conference w̄th him thereupon, but cannot upon such a sodaine, as his present

⁷ Camd. Soc. (1840), 376.

journey requireth give my absolute aṅṅser to his demaunde: For that I neither knowe howe the state therof doth stande, nor what consideracon or recompence I should require for the same. But forasmuch as it is likly that very shortly there will be a parliamēt, whereat God willing, I purpose to be; I shall in the meane season informe my self of such perticulers as concerne ye same, and also then retorne unto yōr Honōrs such reasonable aunswere, as I hope maie be to yōr satisfaccion. The while hoping you will take this short suspence in favorable part, I humbly betake yōr Honōrs to the grace of God.

“At Barwicke this 7th of Aprill 1603.

“Yōr Honōrs at commaundment Tobie Duresm.”

Addressed: “To the right honorable my verie good l. the Earle of Cumberlande, and to my honorable good frende S^r Robt Cecill knight his Ma^ts principall Secretarie.”

Endorsed: “7 Apr. 1603. Bishop of Duresme.”⁸

Here we have evidence of secret communications between the Earl of Cumberland and Sir R. Cecil on the one part, and the Bishop of Durham on the other, “touching,” to use the latter’s expression, “my house called Duresme-place in the Strande”; and yet a bare fortnight had elapsed since the Queen’s death. There is no indication in this letter that the proceedings were known to James, and yet we can scarcely credit such a step being taken without his cognisance; nor is there any allusion to the fact that the Bishop had already taken possession of a portion of the buildings attached to the residence in question. It is rather startling to learn that five days previous to this letter the Bishop had not only claimed, but had virtually taken possession of the property by leasing to his son “all that part of Duresme-place . . . which is usually called the Gatehouse, with all rooms, lodgings, edifices and buildings whatsoever adjoining thereunto, *then in the occupation of Sir Walter Raleigh,*” etc. (Italics are not in the original.) The lease is dated 2nd April, 1 Jac. I. (1603).⁹ Raleigh retired from the property late in the following June.

Historians and biographers have hitherto assigned the decision of the King to restore Durham House to the see to the period when he had an interview with the Bishop, on or after April 7th, having relied for their information on a tract of twenty-four pages, published without author’s name in the same year (1603), and entitled *The Truc Narra-*

⁸ *Hatfield MSS., Cecil Papers, 99/98.*

⁹ *Vide Appendix.*

tion of the Entertainment of his Royal Majestie, from the time of his Departure from Edenbrough, till his Receiving at London; and reprinted in Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i. (1828), from which the following extracts are taken:—

“The King left Edinburgh on April 5, and arrived at Berwick the next day (60), where he attended the Church service and heard ‘a most learned and worthy Sermon,’ preached by ‘Tobie Mathew, Bishop of Durham.’ (65) He remained in Berwick on the 7th (the day on which the Bishop replied to Cecil’s letter), and left on the day following, having in his train besides other notabilities, Lord Henry Howard and Bishop Matthew. The latter on Sunday, April 10, preached before the King at Newcastle. He reached Durham on the 13th, the Bishop attending his Majestie, with an hundred Gentlemen in tawny liveries. Of all his entertainment, in particular at the Bishop’s, his merrie and well seasoned jests, as wel there as in other parts of his jouny, all his words being of full waight, and his jests filled with the salt of wit, yet so facetious and pleasant, as they were no lesse gracious and worthy regard than the words of so Royall a Majestie; it is bootelesse to repeate them, they are so well knowne.

“Thursday, being the 14th day, his Majestie tooke leave of the Bishop of Durham, whom he greatly graced and commended for his learning, humanitie and gravitie, promising to restore divers things taken from the Bishopprieke, which he hath accordingly in part done, giving him already possession of Durham House in the Strand” (74, 75).

These statements would naturally lead to the belief that until April 14th the King had not finally determined to restore the town house to the Durham See, although this is wholly irreconcilable with the fact of the Bishop having already, twelve days before, leased a portion of the estate to his son. Possibly the loose jests, or the sermons of this “pious holy man,” as Strype terms him, may have helped to confirm the success of the project shadowed in the letter of April 7th, especially if the King had exhibited any indecision or wavering—but all this is conjectural and unsatisfactory, and so it will be better to pass from this region of uncertainty to that of fact.

On May 31st the King signed the warrant, directing the Keeper of the Great Seal (Sir T. Egerton), and others named in it, “to give warning and comandment . . . to Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, and Sir Edward Darcy, to delyver quyet possession of the said house to the said Bishop of Duresme”; the occupiers “removing thence themselves and all their

goods within that tyme which you shall appoint, with indifferent consideration as well of the Bishop's necessary use of the place, as also of their conveyency for removing from thence."¹ Although the "conveyency" of the occupiers was to be considered, the Bishop, on June 7th (only one week after the date of the warrant), addressed an unseemly letter to the Lord Keeper, to urge him to grant him early possession of the house, alleging "the supposed tenaunts seeking nothing els but to gaine tyme to deface the house more than is justifiable by lawe, or to shuffle in some noble or otherwise gracious person," &c. He asserts "those wranglers" knew of his just "Clayme" to the property, as he "had made the same knowne unto them all before Easter last, which they cannot denie."² As Easter-day in that year fell on April 24th, one month only after the King's accession, it is evident the Bishop wasted no time in the matter. Although he had been in possession of the see from April 13th, 1595, he does not appear to have made any overt effort to oust Raleigh during the reign of Elizabeth; that he was plotting in that direction during her closing years, the foregoing statements will prove. W. Thornbury was not far wrong in terming him "that sly time-server,"³ for had the King been aware, on May 31st, of the comments made on his veracity by the Bishop a few years earlier, the latter would not in all probability have had Durham House conferred on him. ("James, probably, knew nothing of the very unfavourable view of his own character which the courtly Bishop had formed and expressed in bygone years. As recently as in 1594 Matthew had written to Lord Burghley that King James 'is a deep dissembler than is thought possible for his years.' 'I pray God,' he adds, 'the King's protestations be not too well believed.'")⁴

The Lord Keeper had required Raleigh to give up possession by June 24th, and the latter, in reply, complained of the short notice he had received to leave a house upon which he had bestowed nearly £2,000 out of his own purse (cf. Lady Raleigh's letter, October, 1600, *ante*), and added, "I do not know butt that the poorest artificer in London hath a quarter's warninge given hyme by his landlord. . . . To cast out my hay and oates into the streats att an howres warninge, and to remove my famyly and stuff in 14 dayes after, is such a seveare expultion as hath not bynn offred to any man before this daye," the course taken with him

¹ *Egerton Papers*, 377.

² *Ibid.* 378, 379.

³ *Haunted London* (1865), 97.

⁴ Edwards, ii. 265.

being "contrary to honor, to custome, and to civillity." He ends thus: "If I do any thing contrary to law the Byshope may take his remedy, and I percave cannot want good frinds."⁵ Raleigh's efforts were of no avail, and so "its most illustrious tenant," as Leigh Hunt termed him, had to quit the house in a summary manner, within a month of the date of the order, and it is doubtful if he ever set foot in it again. How long the Bishop may have resided in his newly acquired dwelling is uncertain. Edwards remarks: "I doubt that he lived in it more than a few weeks" (ii. 266); Cunningham affirms it "was never again inhabited by a bishop of that see" (i. 284); and Thornbury, that it "was never occupied again either by bishop or noble" (98). It is questionable whether these statements are strictly correct. A little over three months passed over when Bishop Matthew, in an indenture dated October 7th, 1603, leased to the King for eighty years a strip of the east border of the garden, sixty-six feet wide, adjoining and parallel to Ivy Lane; and as the upper portion of the same border had been parted with in 1544,⁶ the lane, along its entire length, ceased to be a boundary of the Durham property. This narrow strip, by an indenture of January 12th, 1604, was assigned by the King to "Lord Cecil of Essingden," and was included in the grounds of Salisbury House.⁷

We now come to a highly important document in the Hatfield Collection, dated 12th March, 2 Jac. I. (1605).⁸ It first quotes in full the details of a deed of 2nd April, 1 Jac. I. (1603), already referred to, whereby the Bishop granted to his son the Gatehouse portion of the estate, on a lease for twenty-one years, at "the old, ancient, usual, accustomed rent." Then it cites one of 14 January, 1 Jac. I. (1604), by which the Bishop leases the *same* premises to the King for eighty years, at a rent of £10; followed by another, in which the King assigns to Dudley Carleton all his rights in the *same* property.⁹

The Hatfield Collection contains several deeds of the joint lessors that are scarcely of sufficient interest to quote in full; suffice it to say that, by an indenture of 31st July, 5 Jac. I. (1607), Dudley Carleton, in consideration of the

⁵ *Egerton Papers*, 380, 381.

⁶ *Vide* Appendix B.

⁷ Appendices C, D.

⁸ Printed *in extenso* in Appendix E.

⁹ Not being versed in the law, these deeds were submitted to an eminent solicitor for his opinion, which was to the effect that in the absence of other documents which might have thrown some clear light on the matter, it is most probable the earlier lease would have to run out before the later lessee obtained any benefit under his lease.

receipt of "a competent sum of money," assigned all his interest in the Durham estate to the Earl of Salisbury.¹ And by another of 28th February, 5 Jac. I. (1608), the then lessors, "Tobie Mathew of London, armiger, Sir Henry Goodyear of Powlesworth, Warwick, and Edwar Easton of Gray's Inn, armiger," granted all their estate to the Earl of Salisbury for the sum of £1200.² A bond dated on the same day was entered into by both parties "for the Earl's peaceable enjoyment of the same."³

Although the deeds of 1605-8 above quoted do not state clearly whether the whole of the north border of the estate west of the Gatehouse was included in the purchases made by Lord Salisbury, or whether it was more fully specified in a deed now missing, it is certain that the whole of it was in his lordship's possession in the early part of 1608, and which enabled him to carry out some alterations upon it. The ruined outbuildings which existed along the west end of the Strand boundary had probably never been put in proper repair since the fire of 1600 (*vide* Lady Raleigh's letter *ante*), and as they were in near proximity to his own residence, he, after a good deal of trouble, gained possession of them. This, as we have already noticed, was completed on February 28th, 1608, and on the site he commenced the erection, on June 10th of the same year, of an important building called Britain's Burse, or the New Exchange, which was opened in state by James I. on April 11th, 1609, who gave it the former name, but by the public it was more generally known by the latter one. It was intended to be a rival to the Old or Royal Exchange, but after enjoying a fair amount of popularity as a bazaar and a fashionable lounge, it gradually lost its hold on the public, and was pulled down in 1737, a large bank (now Coutts') and a number of shops being erected on the site.⁴ Respecting this new structure, the following lines were written among the Marginalia, *circa* 1630, in a copy of Raleigh's *History of the World*, lent to the writer by Mr. Thorp, bookseller, of Reading:—

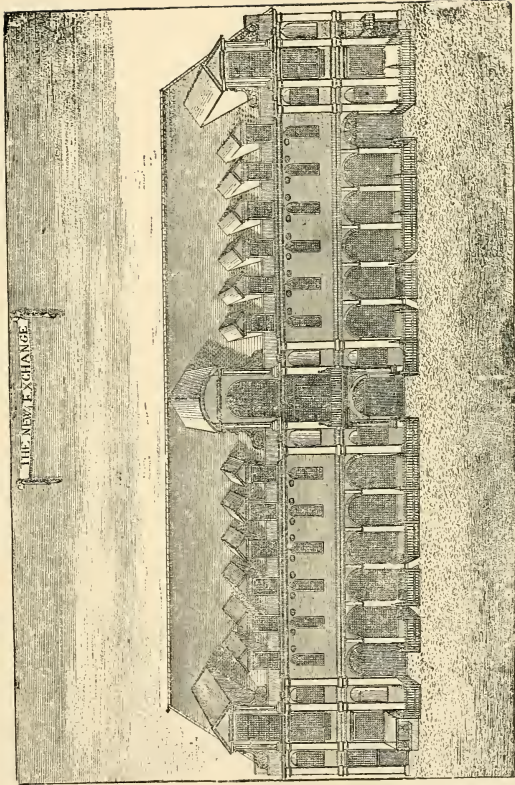
"London is a fayer towne & a fine citty. Tis gouerned by a
skarlett gowne, mark you well my Ditty.
And is not this strange & is not this straunge, y^t
Derosme howse stables are made y^e Neaw Exchange."

¹ *Hatfield MSS.*, *Deeds*, 226/14.

² *Ibid.* *Deeds*, 184/1.

³ *Ibid.* 128/4.

⁴ "Britain's Burse" is fully described in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ix. n.s. (1903), 33-48, 81-94.



The Strand Front of Britain's Bourse, or the New Exchange.

Tobie Matthew was translated to York in 1606, and his confirmation took place on August 18th. Two days later (August 20th) Dudley Carleton remarked in a letter to John Chamberlain, "The Archbishop of York displeased with the spoils of the see during the vacancy, and the Bishop of Durham (James) with the gift of Durham House to the Duke of Lenox."⁵ Of this asserted "gift" we hear nothing more.

On June 7th, 1609, a further encroachment was made on the property by the Bishop (W. James) granting a lease to Lord Salisbury of portion of the inner court, to provide a roadway in the rear of and adjoining the new Burse, to be joined at its west extremity by another at right angles to it leading to the river-bank, where a landing-place would be constructed, necessitating the removal of some of the domestic offices. High walls were to be erected to separate these portions from the Bishop's own residential portion of the buildings and estate.⁶ By the terms of the same deed separate stables for the use of the Bishop were to be built on the west side of St. Martin's Lane.

A letter of thanks (dated September 25th, 1609) for the new stables is sent by the Bishop to Thomas Wilson, the Earl's agent, and "requests delivery of the key to his servant, that hay and straw may be provided there, against his coming up to Parliament."⁷

Before proceeding further it is necessary to draw attention to a deed of much later date, in confirmation of the remarks as to the severance from time to time of portions of the Durham estate, through being leased to the Earl of Salisbury. These portions comprised:—

1. The north border, which included the site of Britain's Burse, and the Gatehouse with adjoining building (1607-8).
2. The plot "enclosed and severed" from the open court, to provide a road from the Thames side to the Burse, with extension along the back of the latter (1609).
3. Of a parcel of ground sixty-six feet wide, adjoining the west border of Ivy Lane (1693-4).

These were held by the Earl of Salisbury under the successive Bishops of Durham at a fee-farm rent of £40. By a Deed of Conveyance, dated March 24th, 1647-8, the whole of these different sections of the Durham property

⁵ *Cal. S.P. James I.*, xxiii. 10.

⁶ The deed is printed in Appendix, and shows Edwards' statement that the Bishop granted a lease of the "courtyard of Durham House" was not altogether correct. The plan of 1626 points this out very clearly.

⁷ *Ibid.* xlvi. 52.

were, by the authority of Parliament, sold to William Earl of Salisbury, for a "Consideration" of £480.⁸

Raleigh's troubles did not cease with the loss of his London residence at the end of June, as before the close of the next month he was a prisoner in the Tower, for alleged treasonable practices with Lord Cobham and others, which resulted in his being imprisoned for fourteen years, and ultimately culminated in the forfeiture of his life. As Durham House was asserted to be the focus of the conspiracy, and where, according to Lord Henry Howard (*vide post*), it had been commenced at least two years prior to the decease of Elizabeth, it is necessary to allude to some of the circumstances that led to the downfall of Raleigh, and by whom it was effected.

Whatever opinion we may form as to the demeanour of the King to Raleigh, we have to bear in mind that in the first place Essex had, with special reference to the latter, "laboured to prejudice the king against those who had any influence in the English court."⁹ Then came the virulent correspondence of Cecil and Howard with James during the lifetime of the Queen, directed against Cobham, Raleigh, and Lady Raleigh, and terminating by Cecil—immediately after Elizabeth's death—getting "first foot" with James.¹ The latter knew nothing of Raleigh personally, and had to rely upon the testimony of those who were unfavourable to him. This feeling was no doubt greatly aggravated by Raleigh himself being the exponent of anti-Spanish views, to which James was vehemently opposed.² Upwards of two years before the Queen died both Cecil and Howard tried to lower the position of Raleigh, and especially to undermine him in James' estimation, although Cecil was all the time professing great friendship for him, a friendship firmly believed in by the latter. "Salisbury never cared for any man longer nor he could make use of him" (Ben Jonson's "Conversations with William Drummond," in *Works*, ix. (1875) 396). To this the editor, W. Gifford, added (quoting from Lord Bacon), "In the time of the Cecils, the father and the son, able men were by design and of purpose suppressed."

⁸ *Hatfield MSS., Deeds*, 111/16, printed *in extenso* in Appendix F.

⁹ Oldys, i. 329.

¹ "It was he who, contriving to keep up to the last his interest with the queen Elizabeth, and to oust his rivals, Essex and others, was the first to make secret terms with her successor James, and to prepare the way for his reception in England: of which, perhaps, Elizabeth was aware, when she lay moaning on the ground" (LEIGH HUNT, *The Town* (1860), 176).

² Cf. Edwards, 312-14.

Lord Henry Howard, remarks Edwards, was "Raleigh's bitterest enemy"; and "probably few men at any period have taken such extraordinary pains to leave to posterity indubitable evidence of their own baseness" (i. 304, 305). At the same time he endeavours to exonerate Cecil from the odium attached to his intimacy with him, in all the secret movements that were being made against Raleigh during the closing years of Elizabeth, as well as in the first one of her successor. "It would be curious to know," observes Gardiner, "how far the feeling with which Cecil regarded Raleigh was owing to the influence of so worthless a companion as Lord Henry Howard. Certain is it that Howard hated Raleigh with a perfect hatred, and that Cecil's estrangement from that great man began about the time when he was first brought into close communion with Howard" (i. 94).³ England owed much to Cecil in securing the peaceful accession of James to the English throne, and in many ways he served his country faithfully and well; but he could brook no rival, and "to retain power he had to work with very base tools,"⁴ and so Raleigh had to suffer. This is proved by the secret and active letter-writing that took place between them (Cecil and Howard) with James, during his occupation of the Scottish throne. It was carried on by Cecil, states Cayley, "with all the secrecy and caution necessary to his situation, and peculiar to his character. The letters were for the most part conveyed by the way of Ireland; and those from this side were written by Lord Henry Howard, under the inspection of Cecil, in a style affectedly obscure. Notwithstanding the solicitude repeatedly discovered by the secretary that they should be destroyed as soon as the king had read them, many of them have been preserved, and reached the press about forty years ago"⁵ (i. 352, 353). The letters that escaped de-

³ The most scathing remarks on his character are contained in COLLINS' *Peerage of England* (ed. Sir E. Bridges (1812), i. 102), from which the following are extracted: "He insinuated himself so far into the confidence of his mortal enemy, Secretary Cecil, whom he had just before called *tortuosum colubrum*, as to become the instrument of the Secretary's correspondence with the King of Scots, which passed through his hands. . . . He became a principal instrument in the infamous intrigue of his great-niece the Countess of Essex with Carr, Viscount Rochester. . . . it is impossible to doubt his deep criminality in the murder of Overbury. . . . about nine months afterwards, June 15th, 1614, he died, luckily for himself, before this atrocious affair became the subject of public investigation. . . . it causes astonishment therefore, when we reflect that this despicable and wicked wretch was the son of the generous and accomplished Earl of Surry."

⁴ Edwards, i. 303.

⁵ A singular anecdote relating to Cecil's secret mode of conducting "his

struction were published under the title of *The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI. of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1776), with a preface of four pages by the editor ("Dav. Dalrymple"), Lord Hailes. "The letters thus published are unquestionably genuine," affirms J. Bruce,⁶ and are sixteen in number. Of these two were from the King to the Earl of Marr and to Howard respectively, and of the remaining fourteen—all by Howard—two were to the King, three to the Earl of Marr, and nine to E. Bruce. They contain many allusions to Raleigh and to Durham House.⁷

According to Birch, "the foundation" of the fortunes of Sir J. Fullerton and Mr. J. Hamilton were "laid at Dublin, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by conveying the letters of some great lords of England, who worshipped the rising sun, to King James, and his letters back to them, that way being chosen as more safe than the direct northern road."⁸ The attempted destruction of the correspondence above noted is confirmed by other testimony. Thus in a letter from Lord H. Howard to the Earl of Marr, dated June 4th, 1602, is this paragraph:—

"I beseech you be careful, that all be burnt, after King James hath been pleased to run over them. . . . Burn this, dear Lord, and retain the writer in your worthy conceit" (*Secret Corres.*, 135, 138).

Again, the editor of the *Letters from Sir R. Cecil to Sir G. Carew* (Camd. Soc., 1864) remarks, "Sir Robert Cecil did his best to secure their destruction," and quotes the following entry, written above the "Table of Contents" of the volume of MSS. containing the correspondence:—

"This booke containeth a remaynder of Mr Secretary Cecyll his lettres, left vnburnt, &c." (Preface, v., vi.).

Although they cover the same period as that of the *Secret Correspondence*, Howard's name is mentioned only once.

The following extracts from the last-named correspondence will bear out the correctness of the foregoing remarks, and

Correspondencies, which he was once like to be trapt in," is recorded in Sir H. Wotton's "Parallel between Robert, late Earl of Essex, and George, late Duke of Buckingham," in *Reliquiæ Wottoniæ* (1672), 169, 170. Cf. SIR A. WILSON'S *Hist. of James I.* (1653), 2.

⁶ In the Introduction to the *Correspondence of King James VI. of Scotland with Sir R. Cecil and others, etc.* (Camd. Soc., 1861), xxxvi.

⁷ The Earl of Marr and Mr. E. Bruce (afterwards Lord Kinloss) were sent as ambassadors to Elizabeth in February, 1601.

⁸ *Life of Prince Henry* (1760), 232.

will testify also to the malignity displayed against Lord Cobham also. It will be noticed that Durham House was regarded as the meeting-place of the alleged conspirators, and where their plot is asserted to have been hatched.

December 4th, 1601. Lord H. Howard to Mr. Bruce:—

“You must remember also that I gave you notice of the diabolical triplicity—that is, Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland—that met every day at Durham-house, where Raleigh lies in consultation, which awaked all the best wits of the town out of suspicions of sundry kinds, to watch what chickens they could hatch out of these cockatrice-eggs that were daily and nightly sitten on” (29).

“These wicked villains, Cobham and Raleigh, handled the fool so cunningly,” etc. (35).

“The miserable state of Cobham and Raleigh, who are fain to put their heads under the girdle of him whom they envy most” (52).

April (?), 1602:—

“The league is very strong between Sir Walter Raleigh and my Lady Shrewsbury and Sir Walter Raleigh’s wife: Much hath been offeren on all sides to bring her into the privy chamber to her old place, because she is a most dangerous woman, and full of her Father’s inventions” (68).

June 4th, 1602, Lord H. Howard to the Earl of Marr:—

“Raleigh and Cobham, as they vaunt themselves, have agreed with the Duke [of Northumberland] all the plots that shall be recommended hither, &c.” (1312).

“Your Lordship may believe that hell did never spew up such a couple, when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon” (132).

A letter from Lord H. Howard to Cecil, written “probably between March and June,” 1602, contains these⁹ passages:—

“She [the Queen] must be told what canons ar concluded in the Chapter of Durham, whear Rawlye’s wife is presedent; and withall how weakly Cobham is induced to comende the courses that ar secretelie inspired by the consente of that fellowshyppe.”

“His [Raleigh’s] wife, as furious as Proserpina with failinge of that restitution in Court which flatterie had moved her to expecte, bendes her whole witts and industrie to the disturbance of all motions, by counsell and encouragement, that may disturbe the possibilitie of others’ hopes, sinc her owne cannot be securid.”

“Cobham must have the rough hand of Esau, in exequation of rigor; Rawlie, the softie voic of Jacob in courtlie hypocrisy . . . Rawlie must be the cogging Spirit.”

⁹ *Cotton. MS.* Titus, cvi. ff. 382–8, quoted by Edwards, ii. 438–41.

The trial of Raleigh for alleged conspiracy took place at Winchester on November 17th, 1603, and in view of the foregoing statements it is surprising to find the names of Raleigh's professed friend, and of Howard, his avowed bitter enemy, among those of the Commissioners who sat in judgment upon him. The indictment commenced thus:—

“That he did Conspire, and go about to deprive the King of his Government; to raise up Sedition within the Realm; to alter Religion, to bring in the Roman Superstition, and to procure Foreign Enemies to invade the Kingdome. That the Lord Cobham, the ninth of June last, did meet with the said Sir Walter Raleigh in Durham-House, in the parish of St. Martins in the Fields, and then and there had Conference with him,” etc.

Then follow the charges in detail. (J. Shirley, 68.)

The incidents of the memorable trial, the extraordinary manner in which it was conducted by the Attorney-General, Sir E. Coke, “with a harsh rudeness which was remarkable even in that age” (Gardiner, i. 123), and the “brutality of Language” of the Lord Chief Justice Popham (Stebbing, 187), are too well known to need much comment here, but there are a few points to which attention may be drawn.

It must be borne in mind that Cobham and Raleigh were friends of many years' standing,¹ and the interviews which took place on June 9th and on other occasions at Durham House were at the trial acknowledged by Raleigh, and were declared by him to relate to matters of a purely private character, beyond which he absolutely denied the charges brought against him. The allegation of his plotting in favour of Spain is utterly opposed to the whole of the actions of his life, all of which were in opposition to Spain and its policy, and were testified to even during his last interview with the King. It is specially alluded to here, as it seriously affects the characters of both Cecil and Howard. If in his final charge Popham were correct in asserting thus of Raleigh, “You cannot deny but that you were dealt with to have a Pension to be a Spy for Spain” (an unproven assertion), what shall be said of the conduct of the two Commissioners just mentioned who were trying Raleigh for his life, both of whom were in Spanish pay for services to be rendered? (It was never alleged that Raleigh had received any money from Spain.) In 1604 Howard was

¹ A friendly letter from “Anne Lady Cobham to Sir Robert Cecil,” written “From Durham House,” is dated May 30th, 1599 (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Cal. of MSS. at Hatfield House, part ix. (1902), 186).

receiving a pension of £1,000 from that country; Cecil "condescended to accept a pension of £1,000, which was raised to £1,500 in the following" year, in addition to "gifts extraordinary upon services." The latter is recorded in a letter from Sir John Digby (English ambassador at the Court of Spain) to James I., September 9th, 1613; and in another of December, 1615, he states, "the extraordinary sums upon particular occasions that were then given to my Lord of Salisbury and my Lady of Suffolk were very great."² There is much reason to believe that Cecil obtained a pension from the French Government also.³ Even Popham himself is not free from the imputation of receiving bribes, and with our knowledge of the cause of Lord Bacon's loss of power and place, bribery and corruption seems to have become a more frequent practice in high places during the Stuart dynasty than was possible under the Tudors.⁴

The more we know of Howard's character the less are we surprised at his receipt of a pension from a foreign power; it is otherwise when we consider the action of Cecil, especially when we remember his vehement assertion during the trial of Essex in February, 1600-1, "I pray God to consume me where I stand if I hate not the Spaniard as much as any man living."⁵ Contrast all this with their action towards Raleigh, whose feelings and actions to his life's end were directed against the Spanish power.

Stebbing tritely remarked, "The question of Raleigh's moral innocence is not the same as that of his legal innocence. All writers answer the latter unanimously in his favour. On the former they are divided" (225). His condemnation, the curious scene on the scaffold when he was reprieved, and his long imprisonment are matters of history. Cecil died on May 24th, 1612, the year prior to that when James first learned of his having been a pensioner of Spain. Howard died in June, 1614. Whatever hopes Raleigh may have entertained of his release were rudely shattered by the death of his great friend, Henry Prince of Wales, on

² Gardiner, i. 214, 215; ii. 216, 217. Edwards, i. 509, 510. It may be remarked that Dr. Jessopp, in his memoir of Cecil in the *D. N. D.*, views the matter in a more favourable light.

³ Gardiner, ii. 216.

⁴ "Lady Suffolk, the mother of the Countess of Somerset, kept a regular office for the sale of pardons. The darker the offence, the greater the profit to the lucky holder of the King's signature of reprieve. Sir John Popham is said to have obtained the fine estate of Littlecote in return for using his influence in behalf of the condemned murderer Darrell" (*Court and Society*, by the Duke of MANCHESTER (1864), i. 307, 308).

⁵ JARDINE, *Criminal Trials* (1847), i. 356.

November 6th, 1612, a memorable one in the history of literature, as Raleigh, owing to this great loss, at once brought his *magnum opus*, the *History of the World*, to a close, which otherwise he had contemplated extending to other volumes.

Britain's Bourse had been opened nearly seven years when Raleigh obtained his conditional release from the Tower, "with a keeper," on March 19th, 1616, his full liberty not being granted until January 30th, 1617. On August 19th of that year he started on his disastrous last voyage to Guiana, and returned broken-hearted on the following June 21st. Between that date and October 29th, when he was executed, he passed through much tribulation from being harassed by various agents of the Crown, etc. Through "an old spy of Queen Elizabeth's"⁶ we regain a passing, and in the career of Raleigh a final, reminiscence of his former London residence. This was in the person of Sir Thomas Wilson, "one of the band of English pensioners in the pay of Spain,"⁷ who, on his return from diplomatic service abroad, entered that of Cecil as agent, and took up his abode on the Durham estate. His master granted him a lease of a plot of ground near the west border of the Durham property,⁸ which he disposed of on October 1st, 1618.⁹ Previous to this latter date, he must have moved into another dwelling on the east side of the same property, shown on the plan of 1626. He was an author, and in 1606, through Cecil's influence, was appointed Keeper of the Public Records, and proved himself to be a very capable one. He was knighted on July 20th, 1618, and "in September following was selected for the dishonourable task of worming out of Raleigh sufficient admissions to condemn him," and in this disreputable occupation he continued from September 14th to October 15th.¹ Gosse (211) alludes to him in these contemptuous words, "The most favourable thing that has ever been said of Stukeley is that he was not quite such a scoundrel as Wilson."

This closes our interest in Durham House as far as Raleigh was concerned, but as the historical interest of the old Bishop's Inn continued until the destruction of the building about forty years later, it will not be considered out of place to follow on its history to its closing scene.

It is remarkable that Oldys, in his *Life of Raleigh*, rarely

⁶ Gardiner, iii. 143.

⁷ Gosse, 211.

⁸ *S.P. Record Office, Dom. James I.*, xl. p. 22.

⁹ *Ibid.* ciii. p. 3.

¹ *D. N. B.*, "Memoir of Sir T. Wilson." The mode in which he carried out his instructions is related in the same article.

refers to the London residence of the latter, and does not even allude to the Queen conferring it upon him, nor to its being taken from him and restored to the see of Durham.

On January 22nd, 1620, the year before his disgrace, Lord Bacon, "Son to the grave wise Keeper of the Seal," celebrated his birthday (æt. 60) by a grand banquet, on which occasion Ben Jonson recited a set of verses commencing—

"Hail, happy genius of this ancient pile!"

Thornbury (137) affirms it was held at Durham House, but there can be little doubt this is incorrect, and that it took place at the adjoining York House, Bacon's own residence.²

That Durham House was a very capacious one, and could accommodate a large number of persons, is evidenced by the following statement of Sir T. Wilson:—

"1619. Dec. Sir Thomas Wilson (from my house in Durham Yard) to Mr. Richard Willis, Secretary to Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer. Says that the Ambassadors there resident at that time were but three: for France, the Count de Tilliers; for Savoy, Signor Gabellione, whose title he does not remember; for the States, Sir Noel Caron. They that go by name of Agents are lykewise three: for Spayne, a Fryar, called Padre Maestro; for the Palsgrave now King of Bohemia, Mr. Abraham Williams; for the Archduke, Signor Van Male. There is also a Secretary for Venice in manner of an Agent, whose name he knows not. Florence has had one of late, but there is none now that he can hear of."³

This letter throws some light on certain proceedings that took place in 1623, a year when we enter upon a chapter of history that might have been, in which the house that yet belonged to the Durham see would have played an important part. At the commencement of that year Charles I. (then Prince of Wales), with the Duke of Buckingham, went to Spain, in full expectation of a marriage being arranged between the Prince and the Infanta. As recorded in several deeds preserved in the Public Record Office, great preparations were made in London to receive the royal pair, but had to be rescinded on the tedious diplomatic proceedings coming to an untimely end, much to the joy of the English nation, who were greatly averse to the proposed Spanish match, their feeling being shown in an unmistakable manner on the return of the Prince.⁴

² Cf. *Ben Jonson's Works*, ed. W. Gifford (1875), viii. 424.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, App. 4th Rep., 284. ⁴ Gardiner, v. 128, 129.

1623. March 8th. Secretary Conway to the Lord Chamberlain.

“To make timely preparations for the reception of the Prince and Infanta of Spain, and to prepare houses to receive them, their trains, and the grandees who will attend them. Those thought of are St. James’s, Somerset House, and Durham House. Count Gondomar is likely to come as Ambassador Lieger, and a house will be needed for him. The furniture is also to be cared for.”⁵

1623. March 23rd. Lord Chamberlain Pembroke to Secretary Conway.

“The fitting up of St. James’s Palace for the Infanta is the most pressing point, as her side will have to be enlarged, the oratory built, and the whole palace refurnished, the furniture there being too mean for their Highnesses; the expense will be heavy. Durham House will be the fittest for the grandees, and, as it will only be needed for a time, can be furnished from the wardrobe. Count Gondomar need not have a separate house provided; he can first share, and then occupy, that of the present Ambassador, who will be leaving. The Surveyor of the works has just reported that Durham House can be made ready at less charge than St. James’s.”⁶

On April 19th Durham House is reported to be empty, and on the 23rd there is a letter from Secretary Conway to the Lord Treasurer, “to bargain for Exeter, Durham, and Suffolk Houses against the Prince’s return from Spain.”⁷

On several occasions the French Ambassador was lodged there, and in 1626 we again find him residing in the same house, to which he probably moved in consequence of a lamentable occurrence which happened at his dwelling in Blackfriars on October 26th, 1623. On that day a large assemblage of Roman Catholics met in an upper room of the Gatehouse to attend the celebration of Mass and to hear a sermon by a Jesuit father named Robert Drury, when the floor gave way, and the congregation were precipitated through the next floor as well, and ninety-eight persons, including two priests, were killed on the spot. It was known for many subsequent years as the “Fatal Vespers,” and gave rise to the publication of many broadsides, ballads, and pamphlets. One of the latter, termed *The Dolefull Even-Song*, included the names of all who perished.⁸

⁵ *Cal. S.P. James I.*, cxxxix. 63.

⁶ *Ibid.* cxl. 21.

⁷ *Ibid.* cxliii. 20, 51.

⁸ Henry Gee, son of the Rev. J. Gee, Vicar of Dunsford, was one of the audience, but escaped without injury. He had become a Roman Catholic, but after his fortunate escape he once more returned to his former faith, and

During the occupation of Durham House by the French Ambassador in 1626, a singular tumult arose owing to the attendance of English Roman Catholics at the services of the private chapel there. As the King deemed such attendance to be contrary to law, he directed the Council to put an end to them, and accordingly, on February 26th of that year, "a strong body of constables was posted at the gates . . . with directions to seize all English subjects as they came out."⁹ A tumult ensued, of which an account is related in one of the State Papers.

"1626. Feb. 26. 'A true relation of that which passed betwixt the King's Officers and the French Ambassador's followers, by occasion of apprehending English subjects, Papists, that resorted daily to mass to the Ambassador lying in Durham House.' Probably prepared by Sir Thomas Wilson. It contains the letter of the Council to the Bishop of Durham, dated Feb. 22, and the Bishop's warrant to the Constables, dated 1626, Feb. 26."¹

Accompanying this is a "Map of Durham House and the adjoining residences illustrative of the above transaction," of which a facsimile (the plan of 1626 alluded to in other parts of this paper) is now given. It is a rough block plan, not drawn to scale, and was apparently intended to exhibit the position of the various buildings and courts, to assist the authorities who had been appointed to investigate the particulars of the disturbance. This is corroborated by the circumstance of the names of buildings, etc., being noted on it in both English and French (the latter in paler ink), as though it had first been submitted to disputants on either side, prior to its being submitted to the authorities mentioned. No other similar plan of the Durham estate is known to exist.

In the same year (1626) the inhabitants of St. Martin-in-the-Fields addressed a petition to the King, in which they, after reciting the want of additional church accommodation, made this suggestion: "There is a hall in Durham House now used as a passage which might be converted into a Church, which the petitioners are ready to do, as well as to pay the minister."² It contains no allusion to the Bishop or to his rights. The petition was evidently unsuccessful.

published several works against the Roman Catholics, of which the principal were *The Foot out of the Snare* and *New Shreds of the Old Snare*. A sermon on the same subject, preached by him at Paul's Cross in the following year, was published under the title of *Hold Fast*, and is a very scarce pamphlet (*vide Trans. Devon. Assoc.* (1893), xxv. 49, 124). Many of the State Papers of October and November, 1623, refer to the subject.

⁹ Gardiner, vi. 70.

¹ *Cal. S.P. Charles I.*, xxi. 63, 64.

² *Ibid.* xliv. 51.

Secretary Conway lodged there in 1632, and Lord Keepers Coventry and Finch from 1625 to 1641.³

The interest of the Bishops of Durham in the fortunes of their town house, which had belonged to the see for so many centuries, came to an end about the year 1640, when it was sold to "Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery in consideration, say some, to pay to the See of Durham 200*l.* per Ann. which Grant was confirmed by Act of Parliament dated the 16th of Charles the First."⁴

Soldiers were quartered there during the early years of the Commonwealth. On January 23rd, 1649-50, the Earl died, and his son, about the period of the Restoration (after it, according to Mr. Wheatley), pulled down the old mansion. The actual year of its destruction is unknown, but it must have been prior to 1661, as in May of that year was published and "sold at the New Exchange," etc., *Merrie Drollerie*, Part I., containing a set of verses under the heading, "Admiral Dean's Funeral," from which the following is transcribed:—

"The Exchange, and the Ruins of Durham House eke,
Wish'd such sights might be seen each day i' th' week,
A Generals Carcass without a Cheek,
Which nobody can deny."⁵

On its site were built "houses, as now they are standing, being a handsome Street, descending down out of the Strand, which falls into another, much better inhabited, especially on the South side, where there are Gardens fronting the Thames, very pleasant, with two Woodmongers Wharfs for the sale of Fuel. Besides, where the Dairy-house stood, now taken down, is a more open Passage to another Row of Houses, fronting the Backside of the New Exchange. And on the north side of the Street, near Ivy-bridge, is a pretty handsome Court, with a Freestone pavement, called Bishop's Court."⁶

A few years later, "there remained of the old episcopal mansion itself only a ruined river-front; and, behind it, a confused mass of sheds and vaults, with a tottering house or two. Where mediæval bishops and Tudor statesmen had once dwelt in splendour, the outcasts and roughs of London found a squalid shelter."⁷ On this site, in 1768, began to be upreared by the brothers Adam the mass of buildings

³ *Cal. S.P. Charles I.*, ccccxlii. 60.

⁴ Stow's *London* (1755), 650, and so reported in a letter of August 10th, 1641, from Tho. Smith to the Earl of Northumberland (*Ibid.* cccclxxxiii. 34).

⁵ In *Choyce Drollerie*, etc., ed. Ebsworth (1876), 212.

⁶ Stow (1755), 650, 651.

⁷ Edwards, ii. 268, 269.



Adelphi Buildings and Terrace,
erected on the site of Durham House.

elevated on arches, known as the Adelphi, the history of which has been fully described by Mr. Wheatley in the *Antiquary* (ix., x., 1884).

The various phases and vicissitudes of Durham House and of its occupants that have been described at some length in the foregoing pages, had an important share in the history of that portion of London situated in the vicinity of the Court at Westminster. But to us Devonians the fortunes of the Bishop's old town house have an especial abiding interest for having been so intimately associated in the stirring events, whether in his eminent successes or in his unmerited downfall, of the life-history of Sir Walter Raleigh during his residence there for the last twenty years in the eventful reign of Elizabeth.

TRANSCRIPTS FROM MSS. IN THE HATFIELD
COLLECTION.¹

APPENDIX A.

(1536. July 1.)

Indenture, 1st July, 28 Henry VIII., between the King and Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham.

The Bishop grants to the King all that his capital messuage or mansion house called Durham Place, with all houses, buildings, gardens, orchards, fishings, stables, easements, profits &c. to the same belonging, in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, late in the occupation of Thomas Earl of Wilts; and all other his messuages &c. &c. in the said parish and in the parish of St. Margaret and elsewhere in Westminster. The Bishop covenants with the King that the said lands, tenements &c. and other the premises over and besides the said capital messuage with the said gardens, orchards &c., be of the clear value of £18: 18: 0, over and above all charges and reprises. Covenant to discharge the premises of all encumbrances &c.; the rents and services thereof from henceforth to the chief lord and lords and the fee and fees thereof only excepted.

In consideration whereof the King grants to the Bishop all the capital messuage or mansion house called Cold Herbrow, set and being in Teames Strete in the parish of All Hallows the Less, which messuage George Earl of Shrewsbury holds for his life; to have and to hold to the Bishop and his successors immediately

¹ These and other references to the Hatfield MSS. in the text were obtained through the courtesy of the late Marquis of Salisbury. The transcripts were supplied by Mr. R. T. Gunton, acting under the direction of his lordship.

after the death of the said Earl, to hold the same of the King by fealty only for all manner of services and demands. The King also grants to the Bishop those his five messuages or tenements within the parish of All Hallows, Barking. Names of the present tenants of the 5 tenements: Rolt Lord, Thomas Raynold, Edmond Petyte, Henry Bodenham, & John Good; also his three messuages in the parish of Graschurch: present tenants William Sylvar, Thomas Nott & Richard Hunt; to hold the said 8 messuages in capite by knight's service and yearly rent of 37/10, in the name of the tenth or yearly tenth part of the said messuages &c. The King affirms that the above premises over and besides the messuage called Cold Herbrow, be of the clear yearly value of £18: 18: 0, over and above the yearly charges.

(Note, that the Bishop recognised the above indenture in the Chancery Court, 19th July, 28 Henry VIII.

Quoted in an exemplification, *Hatfield MSS.*, *Deeds*, 216/2; also contemporary copy, *Deeds*, 136/1.)

APPENDIX B.

(1544. July 4th.)

Letters Patent, dated Westminster 4th July, 36 Henry VIII., to William Forth *alias* Ford. The King, in consideration of the sum of £501: 12: 4, grants to him all those messuages or tenements and gardens in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields and St. Margaret's Westminster following, formerly bought by the King of the Bishop of Durham, namely 20 messuages or tenements, and 2 messuages and gardens in St. Martin's in the Fields, between the mansion called Durham Place and a certain lane called Ive Lane, which were bought by the King of the Bishop of Durham, and are now in the tenure of divers tenants. Also 4 other messuages or tenements and 2 cottages and gardens in the parish of St. Margaret's; between the tenement of John Rede on the west, and the tenement belonging to the parish Church of St. Bothulph extra Aldergate on the east; and likewise bought by the King of the Bishop of Durham; all which premises were let to William Habelthwayte by indenture of 20th March 28 Henry VIII. for 21 years. To be held in socage and not in capite.

(Quoted in exemplification, *Deeds*, 216/2. Cont. copy, *Legal*, 4/7.)

APPENDIX C.

(1603. October 7th.)

Indenture between Tobie, Bishop of Durham and the King, 7th October, 1 Jac. I. The Bishop leases to the King all that parcel of soil or ground being the east part of the garden of the said Bishop, as the same is hereafter bounded or abutted, adjoining or belonging to Durham House, otherwise called Durham Place, in

the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, lying between the new wall lately erected and built by the Lord Cecil on the west, and the highway or passage commonly called Ivey Lane on the east, and the wall of the said garden on the north, and the river of Thames on the south; and also all that ground or soil whereupon the said wall newly erected by the said Lord Cecil doth stand; together with as much of the said way or passage called Ivey Lane as doth belong to the said Bishop of Durham in the right of the said Bishopric. To have and to hold the said parcel of soil or ground, and all other the premises for 80 years. Yearly rent 5/-.
 (Attached is confirmation of the same by the Dean and Chapter, dated 20th November, 1 Jac. I. *Deeds*, 128/7.)

(Appointment by the Dean and Chapter of Tobie Matthew of Gray's Inn, Esquire, Richard Percivall, gent., and Henry Sanderson of Brancepeth, Durham, as their attorneys to acknowledge in Chancery the said confirmation. The above lease is quoted. Dated Durham, 20th November, 1 Jac. I. *Deeds*, 128/5.)

APPENDIX D.

(1604. January 12th.)

Indenture, 12th January, 1 Jac. I., between the King and Robert Cecil of Essingden. Quotes the lease of October 7th, 1603, Bishop of Durham to the King, of the east part of the garden of Durham House &c. The King now assigns to the said Lord Cecil of Essingden all the above premises, and all his interest unexpired therein; and Cecil covenants to discharge the King of all manner of rents, covenants, conditions, &c. agreed upon in the above named lease from the Bishop. (*Deeds*, 128/8.)

APPENDIX E.

(1605. March 12th.)

Indenture, 12th March, 2 Jac. I., between Tobye Mathewe of Gray's Inn, son and heir apparent of Tobye Bishop of Durham, and Dudley Carlton of London, Esquire, of the one part; and Sir Thomas Leigh of Stonley, Warwick, and Thomas Spencer of Clardon in the same county, Esquire, of the other part.

The said Bishop, by indenture of 2nd April, 1 Jac. I., leased to the said Toby Mathewe the son and his assigns all that part of Duresme Place commonly called Duresme House in the Stronde, in the parish of St. Martin's, which is usually called the Gatehouse, with all rooms, lodgings, edifices and buildings whatsoever adjoining thereunto, then in the occupation of Sir Walter Raleigh or his assigns, with all and every part of the ground or soil, and all edifices and buildings in and upon the same, set lying and being between the said Gatehouse on the east and the house or tenement in the street on the west, then or late in the occupation of Martha Tyen, widow, and Jasper Tyen, or either of them; together with free way leave to and from the Conduite in the

Utter Courte of the said house of Duresme Place, there to take fetch and carry away such water as the said Toby Mathewe the son or his assigns should use or need from time to time; and likewise free way leave into and from the garden and orchard of the said house; and also free way leave to pass and repass in and out the water-gate of the said house to and from the river Thames. Term 21 years. Rent, "the old, ancient, usual, accustomed rent."

The said Bishop also, by deed 14th January, 1 Jac. I., leased to the King the said premises for 80 years.

The King, by letters patent of 10th March, 1 Jac. I., assigned to the said Dudley Carlton the said Gatehouse and premises for 80 years.

The said Toby Mathewe and Dudley Carlton now lease to Sir Thomas Leigh and Thomas Spencer all that the said part of Duresme Place called the Gatehouse; that part thereof commonly called the Porter's Lodge, now or late in the tenure of Elizabeth King, widow, and the portership or keeping of the gates towards the street, excepted and reserved; with all rooms, lodgings &c. to the said Gatehouse belonging; now in the occupation of Gray Lord Chandois or his assigns; and wayleaves (as quoted above). Term 60 years, if Alice Dowager Countess of Derby, now the wife of Thomas Lord Elsmere, Lord Chancellor, and Lady Anne wife of Gray Lord Chandois, or either of them, shall fortune so long to live. Rent £40. (*Deeds*, 226/13.)

APPENDIX F.

(1647/8. March 24th.)

Conveyance by Sir John Wollaston and others, persons entrusted by Parliament with the sale of Archbishops' and Bishops' lands, to William Earl of Salisbury, of all that the fee farm rent of £40 reserved unto the late Bishop of Durham and his successors for ever issuing out and for all that building called Brittain's Burse and the Gatehouse thereby adjoining, and out of all the edifices houses easements rooms shops cellars sollars ways and passages to and from the same; and out of all the ground heretofore enclosed and severed by Robert late Earl of Salisbury from Durham House, and from the Court thereunto belonging; and out of a parcel of ground sometime part of the east end of Durham House, 66 ft. in breadth from east to west, and lying in length from the street north to the river of Thames south; which said fee farm rent of £40 is parcel of the possessions of the late Bishop of Durham, and is mentioned in the said particular to have been reserved unto the late Bishop of Durham by the Act of Parliament holden at Westminster 19th March, 1 Jac. I. and there continued until 9th February, 7 Jac. I., and payable by Robert Earl of Salisbury out of the premises. Consideration, £480. (*Deeds*, 111/16.)

