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ten days afterwards, he had a barn painted, and before the paint dried there came a fall of volcanic dust, which evidently had travelled all the way from Mont Pelée, about 1200 geographical miles. But, worse than that, a lady, who happened to be calling at the house during the dust shower, had not only her gown but her best new hat spoiled. All that remains for me now is to echo your wishes, and convey your heartiest thanks, not only to the lecturer, but to the gentlemen who have kindly favoured us by taking part in the discussion.

Dr. TEMPEST ANDERSON: I thank you for the very kind manner in which you have received my name. I assure you it has been a great pleasure to come here to-night to speak to you.

THE STORY OF LONDON MAPS.*

By LAURENCE GOMME.

IN order to consider properly the story of London from the maps, we must give some attention to London before the maps. London was a Celtic stronghold, as its name attests: it was appropriated as a Roman military camp, and grew into the proudest of Roman cities, Londinium Augusta; it was utilized by the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon kings as a military defence against the encroaching Danes and men of the North; it was brought under the Norman dominion, and transformed into a city-institution of the English state by the great Plantagenet sovereigns. But of all these periods we have no maps; perhaps it would be safe to say no maps existed. But the question may well be asked whether any remains of these far-off periods cannot be restored to the maps? and a further and more significant question is presented to the student of London maps, Do not the maps themselves, coming to us in successive stages from the sixteenth century, contain remains of the earlier periods before the maps, some ancient landmarks, some unobliterated features which the cartographers recorded but did not create?

This last question is obviously an important element in the story of the London maps, for when we come to examine these precious relics of the past, it is borne in upon us that they contain much more ancient history than that belonging to Tudor times—topography that has never been obliterated. I shall be able to point out to you presently what I exactly mean by this. At the moment, I am anxious only to impress upon you the importance of knowing something of London before the maps in order to understand the London of the maps.

I will ask your attention, in the first place, to the stratification of modern London. It is not often possible to illustrate this, for those who have penetrated to underground London have not always been those who have understood or cared for the history of London to be

* Royal Geographical Society, February 10, 1908. Map, p. 588.
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obtained from these inaccessible regions. A good example, however, is afforded by a diagram made by Mr. Alfred Tylor in connection with discoveries made by him in 1881 in Warwick Square. In this the *débris* of the fire of London forms a very regular dark bed about 11 feet from the surface. The Roman remains were found at a depth of from 18 to 19 feet in disturbed gravel. This gravel had been temporarily removed in order to get at a bed of brick-earth which lay immediately beneath. This brick-earth the Romans had evidently, by the position of the moved gravel, worked out at this spot for brick-making, the gravel being thrown back again when the brick-earth was removed, as is the practice to this day in modern brickfields. Here, therefore, we have the original level of the land at the time of the Roman occupation.

Another diagram, of a section of underground London at Cannon Street, shows, beneath the level of the modern street, the roadway before the great fire in 1666; below this, earth in which Norman and Early English pottery has been found; below this again, a Roman tessellated pavement, and the soil beneath it containing Roman remains. Moreover, the London County Council possesses, in a drawing made by Mr. Fitzmaurice, the chief engineer of the Council, in connection with the absurd scare about the proposed sewer which was to have been constructed in the London Clay, evidence as to a section underneath St. Paul's Cathedral. These diagrams show the kind of city London has become through the successive periods of its history, and how deep down we have to dig before coming upon London before the maps.

The earliest London is the home of Celtic pile-dwellers, and the discovery of this fact is due to General Pitt-Rivers. The Thames was undoubtedly the site of lake-dwellings of the familiar type made known to us principally from the discoveries in the Swiss lakes, but also from discoveries in all parts of the British Isles. Thus, at Kew Prof. Boyd Dawkins discovered large oaken piles driven into the gravel which anciently formed the bottom of the Thames, with brushwood, principally willow, thrust in between them.* At the junction of the Fleet river with the Thames, General Pitt-Rivers made the most important discovery concerning earliest London. He found a number of piles the decayed tops of which appeared above the unexcavated portions of the peat dotted here and there over the whole of the space cleared. Commencing on the south, a row of piles ran north and south on the west side; to the right of these a curved row, as if forming part of a ring; higher up and running obliquely across the ground was a row of piles having a plank about an inch and a half thick and a foot broad placed along the south face, as if binding the piles together; to the left of these another row of piles ran east and west; to the north-east again were several circular clusters of piles, not in rings, but grouped in clusters, and the

* 'Trans. Prehistoric Congress,' 1868, pp. 271-272.

piles were from 8 to 16 inches apart; to the left of this another row of piles and a plank 2 inches thick ran north and south. A section, published by General Pitt-Rivers, shows piles roughly cut, as if with an axe, and pointed square; with no trace of iron shoeing on any of them, nor any appearance of metal fastenings on the planks. No remains of any tiles or bricks were found which might have formed a Roman superstructure on the piles, and General Pitt-Rivers therefore concluded that the superstructure, if any, must have been of wood or some other perishable material, and that it must have rotted with the tops of the piles. One other important detail must be mentioned—namely, that two human skulls were found without any other remains of the skeletons.

General Pitt-Rivers and those associated with him concluded, from the objects discovered, from the position of the piles, and from the evidence as to the growth of the peat, that these piles are the remains, not of river embankments by the Romans, but of pile-dwellings by the Celtic Britons, the skulls representing the practice known to have existed among these people of making trophies of the heads of their enemies. General Pitt-Rivers goes on to locate these pile-dwellings as the stronghold of Cassibelannus, which Cæsar approached and described as being situated amidst woods and marshes, and extremely strong both by art and nature. Still more recent excavations in the Wallbrook near London Wall by Mr. F. W. Reader lead to the conclusion that, generally speaking, the result of his work agrees with that of General Pitt-Rivers, and confirms very strongly the presence of a great Celtic stronghold at this place, the ordinary habitations of which were constructed as pile-dwellings in the Fleet river and in the lagoon to the north where Finsbury now is.

I venture to think that these discoveries effectually dispose of the idea of a great Celtic city of London. They show the London of the Celts to have been an ordinary tribal stronghold—ordinary, that is to say, in that it contained only the structures incident to tribal life, but undoubtedly one of the most important of such strongholds from a military point of view. A stronghold of the type Cæsar has described, situated on the rising ground of London, probably about where St. Paul's Cathedral now stands, with the waters of London all around it, was a place well protected from attack, and a place which could not well be left behind by an intruding army. It was the key of southern Britain. The contour-map of London will illustrate what the position of this stronghold must have been; and a picture of such a settlement, as it can be restored from the extensive remains which have been discovered all over Europe, will enable us to imagine what the London site must have been. A picture of another such settlement, restored from the famous Swiss discoveries by Dr. Keller (Keller's 'Lake Dwellings of Switzerland'), illustrates the general characteristics of

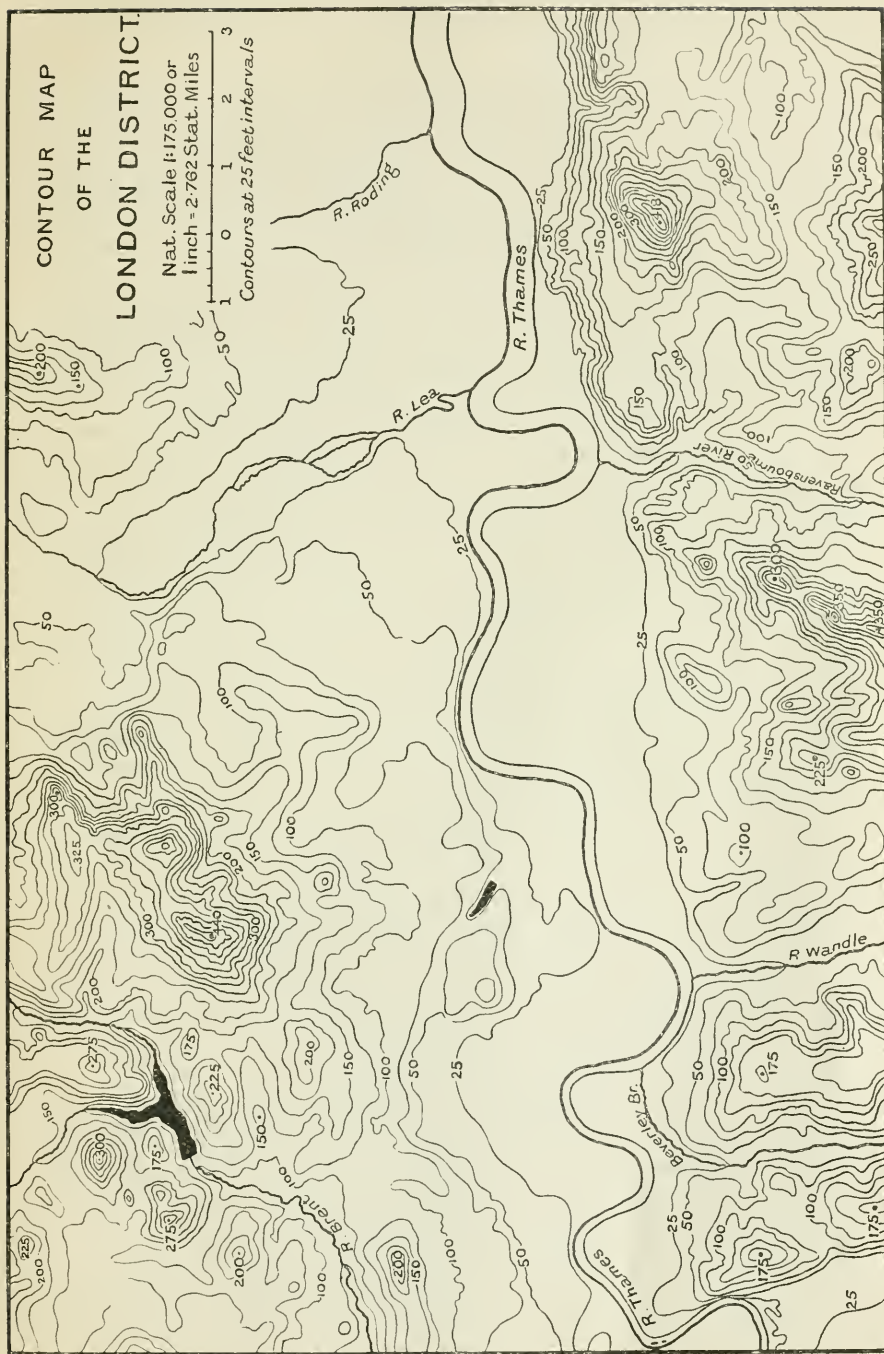
these lake settlements—the dwelling-places erected on piles in the waters of river or lake, the rising ground at the back converted into a place of defence when necessity arose, all of it in miniature when the London site is compared with the mighty proportions of the Swiss mountain site, but all of it of exactly the same type when we compare details, piles with piles, implements with implements, weapons with weapons, head trophies with head trophies, and even the indications they afford of a communal life.

For my present purpose we may leave Celtic London at this. The Romans recognized the military importance of London, for they established, very early in their occupation of Britain, a camp on the site of the British oppidum. This camp was rushed by Boudicca, and Roman Londinium arose from the ashes as the greatest city of Roman Britain—Londinium Augusta.

We have no maps of Roman London, though people have been drawing maps ever since they have attempted to discuss the site and conditions of Roman London. But all these maps are wrong. They have portrayed a walled city and nothing but a walled city. Roman Londinium, however, was not only a walled city, but a city with rights and possessions outside its walls—its sacred pomerium and its territorium, just as every Roman city possessed, modelled on the great mother-city of Rome itself. Fortunately, we can still draw an outline map of Roman Londinium from its later remains, and I will proceed to show the results so far as my own researches allow of this to be done.

First of all, the wall. The Roman wall occupied exactly the same site as the wall of mediæval London, a site which is well shown in our Tudor and Stuart maps. Before dealing with this feature, however, I desire to call attention to the actual remains of the wall. These are found below the level of the mediæval wall, and therefore only become known to us as excavation, and with excavation, alas! destruction proceeds.

The best example was revealed at Tower Hill. As an illustration of the general method of construction adopted by the engineers and architects who planned and erected the city wall, we have no better than that which was revealed on Tower Hill, and which has been so fitly and ably described by Mr. Roach Smith in his 'Illustrations of Roman London' (p. 15). Indeed, it was mainly due to his earnest endeavours at the time that this particular portion was not condemned to destruction. By Mr. Smith's exertions, it was saved from wholesale demolition and built into modern buildings. To a great extent, therefore, it is hidden by them, but it can be sought for now by any interested inquirer. This particular section had preserved its external facing. Another example was revealed in a very perfect condition in a section, over 70 feet in length, removed in order to meet the necessities of the Inner-Circle railway on Tower Hill, and



I will quote the account of Mr. Roach Smith of the examination he was enabled to make of this piece.

"The wall," he says, "was laid open quite to its foundation. A trench had been dug between 2 and 3 feet deep. This trench was filled in, or 'puddled in,' as it is termed, with a bed of clay and flints; upon this were laid boulders and concrete to about a foot thick. Upon the foundation was placed a set-off row of large square stones, regularly and neatly cut; then a bonding course of three rows of red tiles, above which are six layers of stones separated by a bonding course of tiles as before, from a third division of five layers of stones; the bonding course of tiles above these is composed of two rows of tiles, and in like manner the facing was carried to the top. The tiles of the third row were red and yellow, and they extended through the entire width of the wall, which was about 10 feet, the height having been apparently nearly 30 feet. The core of the wall is composed of rubble cemented together with concrete in which lime predominates, as is usual with Roman mortar. Pounded tile is also used in the mortar which cements the facing."

The keep of the Tower, it is said, was erected on the site of the second of the Roman bulwarks, and in an original drawing made by Mr. J. E. Price, may be noticed the situation of the Horse Armoury, the Wardrobe Tower, the site of Depository for Books and Papers, the Military Store-office, recently demolished, St. John's Chapel, apse of White Tower, and, adjacent to the south-east angle, a fragment of the Roman wall. In the section of the wall which has been exposed we note all the characteristic features of Roman masonry of a comparatively late period. It may be described as an ashlar facing of stone and tiling, enclosing a mass of concrete rubble. The carefully squared blocks of ragstone are well defined, as are the three courses of red bonding tiles, which may be seen in line throughout the wall, together with the ornamental plinth of ironstone blocks, forming a plain projecting face at the base of the wall, and at a short distance only from the ground. These blocks measure from 12 inches to 2 or 3 feet in length, and in their position accord with a similar method of construction still to be seen in the city wall at Carlisle and elsewhere.

Other fragments are a piece in the thoroughfare of London Wall, upon which a commemorative inscription has been placed; the comparatively modern bastion at Cripplegate; and a section uncovered in the Old Bailey, but now effectually blocked in.

There is also an exceedingly interesting fragment, inasmuch as the facing-stones are so well preserved and cared for, beneath the business premises of Messrs. Tylor in Warwick Lane. Further indications of the wall were discovered by Mr. Roach Smith at a depth of 14 or 15 feet in Thames Street. He traced it from Lambeth Hill to Queenhithe.* In thickness it measured from 8 to 10 feet, and its height, from the bottom of the sewer then in course of formation, was about 8 feet. It was constructed on oaken piles, over which was laid a stratum of chalk and

* *Archæologia*, vol. 29, pp. 150, 151, and 'Illustrations of Roman London,' p. 19.

stones, and upon this a course of hewn sandstones, each measuring from 3 to 4 feet by 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, cemented with the well-known compound of quicklime, sand, and pounded tile. Upon this solid substructure was laid the body of the wall formed of ragstone, flint, and lime, bonded at intervals with courses of plain and curved-edged tiles; the construction, in fact, harmonizing, as do the measurements, with that observed along other portions of the line.

At Ludgate Hill was uncovered a magnificent section of the wall, which Mr. Philip Norman has figured and described.

Mr. J. E. Price has elaborately described the discovery of a bastion at Camomile Street. These bastions were the last to disappear. We have record, too, of square towers of Roman construction, one of which at the end of Gravel Lane was sketched by Gough in 1763, but which is now destroyed. Such towers are indicated on the later maps, as in the Ralph Agas map and in Newcourt's map of 1658, where two towers or bastions are marked between Newgate and Aldersgate.

It is a strange thing that the walls of London founded on the Roman wall should still affect, not only modern maps, but modern contracts, for whenever excavations have to be made near their site extra provision is inserted by the contractors for their destruction. And yet there is no direct record of the complete destruction of the wall. It appears in perfect order in Jeffery's Plan of London, 1735, and had disappeared from the maps when Rocque published his map in 1746. Active destruction went on about this period. Acts of Parliament were passed for improving the city, and there is an ominous list of "openings to be made in the City of London pursuant to an Act of Parliament passed this last session," printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1760, and nearly all relating to the wall. This Act was that of 33 Geo. II. cap. 30, and I will quote its title and preamble:—

"An Act for widening certain streets, lanes, and passages within the City of London, and liberties thereof, and for opening certain new streets and ways within the same, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

"*Preamble.*—Whereas several streets, lanes, and passages within the City of London, and the liberties thereof, are too narrow and incommodious for the passing and repassing, as well of foot passengers as of coaches, carts, and other carriages, to the prejudice and inconvenience of the owners and inhabitants of houses in and near the same, and to the great hindrance of business, trade, and commerce, and whereas the said defects might be remedied, and several new streets and ways be made within the said city and liberties, to the great ease, safety, and convenience of passengers, and advantage of the publick in general, in case the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the said city, in common council assembled, were enabled to widen and enlarge the said narrow streets, lanes, and passages, and to open and lay out such new streets and ways, and for those purposes to purchase the several houses, buildings, and grounds which may be necessary to that end; wherefore," etc.

Within these walls have been found Roman remains of almost every description. This is not the place to describe them, but I have

proceeded far with a map of London, marking the spots where these remains have been found, and when complete this map will not be among the least important of London maps. An idea of the important results which may be expected from such a map may be gathered from the examples, reproduced in C. Roach Smith's 'Illustrations of Roman London,' of a few Roman pavements which have from time to time been discovered in London, in Threadneedle Street, in Lothbury, and in Leadenhall Street, all of them beautiful specimens.

These Roman walls are also modern boundaries, for all the city wards are stopped at the wall, and the modern map of the ward boundaries thus reproduces a condition of things which is due to Roman times or to Roman structural remains being left undestroyed. We can see this by shortly following the line of the ward boundaries where they touch upon the wall.

Commencing at its eastern end, we have to eliminate the Tower of London, and start from a point at the Thames shore in a straight line opposite the eastern end of Trinity Mews, above Postern Row. The liberty of the precinct of the Tower is bounded on part of its eastern side by the line of the Roman wall skirting Trinity Mews. From thence the wall follows the eastern boundary of the Tower ward and then follows the boundary of Aldgate ward, at the back of the Minories and across John Street, George Street, and Aldgate, where an interesting deflection in the boundary of the ward denotes the site of the gate. The wall next bends westward with the boundary of Aldgate ward, proceeding at the south of Houndsditch along the north side of Duke Street, and then north of Bevis Marks and Camomile Street. The wall then proceeds with the boundary of Bishopsgate ward across Bishopsgate Street, where the gate stood, then north of Wormwood Street. Thence it proceeds with the boundary of Broad Street ward along the centre of the street called London Wall. At this point a curious thing happens. Coleman Street ward crosses the line of the wall, and takes in the whole of a square area enclosing Finsbury Circus beyond the wall, but when the boundary of Cripplegate ward begins it again follows the line of the Roman wall. Cripplegate ward has a curious long narrow strip of territory, which takes in the site of the wall and nothing further. At the point where stood Cripplegate the ward of Farringdon begins, and its boundary follows exactly the line of the wall, turning off at right angles towards the south, and showing no less than three bastions along its course from Cripplegate Church to Falcon Square. Here is Castle Street, a very significant name in this connection. Below Falcon Square, just opposite Oat Lane, the wall turns again in the direction of east to west, and follows the boundary of Aldersgate Ward and of Farringdon ward to a point in Christ's Hospital grounds (now unfortunately built over), where it again turns sharply southwards towards the river. The northern boundary of

Farringdon ward appears to extend slightly beyond the line of the wall, but the ditch or moat outside the wall was, until the year 1903, commemorated in the school grounds of Christ's Hospital by a drain course known as the "town-ditch." The wall proceeds along the ward boundary at the back of the Old Bailey and crosses Ludgate at the point where the old gate stood. From this gate to the Thames the ward boundary is not followed, the wall crossing the space now occupied by the *Times* printing office, and turning south to Thames Street.

The modern maps still reveal traces of Roman London in the arrangement of the city streets. Some of the cross streets running at right angles to those running from east to west are probably on Roman foundations.* Formerly the north and north-eastern traffic went either by Gracechurch Street to Tottenham by the old Roman road, or, starting from east to west, it left the city by Aldersgate, and thence by St. John Street to the north. There was no break in the city wall between Aldersgate and Newgate, and the large block of ground without carriage-way about Grey Friars is a consequence of the Roman wall affording no passage. These are relics of the ground plan of Roman London which justify the archæologist in stating that "it is remarkable how the Roman wall (only passed by a few gates) and the street plans laid down by the Roman road surveyor turn even modern city traffic in the old directions," † and perhaps these words fitly complete my account of the internal portions of the city. ‡

So much for Roman London within the walls. As I have already explained, Roman London did not stop here. It extended beyond in two different and important particulars, and we will now turn to this important feature.

First of all, there was the pomerium, a sacred belt of land all round the city, preserved in its natural state, never built upon, and occupying an important position in the constitutional and legal rites of the Roman city. Now there are so-called liberties without the city wall, liberties which have been divided into wards, and which are known as London without the walls—London without distinguished from London within the walls. The origin of this extra-mural part of the city proper is lost in antiquity, but considered from the point of view of history, there is little difficulty in taking it to represent what remains of the ancient pomerium of the Roman city. On the modern map of London city, therefore, we have not only the line of the Roman wall, but the outline, at all events, of the sacred pomerium.

* See *Archæologia*, vol. 33, pp. 102-103, for interesting details on this point.

† Mr. Alfred Tylor in *Archæologia*, vol. 48, pp. 226-227.

‡ The Roman remains of London have been topographically catalogued by Mr. J. E. Price in *Archæological Review*, vol. 1, pp. 274-281, 355-361.

We now proceed to other signs of the connection between the city and the outside territory. At Rome, and because at Rome, therefore at every other colony or municipality in the Roman empire founded upon the model of the mother city, the military jurisdiction of the consul could not be asserted without appeal; beyond Rome it could be so asserted, and the limit between the two spheres, the *imperium domi* and the *imperium militiæ*, was originally not the city walls, but the pomerium beyond the walls, and then, later still, the first milestone beyond the city—*neque provocationem esse longius ab urbe mille passuum*.^{*} This consular jurisdiction included the pronouncement of the death sentence, and it is therefore perfectly reasonable to suppose that the "mile-end" from the city assumed an important place in local history.

Now let me turn to the Mile End of London. Mile End Bar was exactly one mile from Aldgate, the eastern gate of the city commanding the Roman road to Colchester and the eastern parts of Britain. It was the place where the citizens assembled in arms,[†] and it was a place of execution.[‡] A field at Mile End, known as "Hangman's Acre," is marked on Gascoyne's map of London. Here, then, are all the essential features of the Roman mile-end jurisdiction of the consuls reproduced in the London mile-end, and the twofold association of military and criminal matters cannot be an accidental parallel.

Always outside a Roman city there was an amphitheatre, where sports and fights were exhibited, where the people in fact held their public shows. The remains of the amphitheatres at Dorchester and Silchester can be seen in remarkable preservation. The position of the London amphitheatre has never been placed, but I have an interesting suggestion to make. On the Southwark side of London, where the Roman residential town had extended, is a place still called the Bear Garden. It is now an octagonal space built round with houses. But this octagonal space is derived from a previous octagonal building, which stood there in Tudor times, and was one of the theatres of that age. Thus this site is connected with shows for a period of time which takes us back to the Southwark of green fields. Then its name Bear Garden shows it to have been the place for the sport of bear-baiting, and this carries us back centuries. Beyond that there is no record until we come to a very singular and interesting relic, discovered on this site a few years ago, namely, some gladiator's tridents.[§] These tridents were used by one class of the Roman gladiators in the

^{*} Livy, iii. 20. See Greenidge ('Roman Public Life,' p. 79) for a full description of this interesting point in Roman city life.

[†] 'Liber de Antiq. Leg.,' p. 7. A vivid description of this in 1381 is printed in Riley's 'Memorials of London,' p. 449.

[‡] Nicolas, 'Chronicle of London' (fifteenth century), p. 73.

[§] *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. 27, pp. 305-312.

amphitheatre, where they fought for the amusement of the people. I cannot help looking at the continuity of use expressed in these facts, and in the modern octagonal group of houses known as the Bear Garden, I think we have the last remnants of the amphitheatre of Roman London.* The site is best seen on Rocque's map of 1750, and on the ordnance sheet of to-day.

Of more consequence to us is the map of London, with its territorium. This was its special property, and it extended as far as the limits of the territorium of the nearest Roman city, or as near thereto as the natural boundaries of forest swamps or other features allowed. It is impossible, of course, to trace in detail the boundaries of the territorium now, but there may be points on the line which for one reason or another have become distinguished, and it will be sufficient if we can trace out any such points. If the territorium of London extended as far south as to meet the territorium of the nearest Roman town, namely, Durobrivis (Rochester), the actual point of contact may be discovered by a fact brought out by the Saxon conquest. The Jutes landed in A.D. 449 or 450, and met the British force at the passage of the Cray, a comparatively small stream, even at that date. Their victory was complete, for the Britons, as the 'Saxon Chronicle' tells us, "forsook Kent-land and fled with much fear to London." Now the question may be asked, what was London to them? If we note that the river Cray was the southern boundary of the Londoners' right of chase in the Middle Ages, and if we bear in mind that the charter of Henry I. alludes to these rights as based upon ancient custom, it seems reasonable to suggest that the Cray represented the boundary point of the territorium of Roman London. The men who fought at this boundary, and who on defeat fled to London, were then defending the territorium of London at its furthest point, and were therefore the armed force of the Roman city. I am tempted to add that the "white horse stone" at Crayford, and its traditional connection with Horsa, is in reality one of the many "hoar stones," the Saxon name for important boundary stones, and to be found in all parts of Roman Britain, but, it is significant to add, not outside the Roman sphere of influence.

This conclusion as to the southern boundary enables us to go a step further in the question of the territorium boundaries, and we turn to the eastern side. There is evidence of a decided character that the boundary between modern Middlesex and modern Essex was also a Roman boundary, for Old Ford was an outpost which marked a point of importance, and nothing so important could have arisen as the structure

* An important parallel to this evidence is provided by Cirencester, where the remains and site of the Roman amphitheatre were well known, were used in later times, and were then known as "the bull ring" ('History of Cirencester,' 1800, p. 69). The comparison of the facts of Cirencester with the theory as to London is an important aid.

which divided the territorium of Lundinium from its neighbour. Of Roman remains at Old Ford there is ample evidence—burials, coins, and urns being the chief objects, and it is just possible that the attempt in mediæval days to make Old Ford a sort of trading boundary for London may rest upon some reminiscence of more ancient conditions.

We will next turn to the west. Staines marks the boundary of the city's ancient rights in Middlesex and on the Thames.* Now, Staines had a special connection with London, for a charter of King Eadward grants to Westminster Abbey the "cotlif" of Staines with the land called "Stæningehaga" within London.† Prof. Maitland makes the acute suggestion that in the names of Staining Lane and the parish of St. Mary Staining we have the means of identifying the locality of Staininghaw.‡

Let us finally turn to the northern side of the territorium. The nearest Roman city to London on the north is Verulam, and it happens that there is an important topographical feature, the history of which illustrates the point we are discussing. This feature is the so-called barrow on Hampstead Heath. It has been the subject of several traditions and much speculation. But one point stands out most clearly, namely, that this barrow was connected with both London and St. Albans. This is contained in a legend recorded by Howitt as follows:—

"In very early times the inhabitants of St. Albans, who aspired to make the town the capital of this part of England, finding London growing a vigorous rival, set out to attack and destroy it; but the Londoners turning out met and defeated their enemies of St. Albans on this spot, and this mound contains the dust of the slain." §

The barrow, however, disproves this, for its excavation in 1894, by the London County Council, under the scientific superintendence of Mr. C. H. Read, revealed no evidence whatever of any burial or cremation use. It did, however, reveal something far more important. Thus the excavations showed—(1) black masses as the centre was approached, indicating the presence of charcoal at varying depths from 3 to 5 feet from the upper surface; (2) as nearly as possible in the true centre of the mound an irregular hole or pocket, the top of which was 6 feet 6 inches from the upper surface, and extending downwards for about 18 inches; (3) charcoal, apparently vegetable from the tiny fragments of carbonized wood remaining in it,

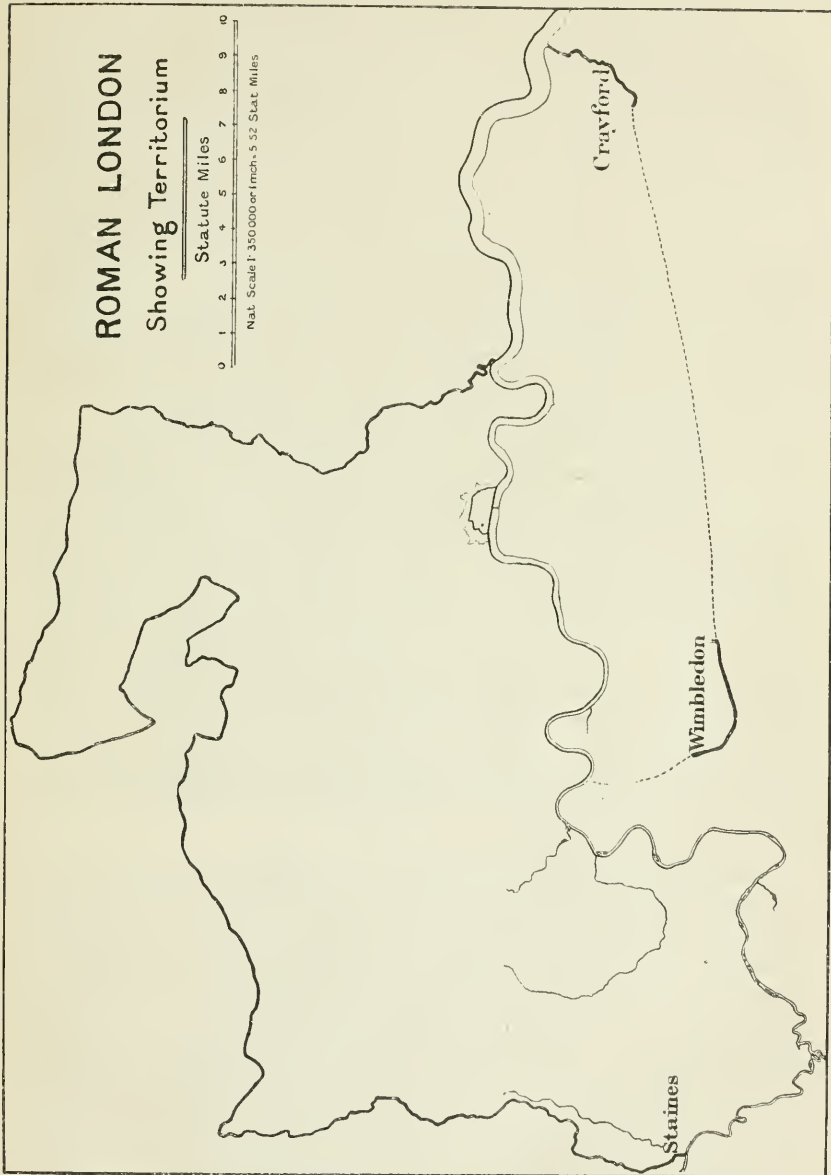
* See *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 17, p. 485.

† Kemble, 'Cod. Dip.', vol. 4, p. 211.

‡ 'Domesday and Beyond,' p. 181; cf. Coote, 'Romans of Britain,' p. 378. There is also the parish of All Hallows Staining.

§ Howitt, 'Northern Heights of London,' pp. 329-300.

in the hole or pocket.* There was absolutely no trace of any burial, or any of the associations of a burial. Now, noting one further point



* Minutes of London County Council, November 27, 1894, and Report of Mr. C. H. Read to the Council.

of Mr. Read's excellent full report, that the hole or pocket was made on the ground level, and that consequently the barrow was heaped up over it, this barrow exactly corresponds to the Roman *botontinus*, a mound erected by the agrimensorial surveyors for boundary purposes.

Thus east, west, south, and north there are signs of a boundary mark connected with the city, and it is at these points that we can trace the limits of the territorium of Roman London. This great stretch of territory was essential to the city for many purposes. It was traversed by roadways, for five of the great roads of Roman Britain made their way to London. It was cultivated by the Roman *servi*, the native population, no doubt, who thus had to administer to the necessities of their overlords. It was dotted here and there with villas of favoured Roman lords; at Greenwich, in the Strand, at Westminster, at King's Cross, at Kingsbury, and in one or two other places, remains have been found. Southwark, of course, was a suburb continuous from the foot of the bridge. All this indicates the nature of the occupation of the London territorium. There were no towns, no villages, no homesteads; it was all territory belonging to and used by the great city.

The territorium of Roman London was broken up. The church had the first bite. It is clear, by a comparison with the recorded events in the case of other Roman cities in Britain, that the church obtained from Anglo-Saxon monarchs extensive grants of Roman city lands. Carlisle and Winchester are the best examples of this process. The records of the transaction at London are not preserved, but again by using the maps we may trace out the story. The manors belonging or once belonging to St. Paul's cathedral stretch all round the city, but their boundaries stop at the city boundary. This fact is most significant. Their limits within the Roman territorium of *Lundinium* are thus demonstrated, and this, coupled with certain historical facts, show how the Roman territorium of London passed into the Church lands of later times.

I submit to you that this accumulation of Roman indications is of constructive importance. One item only would not answer objections; two items would not answer them; but all that I am able to bring together, fragmentary as they are, independent as they are of each other, discovered as they have been by various means and from various sources, stamps them as authoritative remains of the Roman city. They are parts of the modern map of London. They owe their place on the map to Roman authority and Roman dominion. Such precious landmarks come to us sanctified by nearly two thousand years of human life which has been spent upon and around them, and the maps thus do us good service in showing how they have been preserved.

With this great Roman city stretching its domain over so vast an extent of territory and finding its way into modern life, we may compare the London of Anglo-Saxon times. If Roman London subtracts

from the modern map the city centre and certain special spots which belong to Roman times, it does not show us any other remains within its sphere of influence, and in this respect it affords a remarkable contrast to Anglo-Saxon London.

Anglo-Saxon London began, *not* within the walls of *Lundinium*, but without; not even at its gates spreading outwards, but from outside, gradually approaching nearer and nearer. The new-comers settled all round, and we may trace out on the maps the records of the settlement. I have marked the sites of all the villages mentioned in *Domesday* within the present county of London, and one cannot but be struck with the significant position they occupy on the map.

First of all, we may note the ancient settlements afterwards to grow into modern parishes, long, narrow territories stretching from the river to the hills. These settlements were arranged in English fashion, not Roman fashion. We see this by the maps. If we compare the manorial settlement round London with that of the more rural parts of the country—Wiltshire, for instance, would be an excellent example to refer to, and Dr. Slater's paper, read before this Society, will at once appeal to the members—we find them of exactly the same type. There is the homestead in the lowlands, near by are the meadow land and arable land, and stretching up towards the highlands are the open pastures and the forest. Examining some of these settlements a little more closely, let us take the maps of modern Kensington, Fulham, Paddington, St. Pancras, Islington, the great manor of Stepney north of the Thames, and Lambeth and Camberwell south of the Thames. Each of these shows the same characteristic mode of settlement: they begin down by the river, and stretch away from it northwards towards the heights; and again on the south of the Thames, they begin at the Thames, and stretch southwards towards the Surrey hills. We are conscious, however, of two disturbing facts: on the north there is the great territory south of the Roman road (now Oxford Street), known to us as Westminster, intervening between these ancient manors and the river, and there is a low narrow stretch between Westminster and the city, reaching from the Thames far up towards the north. No doubt the formation of Westminster and of Aldwych, from whatever cause or causes, intervened in the mode of settlement of the Anglo-Saxon manors, and similarly on the south there appears to be the ancient influences of Southwark interposing between the river and the normal manorial settlement. I believe these influences to be of later date than the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon manor, and I believe them to be of Danish origin in both cases.

Without attempting proof of this statement, I will detail one interesting feature in the proof that may be forthcoming as we learn to know better the significance of the teaching to be gained from London maps. At Kingston we have the sacred stone where Anglo-

Saxon kings in tribal fashion were elected to their kingship. At Thorney, now Westminster, we have another example; and the stone in the Abbey brought from Scotland is the later substitute for the earlier example of the King's Bench, from which the well-known court of law is named. But in the district of Aldwych, too, we have a record of the Danish settlement of the utmost importance. Just outside the walls of London, and between them and the ancient bounds of Westminster, was an unallotted district stretching from the river Thames up to the higher lands by the Lea. This territory is shown as uncovered by buildings on Agas's map. It did not belong either to Westminster or the city. It possessed a pound and stocks; its lands were both arable and pasture, and at its southern end, just opposite where Somerset House now stands, and perhaps on the very site of the pump and well in front of the church of St. Clement Danes, was a great monolith, the centre of many legal ceremonies, and at which the justices sat in the open air to deliver judgment down to the reign of Edward I. All this shows a strong constitutional organization. It was known by the name of Aldwych, and is apparently unknown to history. Its separate topography appears on the Elizabethan maps, and so late as the days of the Stuarts some vestiges of it remained in Oldwick Close, an open space which lay to the south of Lincoln's Inn Fields.

This village in the tenth century was largely colonized by the Danes, after whom the neighbouring church of St. Clement was named. The high-road of the village, which connected it with the hospital of St. Giles, was known as the *Via de Aldewych*, and is represented by the modern Drury Lane, with the exception of the south-eastern extremity, which led to the Holy Well of St. Clement, and the name of which survived in Wych Street, now restored to Aldwych (*Notes and Queries*, 9th ser. vol. 2, p. 81). The topography of the district can be partly made out from later historical documents. We find Henry I.'s Saxon wife making choice of Aldewych for her leper settlement. Where Charing Cross Road runs stood the old Blemundsbury manorhouse. Upon the ground east of it Matilda raised her hospital, dedicated to St. Giles. Next came the old church of Aldewych, with its lychgate, and close beside the Clocke Hose, whence the Curfew tolled. It was probably here that criminals, on their way to the gallows, paused for a minute to receive the bowl, or cup of charity, and then passed on down Elde Street, turning to the left through Le Lane into the fatal Elm Close with its two tall trees. Opposite the church stood the village pound, and the stocks a little further eastward at the junction of Drury lane (*Via de Aldewych*) with Watling Road (Oxford Street), where Hugh Le Faber worked his smithy, and just facing Drury Lane rose the village cross and the well (*Fontem communem*). In Plantagenet times (1200) we can trace five cottages near the smithy, and on the opposite side of Drury lane, facing Holbourn, stood the Christemasse Mansion. This mansion

became an inn in the time of Richard II., and adopted his badge, the White Hart, as its sign, and was so known until its destruction in 1807, when it had become the White Hart Yard. The hospital, indeed, had been dissolved in 1539, but just previously King Henry VIII. had acquired the property of St. Giles Hospital in exchange for land in Leicestershire, and it only boasted of three messuages then. In the indenture then drawn up we find specified: (a) 25 acres of pasture lying in the village of St. Giles; (b) one messuage called the White Hart and 18 acres of pasture; (c) one messuage called the Rose and one pasture. This represents the Aldewych lands formerly divided into (a) Aldewych West, (b) Aldewych East, (c) the Campum de Aldewych.

(a) Aldewych West was that region bounded west by the Via de Aldewych (Drury Lane), east by Newland (Belton Street, Short's Gardens, etc.), St. Giles Street (Broad Street) on the north, and Long Acre on the south.

(b) Aldewych East, or the White Hart and Rose messuages with pasture land, was bounded north by Holtorn, south by Great Queen Street, west by Drury Lane, and east by Little Queen Street. Spenser's ditch, afterwards the common sewer, divided it into two.

(c) The Campum de Aldewych, afterwards known as Oldwick Close, was bounded east by Lincoln's Inn Fields, west by Drury Lane, north by a footpath, now Great Queen Street. Southward it stretched over 16 acres to Wych Street, half in the parish of St. Giles and half in that of St. Clement Danes. A footpath, afterwards Princes Street (now Kemble Street) divided the parishes.

With the exception of a few Drury Lane mansions, Aldewych retained its pastoral character throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth. For we read that—

“There were certain parcels of land by estimation 50 acres holden of her Majesty by lease, sometime of the possession of Burton St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, which in times past had been Lammas and errable (*sic*) which was then divided, hedged and ditched, for meadow and pasture, and ought to be common at Lammas from St. Giles to Hyde Park and towards Knightsbridge and Chelsea.”

Leaving all the details for close consideration, we have here the remains of a Danish settlement in London, outside the city, and containing all the features of Danish life in its earliest stages, when judges sat in open-air courts, and tribal kings were elected at great stones held sacred for the purpose.

Tothill Fields in Westminster is another centre of the same historical origin, and it is curious that there was a Tothill street just off Gray's Inn Road, near the Holborn end. Now, Tothill is undoubtedly a name of Teutonic origin, and the doings at Tothill Fields take us back to the holmgangs of the Danish tribes, where disputes were settled by the duel and judicial combat, instead of by law. The last example occurred so recently as the “spacious days of Queen Elizabeth.”

There is, however, something more than the mere outline and fragments of such settlements. There are the traces of the internal system of economy. The village community system has been well examined in this country by Mr. Seebohm, Mr. Slater, Sir Henry Maine, myself, and some others, and one definite fact about it is the peculiar arrangement of the arable lands. No one owner possessed wide stretches of land, but each owner—each villager, I should say—held his acre strip side by side in definite rotation with other villagers, so that one holding of sixteen acre strips—the normal holding—was situated in sixteen different parts of the arable lands. This is well illustrated by an example at Laxton, reproduced in connection with Dr. Slater's paper read before this Society.

Now let me turn to the maps of London. First of all, I will introduce a word-picture from a chronicle narrative, the true explanation of which we owe to the scholarship and acumen of Mr. Seebohm. Edward the Confessor lay dying at Westminster, and looking out on the scenery he loved so well—his contemporary biographer describes the palace as "amongst fruitful fields lying round about it"—he saw in his delirium two holy monks, who foretold to him the coming disasters of the realm, which should only be ended when "the green tree, after severance from its trunk and removal for the space of three acres, should return to its parent stem and again bear leaf and fruit and flower." Only one picture could have conjured up this otherwise unaccountable vision. The green tree was no doubt suggested by an actual tree, growing out of one of the balks separating the acre strips of Thorney island, and the uneven glass of the king's window-panes would be likely, as he rose in his bed, to sever the stem from its roots and transplant it higher up in the open field, in an acre strip three acres off, restoring it again to its root as he sank back upon his pillow. "The very delirium of the dying king," says Mr. Seebohm, "thus becomes the most natural thing in the world when we know that all round were the open fields and balks and acres."

This word picture, so cleverly extracted from the eleventh-century chronicle, appears in graphic form on the eighteenth-century maps of London, and its last relic survives in the name of "Long Acre." Because the acre strips have never been destroyed or altered, because year by year they have appeared in faithful surveys of London, the modern map becomes evidence of Anglo-Saxon London.

Scattered over the modern maps of London are examples of these acre strips. In the new map of London, published in 1797, we have the acre strips shown particularly well in "Battersea common-field," and at Lambeth, Fulham, Camberwell, and Peckham. In Horwood's map of 1794 the acre strips of Bermondsey are well marked, and in a map of Wandsworth manor of 1787, the distribution of the acre strips is almost undisturbed. The common fields of Bayswater are noted in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 1, p. 162.

I remember some years ago being shown by my friend, Mr. Walter Rye, the Norfolk antiquary, the singular conformation of the frontage of houses at Putney—one or two houses built up to a frontage line, and the next one or two built a little in advance, and a third a little further in advance, a fourth perhaps being a little behind; the only possible interpretation of such peculiar topographical features being that these were the terminals of the old acre strips upon which their owners had built the modern villa, and thus formed an irregular street front.

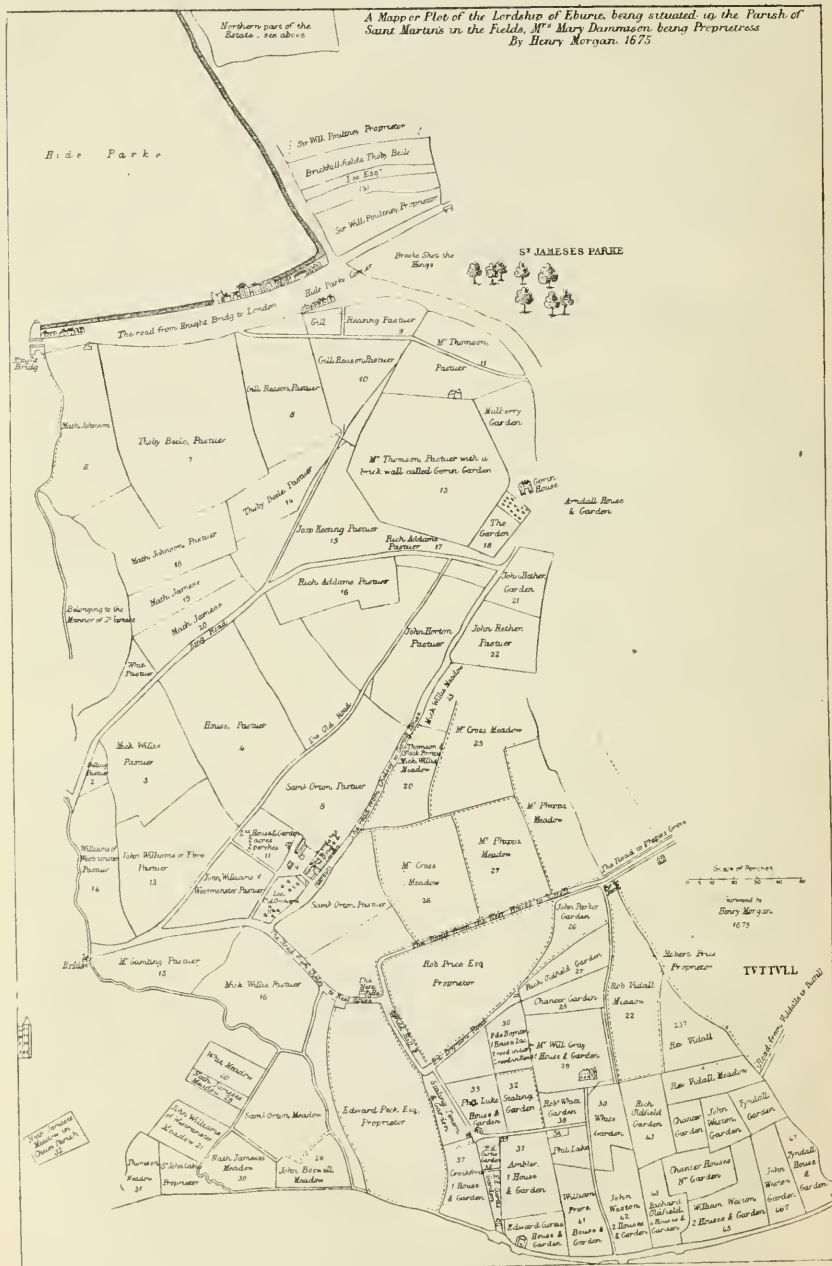
Perhaps, however, the most interesting example is afforded by Park Lane. The glorious irregularity of this most picturesque of thoroughfares was not due to street architecture. All that street architects could do is to be seen in the squares and streets at the back of Park Lane. What they could not do was to destroy the frontage line of the western boundary of these estates. You will remember Park Lane commences at the Oxford Street end in almost a straight line, due, I suggest, to a late cutting of the road to form Hyde Park, which took in a piece of the ancient continuation of Edgware Road at this point. After this straight-line commencement, terminating at about Wood's Mews, it is wholly irregular, and irregular in a very curious and interesting manner. The houses from Wood's Mews to Upper Brook Street are set back some feet; after Upper Brook Street there is a further set back up as far as the Mews, then a further setting back of the houses to Upper Grosvenor Street; after Mount Street the same features appear, until the triangular site of Dorchester House is reached, and beyond this to Piccadilly the frontage line is never straight, always one length at the back of another length.

I always believed that this irregularity was of the same nature as that at Putney already described, namely, the terminal points of the various acre strips, and proof of this is forthcoming if we turn to the "mapp or plot of the Lordship of Eburie being situated in the parish of Saint Martins in the Fields, Mary Dammison being proprietress; by Henry Morgan, 1675," in the Crace collection. At the top of the map is "the road from Knight Bridge to London," showing incidentally the bridge over the dip in modern Piccadilly, the site of the old stream of which the Serpentine is still a relic. The modern Park Lane is drawn on the eastern side of Hyde Park, but the eastern side of the road is not yet built upon. Running parallel to Piccadilly, and therefore at right angles to Park Lane, are the acre strips with the names of the owners recorded—

- (1) Sir William Poultney, proprietor.
- (2) Brickhill Fields, Thoby Beele.
- (3) Lee, Esq.
- (4) [Unnamed.]
- (5) Sir William Poultney, proprietor.

Sir William Poultney is thus owner of two acre strips separated by

three other acre strips differently owned. But this is not all. In a map of the Grosvenor estate, dated 1723, in the possession of the



copied from Originals in the Crace Collection

PLAN OF THE EBURIE ESTATE, SHOWING PARK LANE ACRE STRIPS.

London County Council, Park Lane is shown built on its eastern side from Oxford Street up to just beyond Chapel Street, and "Berkely Fields" remain unbuilt upon, and show a triangular strip, adjoining Park Lane, as belonging to Mr. Poulteney. This is exactly one of those "gores" of land so frequently found in unenclosed villages, and it is preserved to this day in the triangular site upon which Dorchester House now stands. We have the name preserved to us in Kensington Gore. Thus, although we have not the whole distribution of the acre strips revealed by the maps, there is no question that these indications are sufficient to show the nature of the holdings of the entire area. They were acre strips belonging to the village community system. The terminals of the acre strips in modern Park Lane remained unaltered, and they account to us of to-day for the splendid irregularity of the building-line of this most fashionable of London streets.

Summing up at this point, I hope I have succeeded in showing that the study of London before the maps is fruitful, and that it reveals Anglo-Saxon London with its homesteads in the fields in contradistinction to Roman London with its home life within the walls—two separate Londons, still delineated on the maps of London, integral parts of the story of London maps. I have also endeavoured to show the interest which attaches to the maps of London in the light they shed upon the period before the maps.

I have now to deal with some of the points relating to the later periods—the periods contemporary with the maps themselves, and which fortunately begin with Elizabeth's London, whose streets were trodden by Shakespeare, Marlow, Raleigh, Drake, Spenser, Cecil, Sydney, and all the host of great Englishmen and Englishwomen who began the task of making modern England, and with it modern London.

(To be continued.)

DR. STEIN'S CENTRAL ASIAN EXPEDITION.*

DURING the summer months immediately following my departure from Tun-huang (Sha-chou), archaeological labours in the torrid desert plains would have been practically impossible. I was glad, therefore, to utilize this period in accordance with my original programme for geographical labours in the western and central Nan-shan. The arrangement and safe storage of the extensive collection of manuscripts, art remains, and other antiques resulting from my explorations about Tun-huang, kept me busy at An-shi until the close of June. It was fortunate that I selected this place, and not the neighbouring Tun-huang, for the valuable deposit; for in the course of local riots, which

* Communication from Dr. M. A. Stein, dated "Kara-Shahr, December 10, 1907."

broke out at Tun-huang within a few weeks after my departure, the yamén of the district magistrate, who had given much friendly help, and had offered to make himself responsible for the safe-keeping of my collection until my return, was completely sacked and burned down.

My first move from An-shi led towards the great snowy range south, which forms the watershed between the Su-lai-ho and Tun-huang rivers. On the lowest of a succession of barren plateaus built up by parallel outer ranges, I discovered a large ruined site at some distance from the village of Chiao-tzu. The ruins of the town, abandoned about the twelfth to the thirteenth century A.D., afforded interesting proofs of the process of desiccation, which has since materially altered the physical and economic conditions of the outer hill region. The stream, from which a canal, still traceable for a long distance, brought water to the site and the once-cultivated area around it, has completely disappeared. Only marshy springs remain, rising at the bottom of the broad valley on a level considerably below that of the ruined town. Of the force of wind erosion, which is almost constantly at work in this region, the walls of the town bore striking evidence. In spite of very massive construction, all lines of walls facing east, and thus standing across the direction of the prevailing winds, have been completely breached, and in many places effaced to their very foundation, while the walls facing north and south have escaped almost uninjured. The damage caused by erosion to the less-substantial structures within the town walls, and the height of the dunes covering the greatest part of the area, left little scope for excavations; but enough antiquarian relics were secured to prove that the site was inhabited up to the period above indicated. In the cañon-like valley in which the stream of Tashi cuts through the second outer range, I found an interesting series of Buddhist cave temples, still forming a pilgrimage place, and closely resembling in character and date the "Halls of the Thousand Buddhas" near Tun-huang, but less extensive. The large and well-preserved fresco compositions which decorate their walls supply fine illustrations of Buddhist pictorial art unmistakably Indian in origin, as practised in this region from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D.

After surveying the great chain of glacier-crowned peaks which overlooks the terribly barren outer ranges and detritus plateaus of the Nan-shan west of the Su-lai-ho, I and my companion made our way over hitherto unexplored ground to the foot of the mountains near the famous Chia-yü-kuan gate of the Great Wall. Here a short stay enabled us to clear up an archaeological problem of considerable historical interest in connection with the Great Wall. The imposing line of wall which bends round the westernmost part of the Su-chou oasis and extends to the very foot of the Nan-shan, has always been represented in books and maps as the end of the ancient Great Wall guarding the northern border of Kansu. Since centuries

best years of a lifetime in a little-known region, and can speak with such intimate knowledge of the inner life, manners, and customs of the inhabitants.

Mr. RAVENSTEIN: We have listened with much profit to Mr. Lewis's paper, for his long residence in the country, his extended travels, and his knowledge of the native language enabled him to secure an amount of information on the geography of the country and the character of its inhabitants which is beyond the reach of travellers who merely rush through a country. There is one question, already referred to by Mr. Heavood, which interests me more especially. It is many years since I took up the study of the Portuguese discoveries, and about ten years ago, when Mr. Lewis was here before, I wrote a short history of Congo, which has been published by the Hakluyt Society. Since that time I have been hard at work upon a life of Martin Behaim, who claims to have commanded a ship in one of Cão's expeditions. During his first expedition Cão discovered the Congo, and erected a *padrão* at its mouth, which has been broken, and the pieces bearing the inscriptions carried off by the natives, who look upon these fragments as potent fetishes. An indefatigable traveller like Mr. Lewis might yet succeed in recovering these fragments. Fortunately, Cão set up a second *padrão* further south, which has been recovered intact, and from which we learn that his first voyage was undertaken in 1482—that is, at a time when Behaim was still at Antwerp. We may surmise that one Ferrão Vaz, a pilot, whose name is given to a river on the coast discovered by Cão, was a member of it. Our knowledge of Cão's second expedition is rather vague. We know, however, from a *padrão* at Cape Cross, that it took place in 1485. The rock inscriptions brought home by Mr. Lewis, as far as I can judge from the photograph thrown upon the screen, refer to this second expedition. The Portuguese coat-of-arms is that adopted in 1485, a short time before Cão started on his second voyage.* The inscription is most valuable, for, although it contains no date, it gives the names of a number of persons associated with Cão in this voyage. Among these names are those of three pilots and two masters whom we know to have been connected with other expeditions of the time, and five names of other persons; but among these names we look in vain for that of Martino de Bohemia, who claims to have been the captain of one of the ships. Of course I have been abused for doubting Behaim's share in this work, and I only wish one of our pretentious spiritualists would summon him amongst us, so that he might be cross-examined. I am aware, of course, that the discovery of this inscription is of no practical importance, however interesting it may be to myself and others who are interested in the history of geography.

The PRESIDENT: I will now propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his paper, which I am sure you will agree has been of a most vivid character. I heartily endorse all that Mr. Lewis has said about the character of the African, the treatment of slavery, and the possibility of getting the African to work.

* For designs of the two coats-of-arms see Mr. Ravenstein's paper on "The voyages of Diogo Cão and Bartholomeu Dias," in the *Geographical Journal* for December, 1900.

THE STORY OF LONDON MAPS.*

By LAURENCE GOMME.

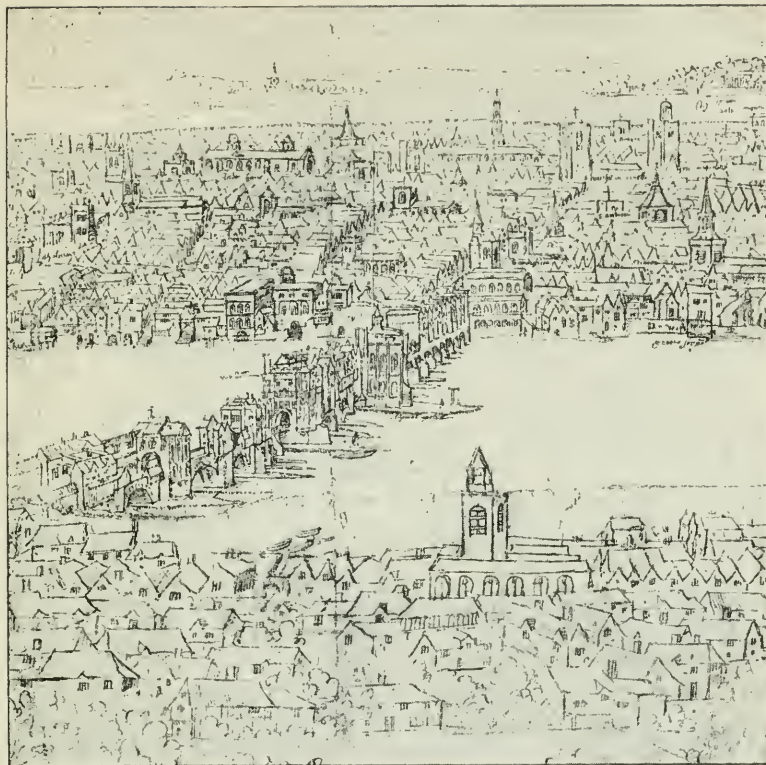
The most delightful of all London maps is that of Van den Wyngaerde, the original drawing of which is in the Sutherland collection in the Bodleian library. Its actual date is uncertain. It shows the king's palace at Westminster as it was when Henry VIII. forsook it for Whitehall; the position of Bridewell is left blank; the tower of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, is shown standing; and the Cistercian Abbey of Eastminster is shown. Now, Bridewell was built by Henry VIII. in 1522; Holy Trinity was given by the king to Sir Thomas Audley in 1501, and at some time between this year and the year of his death, 1544, the Tower was pulled down by him; and the Abbey at Eastminster was destroyed in 1539. These dates suggest that the drawing was made, or perhaps begun, *tempore* Henry VIII., and not in its usual attributed date of 1550.



VAN DER WYNGAERDE'S MAP, FROM THE KING'S PALACE TO ST. GILES.

Among interesting features of the view, apart from the beautiful representation of London Bridge, is the view of Suffolk House, Southwark, a contemporary picture of a Tudor house. It was built by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and some of its dislodged remains

* Continued from p. 509.



WYNGAERDE'S MAP, SHOWING LONDON BRIDGE.

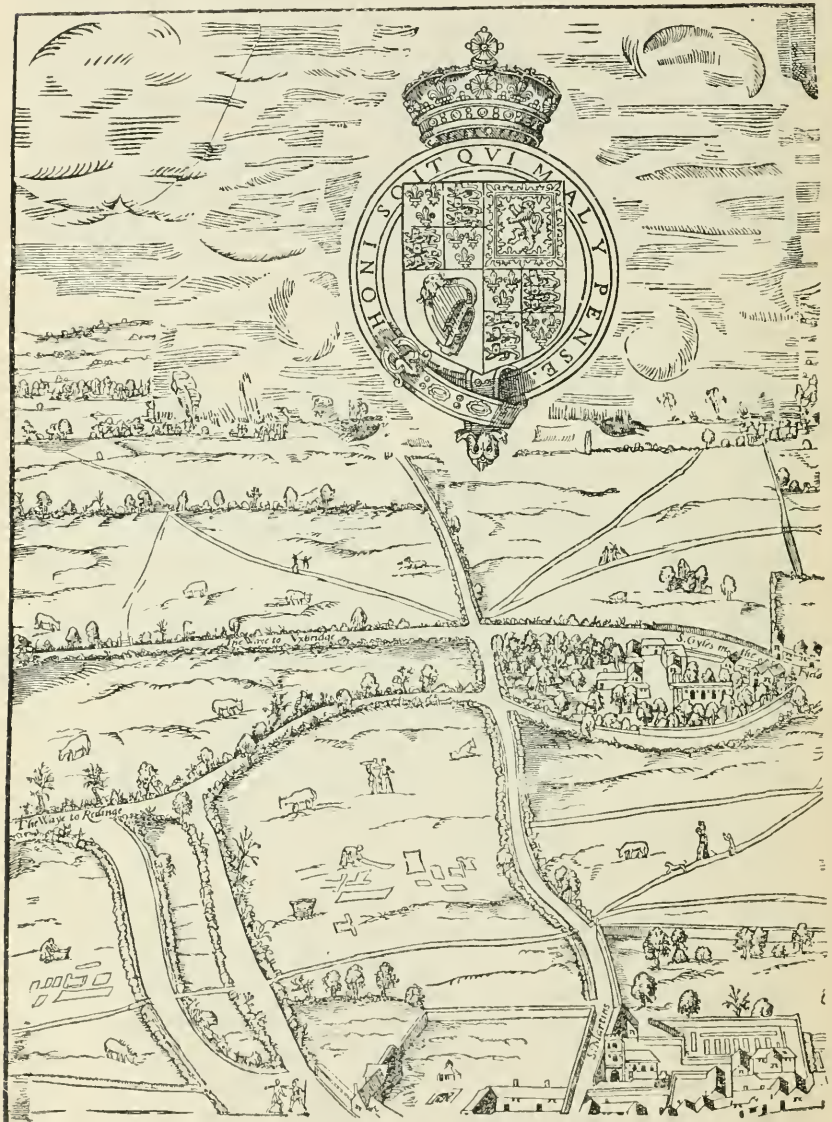
were uncovered in 1905-6 by the London County Council in running a road through the churchyard of St. George the Martyr.

The "Braun and Hogenburg" map, printed in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572, is exceedingly interesting. The arms of Elizabeth appear upon it, the costume of the figures shown in the interesting little street scene in the foreground is early Elizabethan, and the buildings westward of Temple Bar can be dated from history as early Elizabethan. For instance, Paget Place; this was known as Exeter House before the Reformation; as Paget Place after the Reformation, from William, Lord Paget, whose property it became; later as Leicester House, when Robert Dudley owned it; later still, as Essex House, when the unfortunate Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, lived there. St. Paul's is shown with the spire which was destroyed in 1561.

This map is to be dated, therefore, between 1558, the date of Elizabeth's accession, and 1561, at the time when Essex House (Leicester House) was known as Paget Place.

The famous Agas map has four special features:—

- (1) Bears the arms of James I.
 (2) The arms of Queen Elizabeth appear on the royal barge in the river.



Plan of London (circa 1560-1570) by Ralph Agas

Sheet 1

- (3) shows the amphitheatres as in "Braun and Hogenburg."
 (4) St. Paul's appears without the spire.
 Therefore Mr. Ordish dates this map a little later than "Braun and

Hogenberg"—between 1561, when the spire was destroyed, and before the Earl of Leicester took Paget Place as his residence.

The first sheet of the London Topographical Society's reproduction of this map (showing the arms of James I., which must have been engraved upon the plate subsequently) affords an interesting view of the district known to us as the Seven Dials. We identify our present Oxford Street in "The Waye to Vxbridge," and we feel that we are on the road towards Hyde Park Corner when we leave the village of St. Giles and its church (the original of the existing one) and follow the direction given, "The Waye to Redinge." The map is curiously illustrated by figures of pedestrians, cattle, and women drying clothes.

Sheet 5 shows us Charing Cross, Whitehall, and Westminster; St. James's Park and Lambeth Palace appear on the further right and left of the picture. Kinges Streate existed until the other day. The name "Whitehall" does not appear, but we have (as in "Braun and Hogenburg") "the Courte." Parliament Street was scarcely a highway at that time. The way from Charing Cross is barred except for an opening that could scarcely have admitted a coach of any size, and the way is guarded at either end of the palace precinct by great gateways—the Holbein Gate towards Charing Cross, the King's Gate towards Westminster. The cockpit, a part of the site of which, Lord Welby tells us, is included in the buildings of the present Treasury, stands looking over the park, with the lake and a bridge, in correspondence with features familiar to us to-day. You will observe the swans in the river, which were of European celebrity as a feature of Elizabethan London.

Sheet 2 shows the continuation of the road from Uxbridge, which we call Oxford Street because it is the high-road to Oxford; it enters the map on the left-hand side just east of St. Giles in the Fields, continues along Holborn, crosses the Fleet river by Holborn bridge, and approaches Newgate. You see the territory of Lincoln's Inn is enclosed, and between Chancery Lane and Holborn Bars is Southampton House, the residence of Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton. On this wall here in Chancery Lane, Gerard the botanist at this time found growing the Whiteblowe or Whitelowe grasse, "the English Naile woort," as recorded in his 'Herball,' 1597. "It groweth plentifully," he says, "upon the backe wall in Chauncerie Lane, belonging to the Earle of Southampton, in the suburbs of London."

The line of the road to Theobald's—what we call Theobald's road to-day, formerly the King's way—intersects the sheet. It passes Clerkenwell, and on the right we see the buildings of the Hospital or Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and the southern gateway, which still exists, is shown in St. John Street, leading from Smithfield as it does to-day. Cow Cross Street still exists, leading from the Smithfield

market. Shoe Lane, leading towards Fleet Street, is identifiable under the spelling "Schow Lane."

Sheet 6 shows the Strand, Temple Bar, and Fleet Street; the river, with the river-side palaces from Durham Place (where Sir Walter Raleigh lived) to Bridewell, once a royal palace, at this time a hospital, having been so constituted in the reign of Edward VI. On the south is Paris Garden, one of the pleasure resorts of Elizabethan London, and, according to the map, also apparently the home of strange animals.

Sheet 3 gives the line of Newgate Street and the Royal Exchange district, showing two conduits besides the great conduit of Cheapside,



THE BEAR GARDEN, THE GLOBE. VISSCHER'S VIEW OF LONDON, 1616.

with the large jars or pitchers standing in the roadway. The area between Moorgate and Lothbury is an open space. The wall is very distinctly drawn. Outside the wall in "More Fyeld" are more clothes drying, and a little to the north archers may be seen practising.

Sheet 7 comprises the St. Paul's area, showing on the south side the church of St. Saviour's.

The next map is that of Norden in 1593, representing London, as apart from Westminster. Gray's Inn Lane leads through the country to Hampstead. The village of Islington is isolated. The river of Wells, the source of the Fleet river, is delineated. The old spital, where the Easter spital sermons were preached from the pulpit cross, is marked.



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VISSCHER'S VIEW OF LONDON, A.D. 1616.

MOST of the members of the LONDON TOPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY possess the reproduction of this beautiful and interesting view issued by the Society some years ago, but perhaps not all of them are aware of the intimate and important relation of London, at that period, with the life and the plays of Shakespeare. The attention of such is therefore invited to the following work in which that relation is demonstrated, and which is, in effect, a Commentary on Visscher's View :—

SHAKESPEARE'S LONDON : a Study of London in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. By T. Fairman Ordish, F.S.A. London, J. M. Dent & Co., 1897. (3s. nett.)

This fascinating little book.—*Spectator*.

The first careful attempt to draw Shakespeare as a Londoner.—*Academy*.

A pleasant and welcome addition to our knowledge of London in Tudor times.—*Notes and Queries*.

A delightful book on an absorbing subject.—*Literary World*.

It is always scholarly, always suggestive. . . . Few books in the great bye-literature that has grown up about Shakespeare's work are more successful in combining what is solidly instructive with what entertains the fancy and the memory.—*Scotsman*.

The playhouses which figure so largely in Visscher's View are fully described in another work by the same author, viz. :—

EARLY LONDON THEATRES. London, Elliot Stock. Published 1894. Reissued 1899. (3s. 6d. nett.)

The book is one to be unhesitatingly commended to students.—*Notes and Queries*.

We hold this volume to be a real addition to the literature of the stage.—*English Historical Review*.

This is a good book . . . it should be sought and studied by all readers who are interested in the history of the theatre.—*New York Tribune*.

A model treatment of an extremely interesting period in the history of the English stage.—*Literary World, Boston, U.S.A.*

The church of St. Botolph's, opposite Aldgate, is shown. The two Smithfields, east and west, are shown. The city walls are remarkably well defined. On the south side are Lambeth Marsh, Paris Garden, and on the Bank-side the bear-house and the playhouse.

Norden's map of Westminster, separately printed, is also very interesting.

A very interesting view of old London Bridge is contained in the Pepysian library at Cambridge, and has been reprinted by Dr. Furnivall. In the group of buildings are St. Thomas's chapel on the left, Nonsuch house on the right; the cornmills further on the right, and the water-raising apparatus on the left.

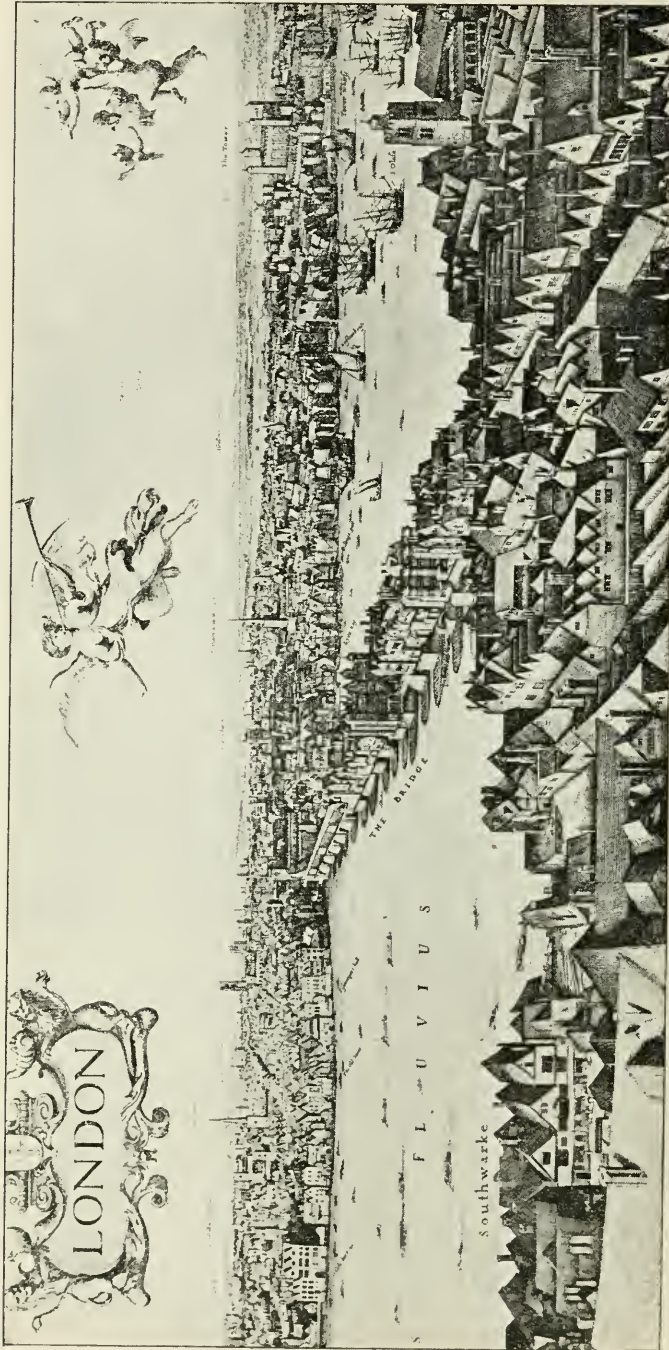
A valuable view of London by Hondius in 1610 is given in Speed's 'Theatre of Great Britain.'

Visscher's view of London in 1616, a copy of the original edition of which is in the King's Library, British Museum, has been reproduced by the London Topographical Society. Sheet 1 shows us Whitehall; Sheet 2 St. Paul's Cathedral, the Bear Garden, and Globe, after it was rebuilt; Sheet 3 the Bridge; and Sheet 4 the Tower and St. Olaf.

The Faithorne and Newcourt map of 1658 brings us to the end of the Commonwealth period. Sheet 1 of the London Topographical Society's reproduction has an excellent engraving of Westminster Abbey and St. Giles; Sheet 5 shows Westminster and St. James's Palace and the river bend (Cockpit shown by itself, in shape like the other playhouses on the bankside); Sheet 2 shows the centre of the town with St. Paul's; Sheet 4 the river, the bridge, and Southwark; Sheet 3 shows the north-eastern part of the town, including the Tower, and, as an inset, a picture of St. Paul's, to correspond with that of Westminster Abbey as in the first sheet; Sheet 6 shows the river towards the foot of the Thames, with the shipping. One most interesting relic of the time, depicted by Faithorne's map, when the now densely populated district near Soho was in a quite rural condition, is still in existence. In Archer Street, facing the rear of the Lyric Theatre, stands a farmhouse (now occupied by a firm of upholsterers and art-fringe makers). This is said to be the farmhouse of Windmill Fields. These fields, like the present Great Windmill Street, derived their name from the windmill which is shown in Faithorne's map of London in 1658, and which probably stood near the junction of Great Windmill Street and Little Pulteney Street. The fields are alluded to in a printed proclamation quoted in Wheatley and Cunningham's 'London Past and Present' (vol. 3, pp. 526, 527) of April 7, 1871: "The fields, commonly called the Windmill Fields, Dog Fields, and the fields adjoining to So Hoc."

Porter's map of London (1660-1665) is the latest map before the Great Fire in 1666.

I now pass from the general maps by referring to the collection
VI.—JUNE, 1908.]



HOLLAR'S VIEW OF LONDON, 1647, SHOWS SOUTHWARKE, ST. PAUL'S, LONDON BRIDGE, THE EAST END OF LONDON, THE TOWER, AND THE RIVER.

the originals of which, by the kindness of the London County Council, I am able to exhibit to-night. They proceed in more or less regularity until they become annual from 1800. Many of these maps are of great beauty as specimens of the cartographer's art, and all of them reveal features of more than ordinary interest to Londoners.



THE FAITHORNE AND NEWCOURT MAP OF 1658.

Apart from the general maps are a whole series of special maps. Many of these are in the possession of the local authorities of London, and are of great value, though they are not always valued by their owners, even though they are owners as trustees of the public.

The map of Southwark in the Duchy of Lancaster records, and dated 1542, is, not only from its early date, but from the details it contains, one of the most interesting of these special maps. It has been reproduced in Rendle's 'Old Southwark.' This plan was probably made about the year 1542. It is quite out of scale, but affords, nevertheless, a good-enough indication of the true position of the buildings and objects it shows, while its rude representation of them in picture form gives it a peculiar interest. It covers the area from Winchester Yard on the west to Bermondsey Street on the east, and from the Thames on the north to Long Lane on the south. The greater portion of the map is devoted to the representation of the main thoroughfare through Southwark. Here, occupying prominent positions in the centre of the road, are shown the pillory, the well, and the bull-ring. On the east side of the way are the numerous inns for which Southwark was famous (the White Hart, the George, the Tabard, and others), the Gate of St. Thomas's Hospital, the Marshalsea, the King's Bench prison, and St. George's Church. On the west side the most prominent objects are St. Saviour's Church and the manorhouse, while a few inns and private houses, the court-house, and the market-place, are also represented. Along the course of what is now Tooley Street may be seen another pillory, together with a cage; and at the top of Bermondsey Street is Bermondsey Cross.

There exists a plan of Deptford, drawn in 1623, and containing memoranda by John Evelyn.

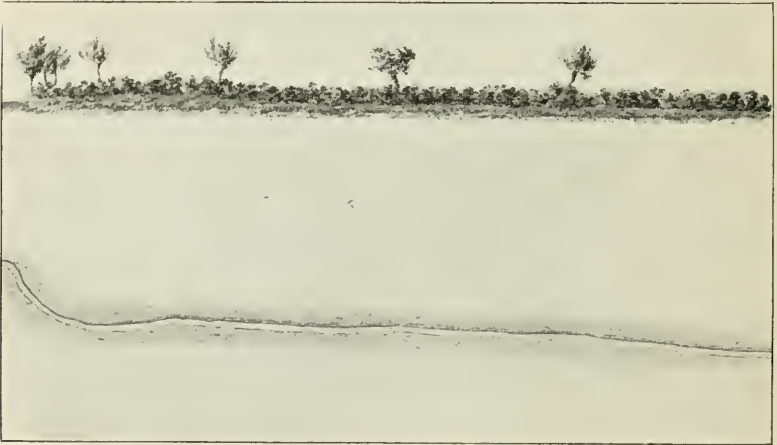
Another good example of local maps is the map of the manor of Old Paris Garden, in 1627. The map shows Copt Hall, the Manor House (afterwards Holland's Leaguer), and an "Olde Playe House." The names of the tenants are given. Most of the houses are along Bankside. Paris Garden Stairs, Holy Ghost Stairs, and Stairs near the Barge House are shown. A portion of Winchester Parke is on the east, and The Princes Meddowes are on the west.

Hollar published a beautiful map of the western part of London, and only one copy, now in the British Museum, is known. It was drawn before the Great Fire. It is not a view, but a map with buildings delineated in isometrical projection. The dial in the centre of Covent Garden piazza is shown, and this was set up about 1668 or 1669. St. Giles Fields are unoccupied with buildings. A curious pyramidal tower, marked "Ye Waterhouse," just to the eastward of the landing stage known as Strand Bridge, and in front of Arundel House, is shown, and this is one of the works set up during the Protectorate for pumping the river water for public service. It was patented in 1655, and in all probability taken down in 1665, the year after an order was issued for its destruction by the king.

The London County Council possesses many beautiful maps and plans as originally drawn for its various predecessors, from whom it

the old Hippodrome and neighbourhood, showing Notten Barn farm, and Portobello farm; of the Great Western and North-Western railways in the London district, with Brunel's and Robert Stephenson's signatures; and of the new Houses of Parliament, signed by (Sir) Charles Barry.

Perhaps the most interesting, however, is a survey of the river Fleet made in 1817, showing the condition of the whole line of the stream from Hampstead to Holborn, and leading us back to a London of green fields and hedges, five-barred gates and trees, with an occasional cottage on the banks of the stream. From this beautiful plan I have selected four views. The first of these shows the Fleet river just after leaving Pond Street, Hampstead, the second at St. Chad's well, the third at Bagnigge Wells,



THE FLEET JUST AFTER LEAVING POND STREET, HAMPSTEAD.

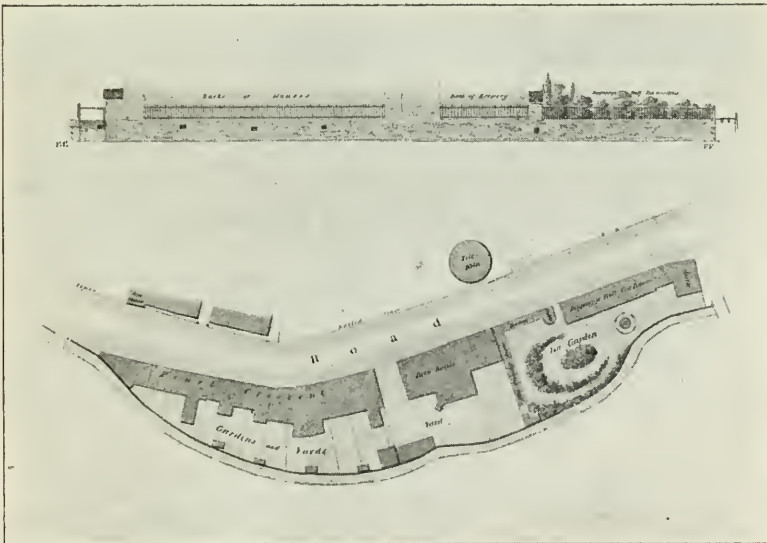
and the fourth at Saffron Hill, where for the first time we get the presence of bricks and mortar.

The ancient streams of London have been gradually converted into sewers, and plans of them are still extant. Thus the King's Scholars' Pond sewer was so called because it emptied itself into the Thames at the King's Scholars' Pond (near the present Vauxhall Bridge), on "the great level extending from the Horse Ferry to Chelsey Mead." Incidentally it may be mentioned that during the reign of Queen Anne the name of the sewer was dutifully changed to Queen's Scholars' Pond sewer. Anciently it was known as the Tyburn brook, and later as the Aye brook, and flowed down the hill from Marylebone Fields, passing near the old village of Tyburn and across the Acton or Tyburn road (Oxford Street), and the present Brook Street, through Mayfair to the Stone Bridge, situated at the "dip" in modern Piccadilly. Passing under the bridge and the high-road to Kensington, it entered what is

now known as the Green Park. This was formerly St. James's Fields, until Charles II. enclosed them, and added the land thus enclosed to St.



THE FLEET AT ST. CHAD'S WELL.



THE FLEET NEAR BAGNIGGE WELLS.

James's Park, by which name the whole was known until a comparatively recent period. Large ponds were formed in the course of the

sewer in this part of the park. At the bottom of the hill the streamlet passed through the gardens of Goring or Arlington House, where Buckingham Palace now stands, and along by the "coach road to Chelsea"—the present Buckingham Palace Road—and what is now Vauxhall Bridge Road to the river. At different periods the stream was altered in various parts of its course, and gradually covered in and converted into an underground sewer.

There were other small tributaries of the Thames which became in course of time underground sewers. One was the Bayswater brook, or West Bourne, which became the important Ranelagh sewer, and part of which was utilized to form the Serpentine. A glance at the map of the original winding course of this stream will easily explain the origin of the name "Serpentine." Further west was the Counter's Creek, with its tributary the Stinking Ditch.

I think I have now shown how valuable these maps and plans are for London history. I first of all introduced you to maps drawn from archaeological and historical remains; then to very ancient historical remains still surviving on the later maps; and, finally to maps for the information they give of topographical features contemporary with their own dates. Before closing my paper, I wish to say one word as to the material which exists for filling up of gaps in the maps, or for extending the information they contain in many important particulars.

Thus, among the earliest documents belonging to the London County Council are the minutes of the Surrey Commission of Sewers, which commence in January, 1557-8. The next oldest collection of minutes is that of the Greenwich Commission, whose minutes range from 1625 to 1847; then the Poplar Commission, from 1629 to 1847; then the Westminster Commission, from 1659 to 1847; then the Tower Hamlets Commission, from 1702 to 1847; then the Holborn and Finsbury Commission, from 1716 to 1847; then the St. Katherine's Commission, from 1782 to 1841; and, lastly, the Metropolitan Commission, from 1847 to the formation of the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1855.

The value, as material for London history, of entries in these minute-books, may be realized from even a cursory perusal of some of the volumes. Witness the entry in the first volume of the minute-books of the Surrey and Kent Commission, 1557-1606 (left-hand page of folio 154)—

"1588. Henchley—Item, we present Phillip Henchley to pull upp all the pylls that stand in ye common sewer against the play-house to ye stopping of the water course, the which to be done by midsomer next uppon paine of x^s yf it be undone. x^s (done)."

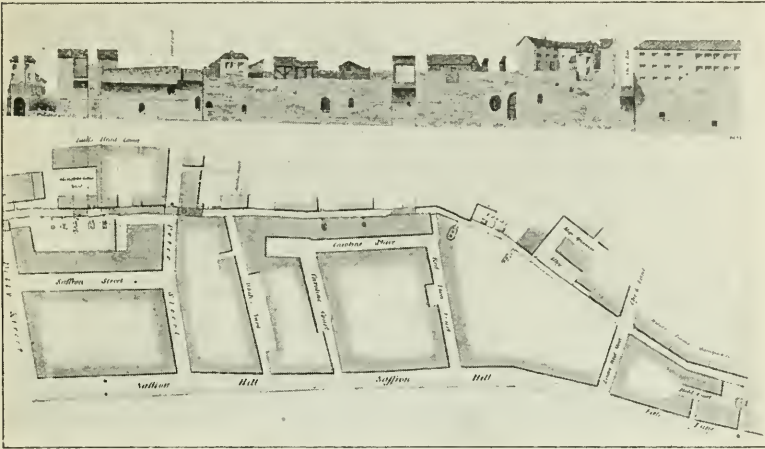
There is little doubt that "Philip Henchley" is Philip Henslow, who in 1584 or 1585 purchased the land close by the southern end of

modern Southwark Bridge, on which stood the "Little Rose" play-house, and who rebuilt the theatre in 1586 or 1587.

In the minutes of the Westminster Commission for 1662 to 1666, p. 184, occurs the passage—

"Proposals for taking away the annoyances occasioned by the common sewer at Westminster.

"Westminster lies upon a great flat, and the highest part of the soil is next the bridge, upon Mill Bank. The highest spring tides flow six or seven feet higher than the low-water mark.



THE FLEET AT SAFFRON HILL.

"Westminster and the parks is annoyed by the filth of the common sewer, which is occasioned by the settlement of the soil of high waters and stopped . . . the filth of sundry drains running into it, with several houses of office upon it.

"For prevention of which it is proposed—That the pond reaching up to Sir Robert Pyes be made a receptacle of water at high tides, to be kept in till a low ebb by flood gates at the mill and a sluice at Sir Robert Pyes, which is to be drawn to let forth a source of water so oft as needs require to scower the sewer; that the sewer be made perfect from Sir Robert Pyes to Tuttle-street, by St. James's-parke wall, and cross King-street by the bowling ground at Whitehall, and so into the river of Thames."

The early topography of Westminster can be made out fairly well by such entries as these, especially when they are all before the student ready to be transferred to a map.

Again, in 1692, leave was given by the Westminster Commissioners to Elizabeth Champion, widow of Richard Champion, to continue a sewer formerly belonging to Coventry House (where Coventry Street now stands) for the drainage of thirty-four houses built by her late husband. A year later Richard Rider petitioned for leave to make sewers for his

new houses in Cranbourn Street. In 1705 the Duke of Bedford was allowed to lay the drainage for the houses to be built "on the scite of his late mansion-house," and similar leave was granted to the Duke of Argyll in 1735 for the drainage of the new buildings on the ground of his mansion-house in King Street. The petition is also recorded of John James, a builder, for sewers to drain new houses in the neighbourhood of Golden Square, probably the still-existing John Street and James Street. The Earl of Oxford in 1726 laid sewers for his new buildings in Marylebone Fields without leave of the Commissioners, and was promptly summoned. The jury appointed to inquire into matters of drainage reported (1678) that one Richard Frith had erected 257 houses in Soho Fields, and had laid out ground for 300 more, and that consequently the old sewer leading from the fields was liable to be flooded. "We questioned the said Frith whether he had authority to bring his water into the antient sewer, and he could give no account thereof." After due consultation Mr. Frith agreed to continue a sufficient "shore" from his own buildings at Soho down to the "White Horse Inne," and if necessary to contribute to the widening of the sewer in St. Martin's Lane near the "Ladie Seymour's house."

The pages of these minute-books bear frequent references to places which find little or no remembrance in the modern street nomenclature of London. The Cock and Pye Fields, *alias* Marsh Land, were adjacent to the Cock and Pye brew-house, in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Mill Field or Kirkham Close is difficult to locate, but was probably west of the present Regent Street, perhaps on the site of Mill Street. The Pest field, where victims of the Great Plague were buried, was to the east of Carnaby Street. It was built upon in 1726. Some of the places mentioned are remembered only in the names of streets. Oliver's Mount Fields, mentioned in a description of the extent of Sir Richard Grosvenor's land, represents the site of one of Cromwell's abortive military forts, and are remembered by Mount Street. A reference to Newport Dead Wall recalls the site of Newport House, on which are Newport Street and Market Stand. Albemarle Ground was the site of Albemarle Street.

A series of presentments of the jury for work required about the sewers under the jurisdiction of the Westminster Commission of Sewers dates from 1668 to 1848; Holborn and Finsbury from 1683 to 1684; Surrey and Kent from 1746 to 1793; and St. Katherine from 1754 to 1821; and give important details in the topography of London, introducing us to the early condition of streets now in existence and to streets that have long since been destroyed. Each entry contains, besides the names of owners of property, the businesses carried on, important descriptions of streets, alleys, and roads. As examples of the entries, the following extracts are given from the presentments and

amercements of the eastern jury of the Surrey and Kent Commission :—

“1. *27th May, 1746*—We find that in the river of Thames opposite to and near Pepper Alley Stairs in the parishes of St. Olave and St. Saviour in Southwark . . . at a small distance from the banks of the said river there is a very great hole . . . and we find that the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London ought to fill up the said hole; we therefore present the Mayor . . . to make good the basement of the Thames bank . . . to be . . . done by 10th June next or forfeit . . . £500.

“3. *6th October, 1757*.—We present Taylor Ayres, of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey . . . to cast, cleanse, scower, and open to its antient wythd and depth the common sewer which runs across his rope-walk, near Cherry Garden-street . . . and the soil to carry away in order to give the water its free and usual current . . . to be . . . done by 2nd January next, or forfeit . . . 10s.

“4. *26th April, 1759*—We present . . . the Earl of Salisbury to repair about 8 rods of wharfing next the common sewer near Mill Pond Bridge at the bottom of West-lane in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey . . . in order to prevent any rubbish or soil from falling into the said common sewer, and annoying and obstructing the current of the water . . . to be . . . done by 24th June next, or forfeit for every rod then undone . . . 3s. 4d.”

An equally important series of documents are the rate-books. The rate-books of the Westminster Commission range from 1695 to 1848; the Tower Hamlets Commission from 1703 to 1847; the Surrey and Kent Commission from 1723 to 1848; the Greenwich Commission from 1775 to 1808; the Holborn and Finsbury Commission from 1779 to 1848; and the Poplar Commission from 1825 to 1845.

The name of the occupier and the rateable value of the premises in each street are set out in addition to the rate levied, and the value of such material as this for the history of London is, of course, very great. It would be difficult to select extracts from the rate-books; but if the streets where practically little or no alteration in structure has taken place could have the valuations at quinquennial periods printed in the same manner as the valuation of St. James's Square has been printed in Mr. Dasent's history of that place, I think the results would prove acceptable to many people. In addition to this, the residences of celebrated persons can be noted and the chief centres of residential or industrial occupation traced out.

The nomenclature of many of the streets outside the city can be restored from these books. Shalligonaked Street appears in the Wapping rate in the year 1748; the Land of Promise, still the name of a Shore-ditch slum, was once the name of a field on the site. Southwark was remarkable for its oddities in the matter of street names. It contained Dirty Lane, Foul Lane, and Harrow Dunghill. Bandy Leg Walk was near the site of the present Great Guildford Street. Sol's Hole was a slum near Holyfield Street. Loving Edward's Lane led from Camberwell to Deptford, and appears in very recent maps. The west end of London had its strange street names, some of them well known by

their mention in old literature. Defoe mentions Knave's Acre (now Little Pulteney Street), which appears in the rate-books for many years, and is shown in Rocque's map in 1746. In the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, were Cabbage Lane, Powder Beef Court, Thieving Lane, Adam-a-Digging Yard, Codpiece Court, Hell (in the precincts of the former royal palace), and Petty France. Some of these are still in existence.

Some curious cases of corruptions in the names of streets may be noticed. Thus, St. Ermin's Hill, in Westminster, is a typical instance of the way in which the name of a street is altered in process of time. Its present name was doubtless the original one, but in the rate-books for the district it appears variously as Torman's Hill (1704), Dormor's Hill (1714), Dorman's Hill, and Torment Hill. The latter is the spelling in Rocque's map of 1746. Horwood's plan of London, published at the end of the century, reverts to the old correct name which is now always used on modern maps.

The courts and alleys forming the rookeries which have been swept away for successive improvements are all included in the various assessments here recorded. Some were pulled down at the formation of Regent Street, others to make room for Trafalgar Square, Victoria Street, Whitehall, the Strand improvements, and the new Law Courts. The names of many of them are interesting in showing their connection with the old aristocratic houses near which, or on the site of which, they were built. From the lists of inhabitants of streets at successive dates the spread of the town may be traced. At the Restoration the leaders of fashion congregated round Soho Square, or King Square as it was then called. When the St. Alban's estate was built on a few years later, many of the nobility migrated to St. James's Square and the neighbourhood. Early in the eighteenth century, Hanover Square, George Street, Conduit Street, etc., were built, and by 1723 many of the nobility had taken the new houses. Later on, Grosvenor Square and the adjacent streets became the scene of a fresh migration. Among the inhabitants of these quarters are many famous in history and literature. Sir Isaac Newton was rated in Little Jermyn Street at £80 a year in 1706. Dr. John Blow was assessed at £35 for his house in the sanctuary, Westminster, in 1703; Dr. Cypriannius for house in Wells Street at £16 (1710). Sir Godfrey Kneller lived in Great Queen Street in 1708; Mrs. Oldfield in Southampton Street in 1713; and Grinling Gibbons on the east side of Bow Street in 1718. The assessment for Villiers Street in 1725 contains the names of Philip Arbuthnot and Sir Richard Steel; that of Charles Street, Covent Garden, shows Colley Cibber to have lived on the west side in a house rated at £65 (1731). Later books show the names of Jacob Tonson, the bookseller in the Strand, assessed at £60; William Hogarth, in Leicester Fields (£45); Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Michael Rysbrach, and many others. On

the south side of Brook Street, in 1739, lived George Frederick Handel, rated at £20. His fame was apparently not then universal, for in 1735 he is entered as Frederick Handwell, Esq.

The maps of London may also be illustrated from one other important source, and that is the imprints of early printed books. An examination of the catalogue of early printed books in the British Museum, or of Mr. Hazlitt's 'Collections and Notes,' supply innumerable references to the dwelling-places of printers at different dates, and to get these collated and properly located would restore a seventeenth and eighteenth century London of surpassing interest. The work would be tedious and long, but I think the results would be worth the labour involved. Thus, taking the first twenty pages of Hazlitt's 'Collections and Notes,' we have the following names and centres of the bookselling business:—

Authority.	Date.	6. London Bridge.	7. Fleet Street.	8. Strand.	9. Ludgate Street.	10. Bishopsgate Street.
Hazlitt, i. p. 2	1685	T. Passinger				
" " 8	1664	C. Tyus				
" " 12	1690	J. Blase				
" " 2	1669		S. Speed.			
" " 6	1595		W. Mattes.			
" " 14	1571		Marshe			
" " 4	1660			W. Smith		
" " 18	1720			W. Bray		
" " 4	1678				J. Edwin	
" " 2	1701					J. Gwillim

Authority.	Date.	11. Charing Cross.	12. Smithfield.	13. Little Britain.	14. Britaines Burne.	15. St. Paul's Churchyard.
Hazlitt, i. p. 15		R. Wyer				
" " 16	1649		R. Ibbetson			
" " 18				J. Audley		
" " 1	1635				W. Sheares	
" " 1	1640					W. Morley
" " 6	1652					G. Calvert
" " 7	1665					R. Loundes
" " 7	1548					R. Jugge
" " 9	1590					E. White
" " 10	1617					Norton
" " 11	1661					J. Latham
" " 14	1686					H. Bon- wicke
" " 14	1551					J. Kyng
" " 17	1661					W. Miller
" " 19	1696					R. Wellington

Authority.	Date.	16. Warwick Lane.	17. Cornhill.	18. Chancery Lane.	19. Newgate.	20. Giltspur Street.
Hazlitt, i. p. 5	1698	R. Baldwin				
" " 6	1652		J. Grismond			
" " 10	1658		Farnham			
" " 6	1628			R. Hawkins		
" " 7	1659				T. Vere	
" " 7	1659					Gilbertson

Authority.	Date.	21. Poultry.	22. Lombard Street.	23. Westminster Hall.	24. Moorfields.	25. Ivy Lane.
Hazlitt, i. p. 8	1664	Godbid				
" " 9, 18	1588		Hackett			
" " 10	1691		Clark			
" " 10	1673			Hausmann		
" " 10	1671				Smelt	
" " 12	1633					R. Royston

Each of these names represents a quaint description of the house: "Imprinted at London in Fletestrete nere to S. Dunstons Church by Thomas Marshe;" "Imprinted at London by John Charlewood dwelling in Barbican at the signe of the Halfe Eagle and the Key;" and so on.

The same sort of evidence can be collected from old London directories, many of which are of the greatest interest. The earliest are little more than mere lists of merchants. That for 1677, in fact, simply professes to be "A collection of the names of the merchants living in and about the City of London; very usefull and necessary. Carefully collected for the benefit of all dealers that shall have occasion with any of them; directing them at the first sight of their name, to the place of their abode." No numbers are given. The entries take the form of "Mr. Ludlow, Bow Lane," or "Mr. Brabant in St. Swithin's Lane at a Packer's," "Thomas White at the Blew Anchor in Lumbard Street." The first directory containing the numbers of houses is the 'London Directory' for 1778, and Kent's directory for 1799 specifically states that it contains the "names and places of abode of the Directors of companies, persons in public business, merchants, and other traders . . . with the numbers as they are affixed to their houses, agreeable to the late Acts of Parliament." Johnstone's Commercial Guide and Street Directory for 1817 gives a *classification* of trades, etc.

There is one last aspect of London maps which will interest all Londoners. This is the collection of the information which shows the gradual growth of London. The earliest map of this kind known to

me is one which was published by the Royal Commission on water supply in 1869. This map shows extensions from 1560 to 1745, thence to 1818, thence to 1834, thence to 1867, and some few suburban extensions.

A better view of the growth of London, however, is to be obtained from the various Estate Acts, which were passed to enable entailed estates to be let for a term of years on lease. A few months before his all too early death, the late Mr. Charles Harrison, M.P., drew up a map from the great collection of private Estate Acts which he had acquired, and he gave this to me. It shows eight different extensions—from the city walls to 1658, from 1658 to 1668, thence to 1745, thence to 1799, thence to 1832, then the 1832 extension, next from 1832 to 1852, and finally from 1862 to 1887. Thus is shown the ever-widening area creeping along the highways, and gradually filling in until at last the monster city, as it is called, has become one vast extent of bricks and mortar with little, if any, architectural purpose or design, with unlovely houses in unlovely streets—a city spoiled of its natural beauty and delight by the unthinking hands of the modern Englishman.

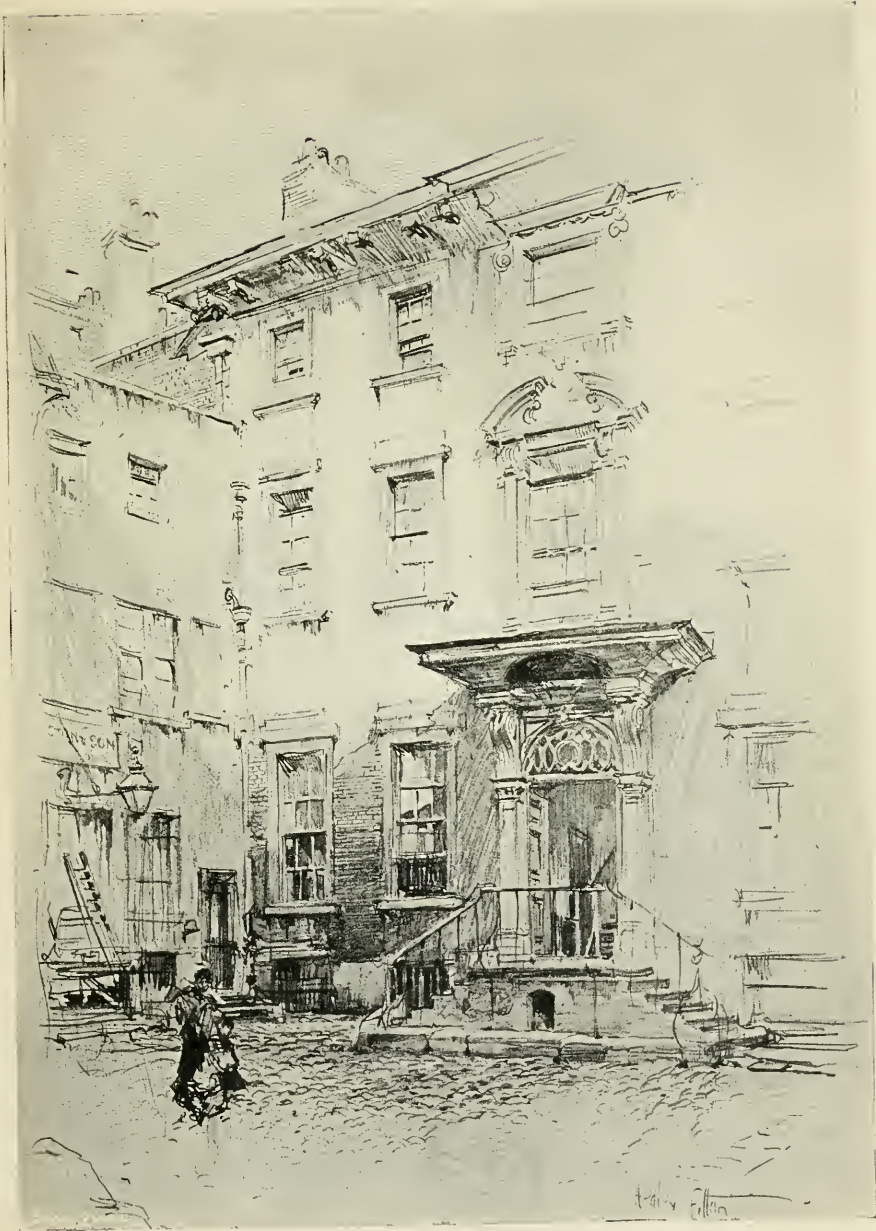
The first extension is along the river-bank to Westminster on the north and Southwark on the south, showing the river to have been the principal highway of the city. The next extension, just after the Fire, is north of the city area towards Old Street. Three-quarters of a century later (1745) we get a great extension all round up to Hyde Park on the west, just north of Oxford Street, Theobald's Road, and Old Street on the north, to Whitechapel and Limehouse on the east. Another fifty years (1799) we have a further fringe of narrow dimensions penetrating to Knightsbridge on the west, creeping up Edgware Road, taking in the southern part of Marylebone, extending to Camden Town, adding to the 1745 extension in the east a narrow belt all round, and finally showing the first great extension in north Lambeth along the banks of the river. In 1832 the Regent's Park district on the north, a large district of Lambeth on the south, and a further extension of Bermondsey and Southwark are the principal features. Islington, St. Pancras, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, and Mile End also filled up at this date, together with a little bit of Greenwich. In 1862 the great era of building set in, and all round the boundary of the 1832 limits we have great extensions. The next stage is 1887, which again shows an extension of the building area all round the map; and now twenty years later we have scarcely any boundary of London left, for building has gone on spreading into Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and Essex at a pace which almost defies the cartographer.

I cannot, however, finish my all-too-imperfect account of the story of London maps on a dismal note. The streets along which we walk are historic spots. Great Englishmen and Englishwomen have trodden them for ages. I do not know whether a map of London appeals to

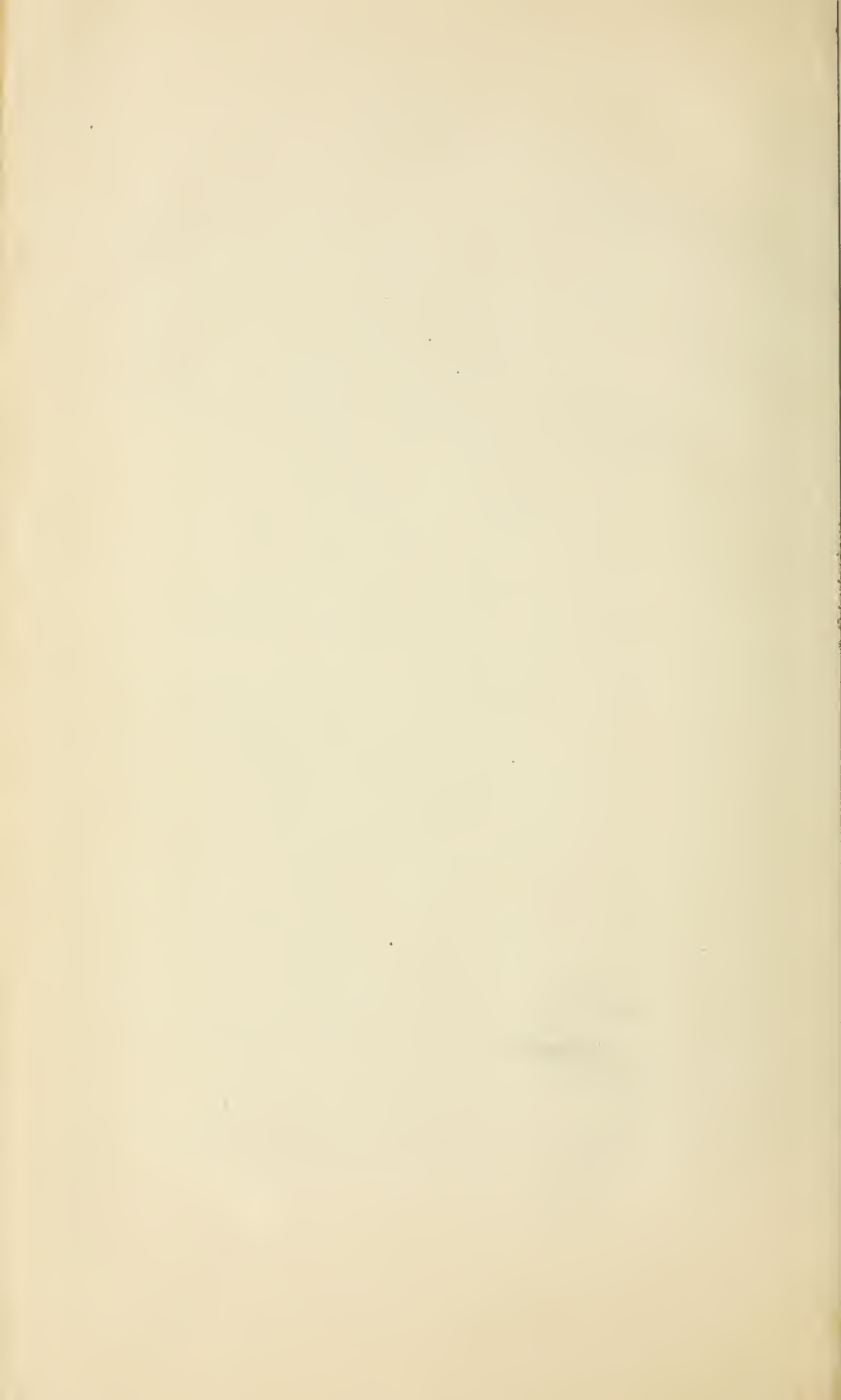
most people as it appeals to me. It conjures up all sorts of ideas, all sorts of romances, all sorts of desires. To take the map of a given date and walk through the streets it depicts, and to note the remains of the picturesque and the historic, is a delight which only those who have tried to accomplish it can understand. It makes one love strange routes and strange places. I always prefer to go through the crooked and now uninteresting Marylebone Lane to the straight lines of Baker Street and Wigmore Street. I love the courts out of St. James's Street, for through them Samuel Rogers led Fenimore Cooper to the theatre in order to avoid the throng and the mud of the streets. I delight in the narrow streets of the old city, where, on any Sunday, you may see quiet retired nooks containing houses with beautiful doorways and quite magnificent architecture. As an example, there are parallel to each other from Lower Thames Street to Eastcheap and little Tower Street three lanes, St. Mary-at-Hill, Love Lane, and Botolph Lane. They lie close together, a little paved alley, called Church Passage, connecting St. Mary-at-Hill with Love Lane; Botolph Alley leading from the latter into Botolph Lane, where stands the church of St. George, with which is united the Parish of St. Botolph, Billingsgate. In a courtyard that might well escape the passers-by, entered as it was through an archway of the most unassuming appearance, there stood only a short time since, an old and beautiful house. It was placed with its back to Love Lane, while the front looked out on a square paved with cobbles, and surrounded with buildings presumably much more modern than the mansion. The hall occupied the whole depth of the house; it was over 30 feet long, and nearly 20 wide. A double sweep of stone steps led up to the front door, and we could stand on the wide level flagging at the top and look over the iron rails, gazing round the quiet courtyard and peeping down at the big dog-kennel formed by leaving an opening under the steps; and the "dog-lick," hollowed out of solid stone pavement, ran below.* If this is a true description, the destruction of such a house is only a little less scandalous than the destruction of Crosby Hall.

Then there are the closed-in courts at the back of the Strand and in Holborn. These are not only the last relics of places where Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, Garrick, Sheridan, and a host of others dwelt or congregated, but they are the still living survivals of old inns, the centres of London life for ages. Not only the side streets, but the backs of houses should receive attention. I always get to the backs of houses in old streets whenever I can, for one comes upon unexpected glimpses of the country aspect of London parishes—long, slanting red-tiled roofs, and buildings of much simple beauty. No one knows how much of old London is still left to us in these out-of-the-way

* Mrs. Riddell's 'Mitre Court.'



Sir Christopher Wren's house, Love Lane.



places. The maps of London will still lead us to them, or what remains of them, if we use the maps properly, and London, under their guidance, will assume some of its past glories, and present to its modern citizens a city to be proud of and to think about, as much on account of its picturesqueness as of its greatness.

Before the paper, the President: It seems hardly necessary to introduce the reader of the paper, as most of you probably live in London—at any rate, for part of the year—and must be very familiar with Mr. Gomme's name at the foot of our countless public notices. For he is the chief permanent official of that County Council—the greatest municipality in the world—under whose watchful care we live and move (in their tramcars) and carry on our avocations in comfort; while the County Council themselves perform their multifarious public work under conditions of discomfort which no other civilized capital would tolerate. But there are signs of a change in that respect, and when the Royal Geographical Society of the next century listens to a paper on London, there may be thrown on the screen a photograph of a County Hall not unworthy of the metropolis of the Empire.

Having necessarily to speak of the County Council in connection with Mr. Gomme, let me first add that we welcome here to-night a number of their members—including chairmen past, present, and future—and that I have received a letter from the very earliest and most famous of their chairmen—Lord Rosebery—explaining that he could not come, as the Prince of Wales is dining with him.

To the great body of the Fellows of our Society scattered over the globe, Mr. Gomme's name is known in a very different connection. We recognize him as one of the chief authorities in this country on folklore, upon which he has written very extensively. I believe that he founded the Folk Lore Society. Moreover, as an expert archaeologist and sociologist, he has produced many valuable contributions on that most interesting and important subject, "Village Communities," as also on Local Institutions generally and the principles of Local Government. I have not yet had the advantage of reading his latest work—published in 1907—on 'The Governance of London;' but I understand that it deals with the various forms of the local governments of London from the earliest times, and that in this work he has maintained and even surpassed the high level of his previous works.

When I first heard that Mr. Gomme might be induced to give us this paper, I hesitated for a moment between a keen recognition of the special interest of the subject and a doubt whether it was strictly geographical, or more fitting for the Historical Society. But that doubt was only momentary. For cartography is the very basis of geography; and we do occasionally indulge at these meetings in the luxury of historical geography. Moreover, we recognize that our science is not only essentially human in its ultimate aims, but that one of its most purely scientific branches deals objectively with the mutual interactions of mankind and their physical environment. The magnitude of London, its influence on the human race, and the way in which both the extent and the mode of its growth and the characteristics of its inhabitants have been determined by its geographical conditions, including of course in these its very peculiar climatic conditions, differentiate the story of its maps from ordinary local topography and local history.

Following the usual practice here, Mr. Gomme will deliver only such portions of his paper as are permitted by the limitations of our time and by the exhibition of explanatory photographs on the screen. His paper will, as usual, be published in full in the *Geographical Journal*. And I have no doubt that this complete paper, even without the advantage of pictorial representation which we to-night shall

enjoy, will be read with exceptional interest in distant parts of the Empire, where it will probably be reproduced in their local magazines and newspapers. For although the majority of our English-speaking brothers in those regions know that they will probably never visit London, they still turn their mental vision with interest and affection towards the historic centre and the living heart of our common country, the British Empire.

After the paper, Mr. PERCY HARRIS: I am glad to have the opportunity of saying two things. First of all, I hope it will not be thought unfit if I thank Mr. Gomme for the very interesting paper he has read, and if I express the opinion that it is a great advantage to London to have, in the chief official of its principal governing body, one who is so interested in and so full of knowledge of the antiquities of London. I think both those who are engaged in the government of London and the inhabitants of London generally do want to take more interest in the antiquities of London, in the many matters of interest which those who walk about can discover in London. I cannot help thinking that if Mr. Gomme would take many of us for a walk through London, we should have a very interesting walk. I cannot venture as an expert to discourse upon London maps, though I hope we may hear some expert remarks from others present. I only desire both to express the pleasure with which I have been here and listened to this lecture by Mr. Gomme, and also our obligations to the Geographical Society for the treat they have afforded us.

Sir JOHN BENN: I am delighted to be associated with my friend Mr. Percy Harris in giving thanks to our clerk, Mr. Gomme, for his admirable lecture. We are very much indebted to the Geographical Society for bringing the London County Council together in this delightful fashion to-night. I am bound to say I have been altogether charmed with this delightful lecture. I do feel that one result of this admirable lecture may be that we may all be more than ever proud of this London of ours. I am not speaking in any party spirit, because it does not apply to this particular instance, but I could not help feeling sincerely sorry the other day when Crosby Hall passed away in such a summary manner. But, anyway, we are here to increase our interest in the story of London, and, I am perfectly sure, to join hands in making it a noble and great city. I commend the study of London to every one, and I am perfectly sure that whatever label we may bear, we are all one in our desire to make our city worthy of this great empire.

Sir HERBERT JEKYLL: I had no idea of saying anything, because, interesting as Mr. Gomme's paper has been, it is related to the past, whereas I might say my interest lies mainly in the future. If Mr. Gomme could have shown us a map of London, say, of 1920, it would have been of surpassing interest, and would have given us some indication of what we might hope to see in the years that lie before us. I do not profess to be an antiquary, or to have any knowledge of these things which Mr. Gomme has spoken to us about, but perhaps the most interesting part of his lecture was that which related to the detailed maps, such as the map which was drawn, he says, by John Evelyn of his estate at Deptford. I can only join in the chorus of approbation for the excellence of Mr. Gomme's paper, and the extreme interest of what he has been good enough to tell us this evening.

Mr. ORDISH: Mr. Gomme has taken us over such a vast area, that in the space of two or three sentences it is impossible to do more than raise one's voice in the general vote of thanks. In the maps of the Elizabethan period which Mr. Gomme has shown us, you may have observed that there was a territorium called Scotland near Charing Cross, and near the Tower one called Wales. Germany was represented in a district called Petit Almaine, or the Steelyard, in Upper Thames Street; there was a Petit France in Westminster, and another in London itself. The numerous Dutch colony assembled for worship in the church of Austin Friars,

which was specially set apart for their use. Indeed, our London of that period, small as it was, in these microcosms of nationalities represented a large part of the map of Europe. On the façade of the Royal Exchange which you saw on one of the slides, built by Gresham, was an inscription in Latin, Dutch, French, and other European languages. Merchants assembled within that bourse were attired in the costume of the countries whence they came, and the confusion of tongues was likened by Dekker, the Elizabethan dramatist, to that of the tower of Babel. Thus it was that the capital was representative and imperial then, in those days of Queen Bess, as it is to-day. Mr. Gomme has shown us the territorium of Roman London, and to all of us present it must have occurred that that territorium is being brought again into touch with the centre by the expansion of London, on the one hand, and by the means of communication which are multiplying in every direction. It will add to the interest of all residents in those outlying districts to realize that at one time that part which has now come near to London was also in Roman times attached to London.

Mr. MACKINDER: Although Mr. Gomme was good enough to send me his paper before the meeting, I am sorry that I was occupied to-day, and had not time to read it, and therefore I am dependent upon what he has said. But I do not think any one can doubt as to the importance of the study to which Mr. Gomme gives himself, and as of course a portion of his audience is very much interested in the rates, it seems to me of some importance to say that there is a practical aspect to what Mr. Gomme has been treating us to this evening. I was much struck with his archaeological habit of going to his work by the by-ways, the Marylebone High Street, and the rest of them. Well, I venture to suggest that it would be an excellent thing for the London County Council, an excellent investment for the ratepayers, if for each of the chief districts of London, five or six, they issue a special set of maps to be hung on the walls of the schools. If you could once imbue a large portion of the young citizens of London with the archaeological enthusiasm, they might in the future follow the narrow ways in going to their business, and so solve the traffic problem for us. But seriously, I cannot help feeling that if Mr. Gomme could induce the Education Committee to do something of this kind, he would be doing a most valuable thing. I believe that the children can be got to take the greatest interest in the names of the streets which they know, and in the curious turns of those streets, to be pieced together so as to reveal various past Londons. It seems to me of real political importance to tincture the minds of the young with the historical sense, which is not to be got by merely learning from a text-book. The slow mending and altering of things over a long period in a given district of London would be a most valuable lesson in practical citizenship, and would appeal to the very concrete imagination of children in a way that a more abstract teaching would not.

With regard to Park Lane, may I note that the Edgware Road does not lead straight into the lower part of Park Lane. I suspect that in the north-east corner of Hyde Park some other cause than the old village community has been at work. There looks to me something very much like an encroachment on the common land of the community which has given that odd kink in an otherwise Roman straightness of line from the Edgware Road to Piccadilly, and when I see the agitators on Sunday afternoon take possession of that very corner, I cannot help feeling that a sense of history might possibly give them a power of appealing to facts in the very locality in which they stand.

One other point. The date for the Agas map was given as 1571, but upon that map, on the Royal Arms, is the lion of Scotland. I suppose that the map was reprinted at a later time, but no doubt Mr. Gomme will explain.

Mr. GOMME: I feel that I ought, in the first place, to thank those gentlemen who have joined in the discussion for the unanimous opinion they have been good enough to express on my lecture, but my lecture would not have been possible if it were not for the kindness of the London County Council in exhibiting the maps and the other documents in the tea-room; to the London Topographical Society, whose reproductions of some of these maps have been so very delightful; and to a few kind friends who have helped me with the slides, and lent me some of them—my friend Mr. Ordish, in particular. I should like, also, to record the fact that the council is doing a great deal of good work in the direction that my friend Mr. Mackinder has just pointed out. It is not only publishing its early manuscript records, but it is recording on historical houses the names of those who have made them historical. It is also at the present moment inaugurating a series of lectures by Mr. Vickers on the History of London, so that in these various directions the council is doing all that it can to teach the young citizens something of the city in which they live. I am afraid that my imagination, good as it is, would not enable me to produce the map that Sir Herbert Jekyll is so anxious to obtain, namely, London in twenty years' time. Sir Herbert Jekyll, alluding to Sir John Evelyn and his love of gardening, reminds me that I happen to possess a rather scarce tract by John Evelyn, which advocates the fascinating idea of removing the smoke nuisance of London. It suggests how, in olden times, problems were then much what they are at the present moment. Mr. Ordish, alluding to various localities known as Petit France and other similar names indicating and showing the residence of foreigners, reminds me of a very remarkable passage in one of our old chroniclers, Richard of Devizes, I think, who describes a traveller's journey through England from the various cities, and mentions London as noted for being infested by all sorts of foreigners. I was immensely struck with Mr. Mackinder, a distinguished geographer, suggesting to myself, an undistinguished archaeologist, the necessity for making ancient London better known. I recognize that when a geographer thus speaks, he has realized to the full the practical conditions of such a subject. With reference to the two points that Mr. Mackinder alluded to: as to the connection between Edgeware Road and Park Lane, I feel sure he is right in suggesting there is some twist at the northern end whose history we have lost; and with reference to the Agas map, I must confess for the moment to have made a slip when I dated it 1561. I meant after 1561, when the spire of St. Paul's was destroyed, but containing evidence of details before the date of James I.'s accession. Maps in those days were not done so quickly as Messrs. Stanford do them now, and alterations were not made of changes which had taken place during the compilation of the map. I beg leave to thank the meeting for their attention and consideration.

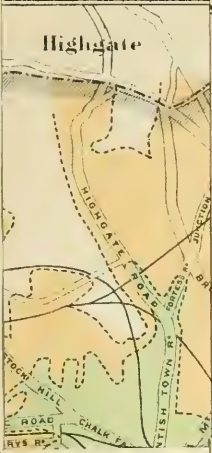
SWEDISH MAGELLANIAN EXPEDITION, 1907-1909.*

By CARL SCOTTSBERG, D.Sc., Leader of the Expedition.

I. THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

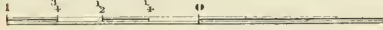
ACCOMPANIED by Mr. T. Halle, geologist, I arrived at Port Stanley, October 26, 1907, on board a P.S.N.C. steamer. In the early spring we worked in the neighbourhood of the town, where, however, the geology is of little interest, and the appearance of vegetation much changed by

* Dated "Punta Arenas, April 1, 1908."



Map showing the growth
of
LONDON
from
1560 to 1887.
By
LAURENCE GOMME

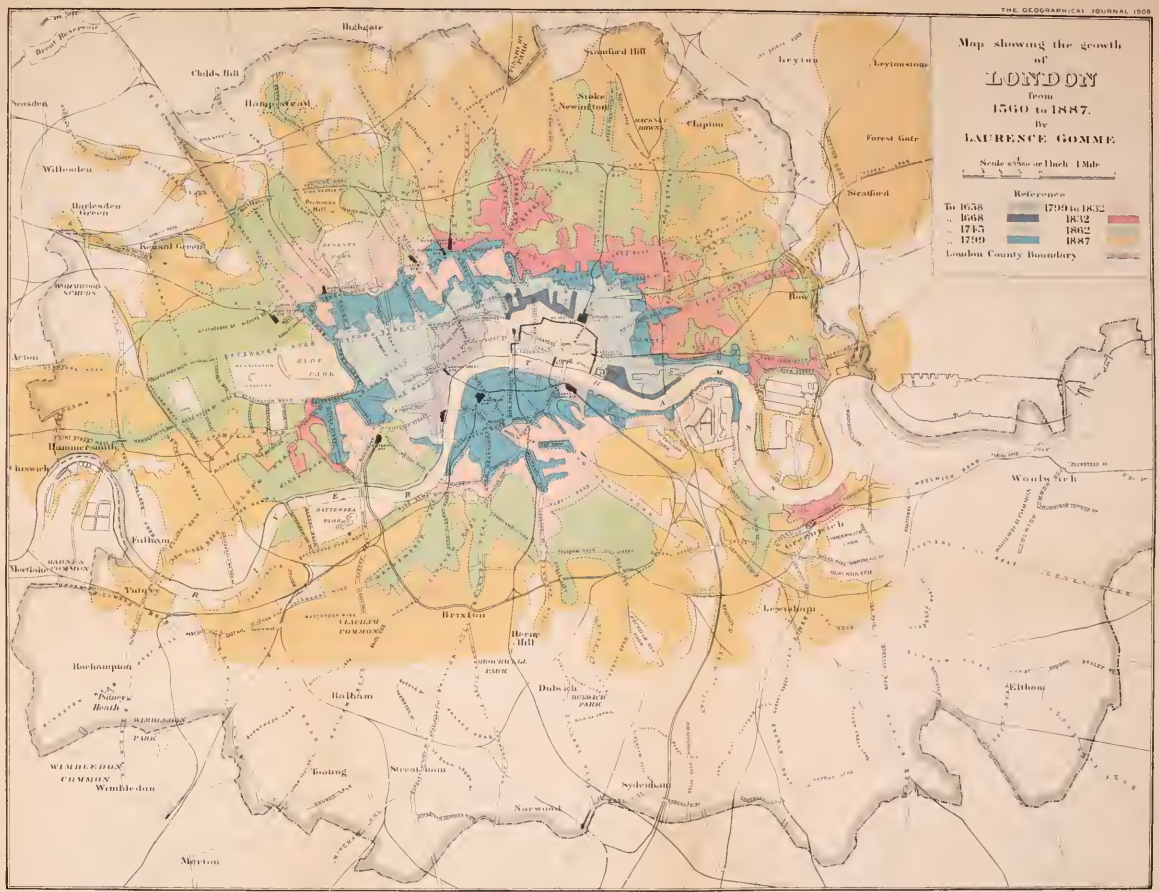
Scale $\frac{1}{63360}$ or 1 Inch = 1 Mile



Map showing the growth of
LONDON
from
1560 to 1887.
By
LAURENCE COMME.

Scale 1/250,000 or 1 inch = 1 1/2 miles

Reference	
To 1658	1709 to 1832
1668	1832
1717	1862
1759	1887
London County Boundary	



SIR LAURENCE GOMME ON ANCIENT LONDON.

On Monday evening Sir Laurence Gomme, F.S.A., delivered the second of the Hampstead Public Library lectures for the current session at the Central Library, his subject being "Ancient London." In introducing the lecturer Alderman Hanhart, who occupied the chair, drew attention to the great work Sir Laurence had done for Modern London as the distinguished Clerk to the London County Council, and to his interest in Ancient London, on which he was one of our foremost authorities.

Sir Laurence Gomme, at the outset, drew attention to the importance of a general knowledge of the development of London. Many people, he said, knew something of the history of their immediate locality, but were unfortunately ill-informed as to the history of London proper. The city which is now the

Mayor (Councillor William Woodward) sa
proceedings with prayer, after which t
the Rev. H. Summerhayes, who opened t
through illness, but his place was taken
Rev. W. Hind was prevented from attendi
lady friend, who was in native costume. T
contingency, made and sold by an India
chief features of the sale was a stall of India
books, and household provisions. One of t
assortment of fancy articles, plain garment
noon, Nov. 3rd. There was a large and varie
held at 6 Downside-crescent on Friday afte
The annual sale of work for this society wa

THE BIBLE SOCIETY.

[To Club Secretaries.—Will correspond
kindly send in results of matches as ear
as possible.]

London.—Senior: Mr. S. A. Smith and M
H. A. Rutt tied at 78 net. Junior: Mr. H.
Lowenthal, 76 net.
North Middlesex. — Quarterly "Bogey"
Competition and Baret Bowl: Mr. M. V
Taylor, 2 down. "Bogey" Prize: Mr. P. J
Budd (scratch), 2 up. Junior Medal: M
F. J. Heathcotington, 97 less 20—77.

LAST SATURDAY'S GOLF.

Hampstead v. Oxford University.
Oxford University were quite outclassed b
Hampstead at Oxford on Saturday, when th
Dark Blues were defeated by six goals to tw
Old Crickewood, 9: Kew, 2.
(rough-end, 6: Northumberland-park, 2.
Brendesbury, 3: Polytechnic, 1.

HOCKEY.



Love Lane, showing the back entrance to Wren's house on the left.

p. 636. London Museum. Gateway of
cast iron, inscribed with the name of
the founders "Gerish, East Rd." Late
17th century work. Removed from entrance
to court of 9 Love Lane E. C. It originally
formed the garden gateway of the house
when occupied by Sir Christopher Wren.

It was used since 1859 for the Billingsgate
and Tower Ward school. The front is
plain but has an air of quiet dignity,
being built of well-laid and unusually
small bricks with stone dressings. It
has a projecting cornice and flat lead-
covered roof. The doorway is approached
by a double flight of steps, beneath
which an opening has been left, once
used as a dog kennel, to judge from
the little hollow for water scooped
out in front. The house is eloquently
described by Mrs. Riddell in the
pathetic novel Mitre Court.

(P. Worman: 'London Vanished and
Vanishing', 1905, pp. 85-87).

Prideaux (W. F.) Love Lane, N. D. 10 S. v
(1906) 302-304.

Wren was so great a Londoner that it might have been imagined that care should have been taken of his house in Botolph Lane. But it has reached its last stages, as the following letter to the Times, 15th April 1913, indicates "The last remnants of this house which, by tradition, was designed, built, and occupied by the great architect as his residence in the city of London during the patching up of the old and the construction of the present St. Paul's Cathedral, have been acquired to-day through purchase by Alderman Sir Charles Wakefield. The grand staircase with wall panelling, the doorways with curved pediments and elaborate mouldings, and the grand landing complete the detail of the acquisition, which is to find a new home on this side of the Atlantic. Some account of the building which was condemned in 1906 as a 'dangerous structure', appeared in the Architectural Review, vol. XIX., and the staircase is pictured in Mr. Walter Godfrey's The English Staircase, edition MCMXI".

"London" (Sir Laurence Gomme), 1914, 374.

London's Story in Her By-ways.

A SLANT from the squares of Bloomsbury runs a footway, Red Lion-passage, towards Gray's Inn and Lawyer London. We shall not be wrong, perhaps, if we take it that this was once a path across a field. It was tracked out diagonally from corner to corner over the grass or through the crops by those who took a short cut. And it remains to upset the squareness of things in a London that tries to be rectangular.

Straight roads were easily made in London, a city on the plain. On the way to the west only the little valley of the Fleet presented any difficulty. And there we see that the street next to Ludgate Hill to which the Pilgrims gave their name is pretty straight.

They came afoot, travelling light, and went directly up the hill. But on the other side of Ludgate Circus there is Seacoal-lane. That soon bears left to make a slant up the slope towards Newgate. Heavy loads went this way from the colliers discharging at the wharf on the Fleet, and horses chose an easy grade for their load.

The Viaduct straightens Holborn now, but Snow Hill tells of the old bend which was necessary if wheels were to go safely down into the valley.

There were tournaments at Smithfield, and gallant knights at the Tower. Between lay the busy City. Cheapside was a crowded market, and to be avoided. So the knights made their own way to Smithfield. They kept to the south of Cheapside, and gave us Knight-rider-street.



Wheels asked for hard and stony streets, and hooves for softer and more yielding going. And the rider left the high road when he could to save his horse. And so we have half-a-dozen Warple or Worple Ways in west and south-west London.

They are the old bridle paths. As a rule they parallel the main road that was good for the coach but too good for the horse. You may trace a rider's way by that name Worple from Richmond through Mortlake on towards Wandsworth.

Off Fleet-street we find, perhaps, an instance where it was the walker who left the road and made a track parallel with it. What we now call Whitefriars-street may have been in the first place a sunken road in the river-bank used by those who would reach boats lying on the shingle.

Loads would have gone slowly up the lane, and there would have been little room for the walker who overtook them to get by. Impatiently he jumped up the bank and strode on along the top above the road. And so, by Whitefriars-street, and at a higher level, we have a slit of a passage, Hanging Sword-alley.

H. R.

Evening News, 16 Aug. 1930,

S. (E.) Bayswater and its Origin

A piece of topographical history was disclosed at the recent trial of a cause at Westminster, which it may be worth while to record among your "Notes". The Dean and Chapter of Westminster are possessed of the manor of Westbourne Green, in the parish of Paddington, parcel of the possessions of the extinct abbey of Westminster. It must have belonged to the abbey when Domesday was ~~completed~~ compiled; for though neither Westbourne nor Knightsbridge (also a manor of the same house) is specially named in that survey, yet we know, from a later record, viz. a Quo Warranto in 22 Edward I, that both of those manors were members, or constituent hamlets, of the vill of Westminster, which is mentioned in Domesday among the lands of the abbey. The most considerable tenant under the abbot in this vill was Baniardus, probably the same Norman associate of the Conqueror

who is called Baignardus and Bainardus in other parts of the survey, and who gave his name to Baynard's Bastle.

The descent of the land held by him of the abbot cannot be clearly traced; but his name long remained attached to part of it; and as late as the year 1653, a parliamentary grant of the abbey or bhapter lands to Foxcraft and another, describes "the common field at Paddington" as being "near to a place commonly called Baynard's Watering".

In 1720, the lands of the Dean and bhapter in the same common field are described, in a terrier of the bhapter, to be in the occupation of Alexander Bond, of Bear's Watering, in the same parish of Paddington.

The common field referred to, is the well-known piece of garden ground lying between Craven Hill and the Uxbridge road, called also Bayswater Field.

We may therefore fairly conclude,

that this portion of ground, always remarkable for its springs of excellent water, once supplied water to Baynard, his household, or his cattle; that the memory of his name was preserved in the neighbourhood for six centuries; and that his watering-place now figures on the outside of certain green omnibuses in the streets of London, under the name of BAYSWATER.

[Notes and Queries, 1 Ser. i. (1850)
162-163].

B. (G. F. R.) Paddington Field-names
W. O. O. 6 Ser. iii (1881) 446-447.

A CENTURY-AGO PLAN OF LONDON.

It is both interesting and instructive to look upon past of our mighty city—the metropolis of the world; fix our attention for awhile upon some specific period, as to mark its onward march to the position it now occupies as the greatest, wealthiest, and best governed city on the face of the globe. It is the purpose of this paper to give a panoramic view of London in the year 1772, as indicated in the above map, which was engraved for Northcote's *History of London*.

Preliminarily, it may be well to cast a glance beyond the boundaries of the City of the Thames, and see what little north of Old-street to Clerkenwell Church, and (Third had succeeded twelve years ago to the throne of his grandfather. Lord North, his Prime Minister, was goading the King's subjects in the American Colonies in rebellion, to result in the severance of that portion of the Empire; and Warren Hastings was building up an Empire in the East to compensate for the loss of that in the West.

In France, the Encyclopædists were preparing the way with their pens for the great European conflagration. The Dauphin Louis, and his young wife, Marie Antoinette, were enjoying the gaieties and pleasures of the court of his grandfather, and happily dreaming not of the guillotine; and there lay slumbering in his cot in the Mediterranean island a three years' old child who was destined to hurl the thunderbolts of war broadcast over Europe, dethrone and create monarchs, and finally die a captive exile.

It was the period of the "Letters of Junius," which appeared 1769-71, and of "Wilkes and Liberty," which latter involved the Corporation in a contest with the Government, they boldly asserting their rights, as has ever been the wont of the Corporation, by refusing to execute the warrants of the House of Commons, contending that the House had no authority in the City, for which Lord Mayor Crosby and Alderman Oliver were sent to the Tower.

Beckford, the famous Lord Mayor who had dared to lecture the King, had died two years ago, and his statue, with his speech to King George undscribed, was in course of erection in the Guildhall. William Nash was Lord Mayor 1772-3, and Wilkes one of the Sheriffs; Alderman Sir Richard Ladbroke, Right Hon. Thomas Harley, Barlow Trecothick, and Richard Oliver, were the representatives of the City in Parliament; and Dr. Richard Terrick was Bishop of London.

The oratory of Pitt, Fox, Burke, and Sheridan was resounding in the House of Commons; that of Wesley and Whitefield in Moorfields and on Kennington Common. The pens of Paley and Blair were engaged in theological disquisitions; those of Hume, Gibbon, and Robertson, on history; and that of Adam Smith on the *Wealth of Nations*. Cowper was writing *The Task*; Burns was singing behind his plough in Ayrshire; and "the marvellous boy," Chatterton, had just "perished in his pride," in a Holborn garret. The great leviathan of literature might be seen, any day, rolling along Fleet-street; and his friend "Goldy," who had been writing during the day "like an angel," might be met with in his plum-coloured coat at some of the Fleet-street taverns in the evening, speaking like "poor poll." Horace Walpole was writing to his fair correspondents from Strawberry Hill; Garrick, Macklin, Foote, and Sheridan were the kings of the dramatic world; Herschell was scanning the heavens in search of Uranus; Reynolds was limning the beauties of the Court of Queen Charlotte; Gainsborough was painting his landscapes; and Arkwright, Brindley, Wedgwood, and Watt, were engaged in developing the commercial prosperity of Britain.

The Royal Academy of Art had been established four years; and the House for the Society of Arts was in course of erection in the Adelphi. The famous Literary Club was holding its convivial meetings in Gerard-street, Soho, where "Bozzy" was busy taking notes for his future *Life of Johnson*; and Mrs Elizabeth Montagu was presiding over the "Blue Stocking Club," at her house in Hill-street, Berkeley-square.

At this time London was ill-drained, badly lighted, and inefficiently guarded. It possessed neither docks, railroads, steamboats, omnibuses, cabs, gas, penny post, electric telegraphs, or police—all which are now deemed absolute essentials of civic life. The means of locomotion were lumbering hackney coaches, of which 1,000 were licensed in the year 1771; sedan-chairs, in which ladies went to balls and routs, preceded by torch-bearing footmen, whose torch-extinguishers may still be seen on the railings of eighteenth century houses; and on the river,

shoals of wherries and "jolly young watermen," "feathering their oars with skill and dexterity." The streets were lighted by dimly-burning oil lamps, and instead of being patrolled day and night by a well-disciplined body of police, were left to themselves during the day, and at night were committed to the care of wheezy old watermen, who went about once an hour, staff and lantern in hand, bawling the time of night and dozing the rest of the time in their boxes.

The boundaries of 1772 London, containing a population of about 800,000, are indicated on the map as follows:—The line commences at Wapping, running northward by Godman's Fields and Whitechapel Church, along Brick-lane to Shoreditch Church; thence it proceeds westward to Old-street to Clerkenwell Church, and (Third had succeeded twelve years ago to the throne of his grandfather. Lord North, his Prime Minister, was goading the King's subjects in the American Colonies in rebellion, to result in the severance of that portion of the Empire; and Warren Hastings was building up an Empire in the East to compensate for the loss of that in the West.

From Tyburn-corner the line turns southward, goes along Tyburn (Park) lane, and, passing the Green and St. James Park reaches the river again by way of the Horseferry road.

South of the river, the line of houses extends for Redriff (Rotherhithe) to Lambeth, along the river bank the southern line running diagonally from there to Melancholey-walk, by the new Magdalen Hospital, at the end of New (Blackfriars) road, along Dirty-lane, behind King's Bench Prison to Blackman-street, and hence north-east by Snow's-fields, across Barnaby (Bermondsey) street, along Crucifix-lane to Horseleydown.

Beyond these limits there were very few houses, excepting some stragglers along the great roads, and in the outlying detached villages of Hoxton, Islington, Hackney, Hampstead, Highgate, Paddington, Chelsea, Lambeth, Newington, Camberwell, Deptford, &c.

Lying on the verge of London, and looking out upon the country, were the churches of Bethnal-green and Shoreditch; Bridewell New Prison, Clerkenwell; the Smallpox Hospital, Copple-row; the Foundling Hospital; the Duke of Bedford's mansion, Bloomsbury-square; Montagu House, just purchased for the British Museum; Middlesex Hospital in Crabtree-street; Whitefield's Tabernacle, Tottenham-court-road; St. George's, the Lock, and the Duke's Hospitals, all in what is now Grosvenor-place, with a foot-path across the "five fields" behind to Chelsea; and on the south the Magdalen Hospital and King's Bench Prison.

The new road from Islington to Paddington had been recently opened in conjunction with the City-road laid out in 1763; there was scarcely a house on the whole line beyond Moorfields, but there were five turnpikes. What was then considered a wonderful improvement was the formation of Fore and Moor streets, from Cripplegate Church to Moorfields—"an open spacious street with substantial houses," in place of a narrow dirty lane with mean tumble-down buildings. To carry out this improvement it was found necessary to remove a portion of the old City wall then standing, the Posterns of Aldermanbury and Basinghall-street, and the hall of the Lorriners' Company. Westward of the Exchange also, there had stood a triangular block of buildings, with its apex reaching into the Poultry, which had just been rebuilt, leaving an open space in front of the new Mansion House, opened in 1753, and with a street (Bank-street) from the Bank to Cornhill, the western side of which was wholly taken up by the Sun Fire Office. Ten years previously all the City gates had been taken down with the exception of Temple Bar and Newgate, the latter of which was used as a prison, and left standing until the new prison, in course of erection in the Old Bailey, should be ready for the reception of the prisoners.

There were three bridges across the river. London-bridge, built three centuries ago, from which the houses had only been removed so recently as 1753; Westminster-bridge, opened 1750; and Blackfriars-bridge, opened 1770. Besides these there were bridges across the Fleet at Ludgate and Holborn. The approach to London-bridge was along Gracechurch-street and Fish-street-hill.

Vauxhall-gardens were then in the zenith of their popularity, with pictures by Hayman, and sculptures by Roubiliac; as was also Ranelagh, with its Rotunda, then the resort of the highest personages of the realm. They were open from six to ten o'clock, and the amusements were concerts, masquerades, fireworks, and flirting. Maryle-

bone-gardens, on the eastern side of Marylebone-lane, were less refined, and the resort of "fast" young men and ladies whose morals would not bear the most strict investigation. The entertainments, too, were of a lower order, comprehending bull-baiting, cock-fighting, cudgel matches, and pugilistic encounters, sometimes between female combatants. There was also the Pantheon, on the north side of Oxford-street; a Rotunda, with a dome, "dedicated to the nocturnal revels of the nobility." Farther east, to the north of Clerkenwell, were pleasure gardens of a lower order—Bagnigge-wells, White Conduit House, Sadler's-wells, &c., "where apprentices, journeymen and clerks, dressed in ridiculous extremes, entertain their ladies on Sundays, and, to the utmost of their power, if not beyond their proper power, affect the dissipated manners of their superiors. The tendency of these cheap, enticing places of pleasure, just at the skirts of this vast town, is too obvious to need further explanations. They swarm with loose women, and with boys whose morals are thus depraved and their constitutions ruined."

In 1772, the General Post-office was in Lombard-street, and the West-end office in Gerrard-street, Soho. The staff of working officers consisted of 2 inspectors of mis-sent letters, 6 clerks of the road, a Court and a House of Commons postman, a clerk of the bye-nights, 10 sorters, 7 supplementary sorters, a window-man, an alphabet-keeper, and 67 letter-carriers. The London Twopenny Post-office was in Throgmorton-street, with sub-offices in Clare-market, Coventry-street, Haymarket, on Tower-hill, and in St. Saviour's-churchyard, Southwark, with 334 receiving-houses. The staff comprised a comptroller, an accountant, a receiver, a clerk, a messenger, 6 sorter 8 sub-sorters, and 74 letter-carriers.

The street of Great Eastcheap then extended from the present Eastcheap to Cannon-street. It had been famous as the scene of the revels of Prince Hal and Falstaff. The Boar's Head, then standing on the site of King

William's Statue, was asserted by tradition to be the identical tavern kept by Dame Quickly.

Notable buildings then in and about the City, but now destroyed, were Bethlehem Hospital, on the north-side of London-wall, behind which was the open space of Moorfields, Middle Moorfields, Upper Moorfields, and the Tenter-grounds; the ruins of the Priory of St. John the Baptist, in Holywell-lane, Shoreditch; the mansion of the Royalist Duke of Newcastle, in Clerkenwell, converted into a furniture warehouse; the Foundry, Moorfields, Wesley's preaching place; Compters in the Poultry and Wood-street, Cheapside; the College of Physicians, with its "gilded pill," in Warwick-lane, Newgate-street; Ely House, Holborn, immortalized by Shakspeare:—

"My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn
I saw good strawberries in your garden there;
I do beseech you send for some of them."

In Bishopsgate was the London Workhouse, established for the employment of the destitute, and managed by a corporation of which the Lord Mayor was the chairman, to which the London parishes sent pauper children, and paid one shilling per week for their support, and which became afterwards a sort of bridewell for the imprisonment and punishment of "idle vagrants and lewd women." Further west were Protector Somerset's Palace, with its fine esplanade, water-gate, and steps; the buildings of the Savoy, now partly a hospital and partly a barracks for the Guards; and Exeter Change, then a sort of bazaar, afterwards a menagerie.

Soho, dingy as it now is, was then a fashionable quarter, although it was beginning to be eclipsed by Mayfair, and ladies went shopping to their lacemen and mercers about Covent-garden and Newport-market, as they now go to Regent-street and Oxford-street.

The southern side of Pall-mall was entirely occupied by St. James's Palace, Marlborough House, Cumberland House (built for the Duke of York, then occupied by the Duke of Cumberland, and at present the Ordnance Office), Schomberg House, and Carlton House—lately the residence of the widowed Princess of Wales; and in St. James's Park was the Queen's Palace, formerly Buckingham House, purchased in 1762 by King George III.

The King's Mews occupied the site of the National Gallery; and the buildings of the Strand reached to the statue of King Charles. Where the palatial Regent-street now stands, was a narrow but straight thoroughfare called Great and Little Swallow-streets. Lord Foley's large mansion and gardens lay where Portland-place has since built; and the Princess Amelia, the king's

Wimpole-street.

Frederick Rosa.



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