THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

LONDON,

WESTMINSTER, SOUTHWARK,

AND PARTS ADJACENT.

BY THOMAS ALLEN.

To be the herald of our country's fame,
Our first ambition and our dearest aim.—Gough.

VOL. I.

WITH ENGRAVINGS.

London:

PUBLISHED BY GEORGE VIRTUE, 26, IVY LANE,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1830.

LIBRARY OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, MUSEUMS AND ART GALLERIES

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A NEW HISTORY OF LONDON,

WESTMINSTER AND THE BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK.

By Thomas Allen, Esq.re

A View of the Exterior of the Italian Opera House.

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TO

SIR WILLIAM CURTIS, BART.

SENIOR MEMBER OF THE WORSHIPFUL

COURT OF ALDERMEN,

THIS VOLUME

IS DEDICATED BY

HIS OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

To trace the rise and progress of this powerful City, from rude infancy to its present power and magnificence; to mark the origin and increase of its commerce; to delineate the customs and manners of its inhabitants, and shew their preponderance in the general government of the kingdom, is a task of considerable difficulty; the material being scattered over so many voluminous works, the major part of which are of extreme rarity.

The author of the following volumes, fully sensible of the inconveniences to an inquiring reader, has endeavoured to give a clear and comprehensive, yet condensed HISTORY OF LONDON and its environs. New information will be found of the most authentic kind, and derived from the most respectable sources, and the author feels confident that there is no fact of importance either omitted or misrepresented. His sole ambition was to be correct and impartial: his first object, to ascertain what was true; his second, to relate those truths in a plain unvarnished manner

The obligations of the author to several valued correspondents have been great, and call for his warmest gratitude, to whom he begs leave to return his sincere thanks for the unremitting interest with which they have regarded the progress of the work.

August 1, 1827.

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SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

Painted by Hans Holbein — Engraved by J. Boulton

Published by J. Robins & Co. London, Mar. 1. 1829.

Neale, del. *Barber, sc.*

THE NEW POST OFFICE.

on Steel

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Drawn by L. Stephens.

Engraved by Edw.d Finden.

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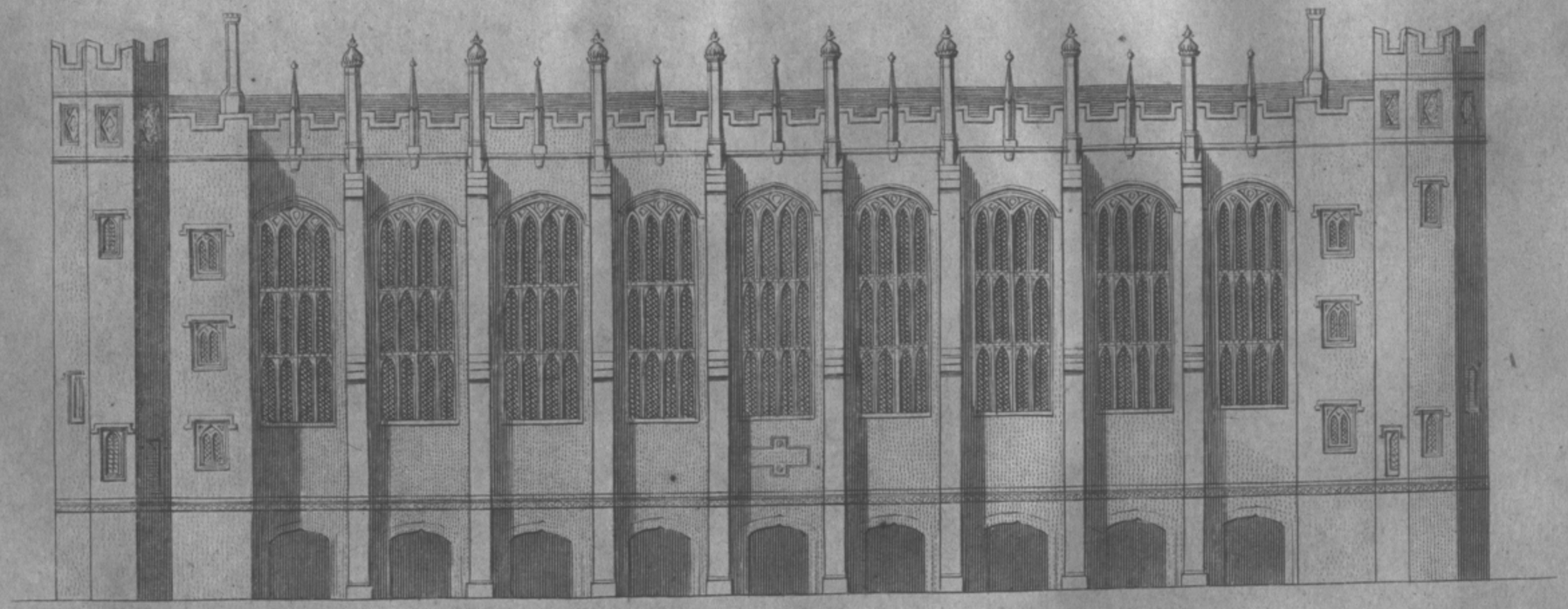

NEW HALL OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

To the President, Treasurer, and Governors, *of that Royal Foundation this Plate is respectfully dedicated by*

the Author.

Published by Cowie & Strange Bucklersbury now S. Peter Lane.

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LUDGATE, ST. PAULS, and BOW CHURCH.

During the Great Fire 1666.

To R.Waithman Esq^r^ Alderman M.P. *this plate is respectfully dedicated by the Author.*

Pub.by Cowie & Strange, 1827.

G. Adcock Sc.

Steel Plate

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

To the very Reverend John Ireland, D.D. Dean of Westminster, *this Plate is respectfully inscribed*

By the Author.

Pub.d by Cowie & Savage 1808.

THE NEW LONDON BRIDGE.

OPENED 1ST AUGUST 1831 BY THEIR MAJESTIES KING WILLIAM IV. & QUEEN ADELAIDE.

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THE

HISTORY OF LONDON.

"Nurse of art! the CITY rear'd
In beauteous pride her tower-encircled head;
And, stretching street on street, by thousands drew
From twining woody haunts, or the tough yew
To bows strong straining, her aspiring sons.
Then Commerce brought into the public walk
The busy merchant: the big warehouse built;
Rais'd the strong crane; choak'd up the loaded street
With foreign plenty: and thy stream, O Thames,
Large, gentle, deep, majestic, King of Floods!
Chose for his grand resort!

THOMSON.

CHAPTER I.

History of London and its Environs, from the earliest period of authentic record, to the defeat of the Britons by Suetonius.

THE remote history of this magnificent city, which in wealth or magnitude has never been surpassed, is involved in much obscurity. Some of the early chroniclers even go so far as to claim the Trojans as its founders. Geoffrey of Monmouth, a monkish historian, says, that Brute, a descendant of Eneas, the son of Venus, came to this country, and built this town, in the year of the world 2855 (or about 1008 years before Christ), and named it *Troy Novant*, or New Troy. He states that, about a century before the Roman invasion, this town was "encircled with walls," and "graced with fay're buildings and towres by King Lud, who also builded the strong gate on the west part of the citie, afterwards called Ludgate, and changed the name of Troy Novant into Caer Lud." He states, likewise, that four British Kings were buried in London; and that Malmutius Dunwallo, (whose son Belinus is said to have founded the gate and haven at Belingsgate,) "built a temple therein, and dedicated it to the God of Peace." For all this we have only the word of Geoffrey; which, however, as it was of a nature to obtain implicit credence at the time when he flourished, (during the reign of Henry I) was firmly believed, even to a later period. In a memorial presented by the Lord Mayor to Henry VI. in the

seventh year of his reign, this account is brought forward to prove the "great antiquity, precedence and dignity of the city of London, before Rome," &c. This memorial is among the records kept in the Tower.

But dismissing this fable, it will appear that the Britons had formed towns, and that to them must be ascribed the foundation of London. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, denominates it the chief city of the Trinobantes, which is easily converted to *Tre-yn-y-bant*, describing the exact situation of the British *town in the valley*; the vale of London being certainly one of the most extensive in the British dominions, taking it from Brentwood to Windsor one way, and from Hampstead to the Surrey hills another. Others have translated the expression made use of by Cæsar, *civitas Trinobantum*, as the city of the *Trinobantes*; while some have argued, that these words are used rather in the sense of "*state*" or "*dominion*" of the *Trinobantes*; and of this opinion are Bishop Stillingfleet, and a later historian, Maitland. Certainly their construction of this obscure point seems to be borne out by the sense in which Cæsar afterwards applies the word *civitas*; but Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman author, who lived in the reign of Valens, about 360 of the Christian era, subsequently calls it *Augusta Trinobantum*; and again he mentions it as "*Londinium*, an ancient town, which is now called *Augusta*;" the latter being the name which the Romans, with the national spirit of all conquerors, endeavoured to attach to it after their settlement.

That industrious antiquary, Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart. has thrown much light on the state of ancient British towns. He says, "Whenever we find the surfaces of our chalk hills altered by excavations and other irregularities, we may there look with a prospect of success for the habitations of the Britons, and especially if the herbage is of a more verdant hue, and the soil thrown up by the moles of a darker tint. The high lands throughout England were the first occupied by the earliest inhabitants, at a period when the vallies were either incumbered by wood, or inundated by water. In all of them were found earth-works and barrows, the sure vestiges of ancient population. On the bleakest hills were excavated the luxury of the Romans introduced into the British settlements, flues, hypocausts, stuccoed and painted walls, but not a single inscription has been discovered in any one of these British villages, which could throw a light upon the era in which they flourished. The British are distinguished from the Roman-British settlements by articles of iron, pottery of a particular kind, flues, glass, and coins." Speaking of some remains excavated near Warminster, he says: "In this, as well as in the generality of other British villages, the attentive eye may easily trace out the lines of houses, or rather hollow ways connected with them. These are particularly visible in the upper villages

on these downs, as well as the entrance to them. Between Wadham coppice and the village of Imber, a British village is placed on an elevated and commanding situation. "In the centre of this village, two banks running parallel from east to west are very visible, forming a street; the ground between them being intended to secure their cattle; banks and ditches were lines of communication from one village to another." Sometimes a British village is a square earth-work. One village is an oblong square earth-work, humouring the hill. There are pits on one side, so regular in their form and plan, that Sir Richard thinks they were designed for huts of habitation, "as there is the appearance of two direct streets or lines of communication between the excavations, which are ranged in regular order along the declivity of the hill. The oblong earth-work was the fortress, but they were unacquainted with the laws of fortification; there being no uniformity in the description of the ditches, some being placed within the vallum, and others without." "The general tests of their sites are ditches, banks, and inequalities of ground; the surface of the soil abounding with very rude pottery and covered ways, communicating with a strong hold, where they could in times of danger convey their wives, families, and herds. Where the settlement is of more recent date, we find a sheltered situation is usually chosen." Another strong index of a British settlement, he states, "is to be found in numerous slight banks, intersecting the Downs, and dividing it into parcels of unequal sizes. These were marks of cultivation and the division of lands; and the portions of land divided by these banks are frequently very small. These, I may say, are the constant appendages to a British settlement. Some of these are more decided than others; and many of them are so perfect in their plan, that you may trace the entrances to streets, and the hutted places of residence, and also great cavities of earth, originally dug for the reception of water." Where the situation was covered by woods or surrounded by marshes, it was generally chosen. It was in such situations that the prince or chieftain of a tribe of settlers erected his habitation. His followers erected theirs around, as well as stalls for the cattle; a ditch and mound of earth secured the whole. A station of this description, or a fortress of strength, surrounded by habitations, as most strong fortresses then were, was called a *dun*. This word, modified by the various dialects into *din*, *dun*, or *don*, is in use to designate a place of strength in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland to this day. When the Romans conquered the Gaulish towns, and planted colonies in them, they either gave new names to them, or latinised the old ones.

Ptolemy, whose work, however valuable, is not free from geographical errors, has placed *Londinium* on the south side of the Thames. This opinion has been countenanced by the learned Dr. Gale. He mentions that many coins, tesselated works, sepulchral

remains, &c. have been discovered in St. George's Fields and the Borough; his words are, "*In his campis quos Sancti Georgii plebs vocat, multa Romanorum numismata, opera tesselata lateres, et rudera, subinde deprehensa sunt. Ipse urnam mujusculam, ossibus refertam, nuper redemi a fossoribus, qui non procul ab hoc Burgo* (Southwark), *ad austrum multos alios simul eruerunt.** The arguments of Dr. Gale have been opposed with some success by Mr. Maitland, Dr. Woodward, and several other eminent antiquaries. The former, who had been at great pains in investigating the ground on the south side of the Thames, observes, that the Romans would never have made choice of so damp a place for a station as St. George's Fields must have been, though afterwards by embanking and draining, they certainly frequented the southern side of the river, as is evident from the numerous discoveries of remains of this people, especially within the last few years.

The site of London is such as the British settlers would select, according to their method of forming towns. The first adventurers who explored the Thames, with a view of seeking a proper place of settlement, must have perceived, for a considerable distance on their entrance, nothing but dreary marshes; for the sea then rolled uncontrolled over large tracts of the Kent and Essex coasts, which are now preserved from inundation by extensive embankments. The higher grounds by Woolwich and Greenwich could offer few temptations to arrest the progress of the adventurers; but advancing beyond the Isle of Dogs, the site of the metropolis would be presented to their view, rising from the north bank in an amphitheatric form, with gentle undulations of hill and dale, until the horizon is bounded by a range of eminences, of which Hampstead, Highgate, and Muswell Hill are the principal. They would find it secured to the west by the Fleet River, then a deep and rapid stream; to the east by a natural fosse, afterwards called Wall-brook, or beyond that, by the Wapping marsh; and protected towards the north by a thick forest, which, even so late as the time of Fitz Stephen, is stated to have been well stocked with beasts of the chace. At the base rolled a wide, deep, and, as the old records term it, "fishful-river." Though some portion of the land was marshy, which circumstance, as a means of defence, would be considered by a rude people rather as an advantage than otherwise, yet on the whole it was fertile, and well adapted either for pasture or cultivation. The possession of this site gave the command of one of the most extensive vales in the country; stretching in an unvaried level of fertile alluvial soil for twenty miles, as far as Windsor; and of an extent of rich meadow land to the east, as far as the Lea River. The situation, at a convenient distance from the sea,

* Antonini. Itin. p. 65.

was well adapted for any traffic that might be carried on with the Gaulish merchants. In short, the advantages of the site as a place of settlement, whether for defence or traffic, appear so considerable as to lead to the conclusion, that London was, at least, one of the earliest towns formed in the island by the Britons.*

Having established the fact incontrovertibly, that the Britons did form what may fairly be called towns, the British name of London is decisive as to the nature of the capital in its origin, and as to the date of its foundation being anterior to the conquest of Britain by the Romans. Various etymologies are given of the name by antiquaries. Tacitus calls it *Londinium*, and *Colonia Augusta*; Bede, *Londinia*; King Alfred, in his translation of the passage in Bede, *Lunden-ceaster*; other appellations given to it by the Saxons, were *Lundenberig* and *Lundenwic*; Camden supposes it may be from *Lucyn* or *Lon*, the Gaulish term for a grove, and *Din*, a city, or "the City in the Grove." W. Owen, Esq. F.S.A. the learned editor of the Welch Archæology, considers it to be derived from *Llyn*, a lake, and *Din*, a town; *Llyn* being the term for a broad expanse of water. And when all the lands on the Surrey side of the river, as far as the Camberwell Hills were overflown by the Thames, as they must have been before they were protected by embankments, the term of the "Lake Town," or "the town by the lake," would certainly have been applicable. Some have supposed it might be derived from the British *Llhong*, a ship, and *Din*, a town, or "the ship-town;" but this could only have been after the place became remarkable for the resort of shipping. The translation from *Lin din* to *Londinium* or *London* is easy; and this is, perhaps, the most probable etymology of the first part of the name, as serving to designate the particular situations. The name given to it by Ammianus Marcellinus of *Augusta Trinobantum*,† leads us to suppose that the Trinobantes were its founders.

Antiquaries have been exceedingly anxious to ascertain the precise spot at which Cæsar crossed the Thames. Camden, upon the authority of a tradition, which is, perhaps, as old as the reign of Alfred the Great, for it is mentioned by the venerable Bede, believes that it was at a place called the "Coway Stakes," at Shepperton, about a furlong beyond Walton Bridge, or nearly seventeen miles from London. Some have considered that the position of the stakes, which, "instead of being so placed as to line the friendly shore with their points, inclined to the hostile bank, were ranged directly across the river, and therefore could not have obstructed the passage of troops intending to pass the

* History of London, p. 13, 1825.

† Camden believes they were so called "from the British *Tre-nant*, a town in a valley. The inhabitants of Galway, in Scotland, which is full of vallies, were formerly called in British Noantes: and in a valley on the Rhine called Le Vault, anciently lived a nation called the Nantuates, who had their name from their situation."

ford."* To this it may be answered, that there was probably more than one row, and that the whole breadth of the ford was occupied by them. Geoffrey of Monmouth says, that the stakes were intended to prevent the passage of Cæsar's ships. Some have conjectured that they were the remains of an ancient fishing wear. But Mr. Brewer admits, that "their massive and armed character would appear to be the result of too much labor and cost to allow of our supposing that they were no more than the remains of a wear for fishing." Bagford, an antiquary of great zeal and industry, in a letter to Hearne, published in 1714, determines that Cæsar must have crossed the Thames from Stoney-street in Southwark, to Dowgate, because "a Roman Camp was found recently at Farnborough, which is a village within a few miles of Bromley, in Kent," and also of "a famous glass Roman urn dug up at Peckham; a Janus' head dug up at St. Thomas's Watering; many Roman antiquities found at Blackheath," &c. After having assumed that these remains could not have been left by any of the Roman armies, which subsequently traversed, or were stationed in the country, he says, "And now I shall relate to you the manner of the Roman approaches nearer to London;" when he goes on to narrate the passage, with as much minuteness as if he had been an eye-witness. He makes the Romans land at Dowgate, and fixes Cæsar's camp in Bush-lane.

Maitland denies that the ford was at Dowgate, at Coway Stakes, or at any of the other places which have been mentioned. He says, his attention having been drawn to the subject by the mention of the passage of the Britons over the Thames on a subsequent occasion, when pursued by the Roman army, he endeavoured, by an actual survey, to find the spot. He sounded the river at several neap tides; when, on the 18th of September, 1702, he discovered a ford, at about ninety feet west of the south-west angle of the Chelsea College garden, "whose channel, in a right line from the north-east to the south-west, was no more than four feet seven inches deep, where the day before, (it blowing hard from the west) my waterman assured me, that the water then was a foot lower; and it is probable that at such tides, before the course of the river was obstructed either by banks or bridge, it must have been considerably shallower." As this was the "only ford" in the river, he concludes, that the conqueror of the world must have marched by the place where our veterans now repose, after their toilsome services. But unfortunately for the disputants on this subject, there have been at least two well known fords across the Thames. The one was at Mil*ford*-lane, opposite to St. Clement's church in the Strand, so called from a corn-mill which anciently stood there, and from its leading to a ford across the river. The other was against York-house, the palace of

* Brewer's London and Middlesex, v. iv. p. 199.

the Archbishop of York; which stood on the site of the streets adjoining to what still bears the name of York-stairs. Bagford, in the letter above quoted, says, this "is another fordable place, but has not been made use of for some years." Added to which, it is well known that the level of the river is continually changing, and Mr. Brewer states—"At present, (1814) no part of the channel between the Chelsea water-works and Battersea bridge is less in depth than from ten to twelve feet at low water." No argument can, therefore, be founded on its present state, especially when the effects of embankments are considered; nor is implicit reliance to be placed upon the expressions of Cæsar, as to the localities with which, beyond his line of march, it is probable he was but imperfectly acquainted. All the territory to the east of the Fleet river was most probably occupied by the Trinobantes, with whom Cæsar was in treaty, and it must have been, therefore, above that spot where the hostile forces of Cassibellanus were drawn up in array to dispute the passage. It could not have been lower down than Mill-ford, and may have been as far up as Coway-stakes. Maitland objects to the distance, but though Cæsar states that the confines of Cassibellanus' territory were eighty miles from the sea, it does not follow that he effected his passage at the nearest boundary. The tradition has some evidence for its support. On St. George's-hill, at no great distance from the Thames on the Surrey side, is the remains of a camp, apparently Roman, which is known by the name of "Cæsar's camp," and comprehends in its area more than thirteen acres. There are the remains of a larger encampment at Oatlands, with which it probably communicated.

In the fields, on the opposite bank, to the north-east of the village of Shepperton, are some artificial inequalities of surface, which Dr. Stukely considered to be the remains of a Roman encampment; but they are now too indistinct to allow any satisfactory opinion to be formed respecting them. About three quarters of a mile to the west of the village, Mr. Brewer states spear-heads and parts of sword-blades have been found in a state of extreme decay. He adds, "Mr. Bray,* a writer, who was not likely to be misled by careless and idle assertion, states, he was informed by a fisherman, who had lived at Walton, and known the river all his life, that at this place, he has weighed up several stakes of the size of his thigh, about six feet long, shod with iron, the wood very black, and so hard as to turn an axe."† At Greenfield Common, there were, until the year 1800, two Roman camps, and there were the remains of an encampment on Hounslow-heath until before its enclosure. There are other indications of Roman remains in the line from St. George's Hill on the one side

* Beauties of England—Surry, p. 211.

† Within the last few months, a considerable number have been raised from their situation.

of the river, to a considerable distance towards St. Albans, near which place, it is supposed, the strong hold of Cassibellanus was situated. There were, until recently, vestiges of a broad raised road, in a meadow, at no great distance from the banks of the river, and leading in a direction towards the stakes. So general was the opinion formerly that this was the spot at which the Roman army crossed, that, it is stated, a cutler made a small fortune by selling knives, the handles of which, he said, were manufactured from the Coway stakes.

There is every reason to suppose that the Romans possessed themselves of London in the reign of Claudius, under whom Aulus Plautius took Camulodunum, the present Colchester, in Essex, and planted a colony, consisting of veterans of the fourteenth legion, about one hundred and five years after the first invasion of our island by Cæsar. Londinium was made a Præfectura; the inhabitants, a mixture of Romans and Britons, being suffered to enjoy no more than the name of citizens of Rome, being governed by præfects sent annually from thence, without having either their own laws or magistrates.

There is no mention of this important place, till the reign of Nero; when Tacitus speaks of it as famous for its great concourse of merchants, and its vast commerce. The exports from hence were cattle, hides, and corn; dogs made a small article, and slaves a considerable object. The imports were, at first, salt, earthenware, and works in brass, polished bits of bones, horse collars, toys of amber, and glasses and other articles of the same material.*

The first mention of London was occasioned by a calamity, in the year 61, in the reign of Nero, which nearly occasioned the extinction of the Roman power in Britain. In the narration of this event, given by the Roman historians, the name of this great city occurs for the first time in history. The whole possesses so much interest, that we shall give a translation of the entire passages:

"About this time," says Tacitus, "Paulinus Suetonius governed the Britons. In military skill, as well as in the opinion of the public, which does not allow any man to be without a rival, he was the competitor of Corbulo, and was ambitious of equalling, by his own conquests, the fame of that general, arising from the subjugation of Armenia. He, in consequence, prepared to attack Mona (Anglesea) an island strong in population, and an asylum for fugitives. He had flat bottomed vessels constructed, as the shore was shallow and uncertain. The foot disembarked by wading through the shallower parts, followed by the cavalry, or where the water was deeper, they swam on horseback. The hostile army was drawn up on the beach; arms and men presented a

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 30

close array, while women ran to and fro, looking like furies, in their funeral garments, and with their dishevelled hair. The Druids paraded the ranks with torches, and, raising their hands to heaven, invoked the most dreadful imprecations. The novelty of this spectacle so astonished our soldiers, that they allowed their motionless bodies to be pierced with wounds, as if their limbs had been suddenly paralyzed. At length, the remonstrances of their general, and their own mutual reproaches, lest they should permit themselves to be terrified by a band of women and priests, roused them;—they rushed on—slaughtered all who opposed them—and overwhelmed them in their own fires. A garrison was afterwards imposed on the vanquished. The groves, sacred to the rites of a bloody superstition, were cut down, for their altars were replenished from the veins of captives, and the gods were consulted by human sacrifices! While Suetonius was engaged in those offices, the sudden revolt of a province was announced to him. Prasatugus, King of the Iceni,* celebrated for great wealth, had appointed Cæsar his heir, jointly with his two daughters; supposing that, by such an act of conciliation, his kingdom and his household would be protected against all injury. The event was otherwise; for his kingdom was plundered by the centurions, and his palace by servants, as if both were given up for spoil. His wife, Boadicea, was scourged with rods, and his daughters ravished. The principal men of the Iceni were stripped of their patrimony, as if the whole territory had been given away. The relations of the deceased king were made slaves. Exasperated by such acts of violence, and dreading worse sufferings, as they had been reduced to the form of a province, the Icenians flew to arms. The Trinobantes joined the revolt. The neighbouring states, not as yet taught to crouch in bondage, pledged themselves in secret councils to stand forth in the cause of liberty.

"What chiefly excited their indignation, was the conduct of the veterans lately planted as a colony of Camulodunum. These men treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression; they drove the natives from their habitations, and calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives, added insult to their tyranny. In these acts of oppression, the insolence of the veterans was supported by the common soldiers, who, in their turn, expected to enjoy the same kind of life and equal privileges. The temple built in honour of Claudius was another cause of discontent. In the eyes of the Britons it seemed the citadel of eternal slavery. The priests, appointed to officiate at the altars, with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the whole substance of the country. To overrun a colony, which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and

* The territory of the Iceni extended over Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdonshire.

angry Britons an enterprize that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was, the Roman generals attended to the improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected those of use. They embellished the province, and took no care to defend it.

"While the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke, the statue of Victory, erected at Camulodunum, fell from its base, without any apparent cause, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddess yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women in wild ecstacy rushed among the people, and with frantic screams denounced impending ruin. In the council-chamber of the Romans, hideous clamours were heard from without, in a foreign accent; savage howlings filled the theatre; near the mouth of the Thames, the image of a colony in ruins was seen in the transparent water; the sea was purpled with blood, and at the ebb tide, the figures of human bodies were traced on the sand. By these omens, the Romans were sunk in despair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. Suetonius, in the mean time, was detained in the isle of Mona. In this alarming crisis, the veterans sent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for a reinforcement. Two hundred men, and those not completely armed, were all that officer could spare. The colony had but a handful of soldiers. Their temple was strongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a stand. But even for the defence of that place no measures were concerted. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No fosse was made; no pallisade thrown up; nor were the women, and such as were disabled by age or infirmity, sent out of the garrison. Unguarded and unprepared, they were taken by surprise, and, in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the barbarians in one general assault. The colony was laid waste with fire and sword.

"The temple held out, but after a siege of two days, was taken by storm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the relief of the place. The Britons, flushed with success, advanced to give him battle. The legion was put to the rout, and the infantry cut to pieces. Cerealis escaped with the cavalry to his entrenchments. Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, alarmed at the scene of carnage which he beheld on every side, and further dreading the indignation of a people, whom, by rapine and oppression, he had driven to despair, betook himself to flight, and crossed over into Gaul.

"Suetonius, undismayed by this disaster,* marched through the heart of the country as far as London, a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but famed for the number of its merchants, and the plenty of its provisions. At that place,

* At Suetonius, mira constantia, medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit cognomento quidem colonia non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et com-

he meant to fix the seat of war; but reflecting on the scanty numbers of his little army, and the fatal rashness of Cerealis, he resolved to quit this station, and, by giving up one post, secure the rest of the province. Neither supplications nor the tears of the inhabitants, could induce him to change his plan. The signal for the march was given. All who chose to follow his banners were taken under his protection. Of all who, on account of their advanced age, the weakness of their sex, or the attractions of the situation, thought proper to remain behind, not one escaped the fury of the barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium (St. Alban's) were, in like manner, put to the sword. The genius of a savage people leads them always in quest of plunder; and accordingly, the Britons left behind them all places of strength. Wherever they expected feeble resistance and considerable booty, they were sure to attack with the fiercest rage. Military skill was not the talent of barbarians. The number massacred in the places which have been mentioned, amounted to no less than seventy thousand, all citizens or allies of Rome. To make prisoners and reserve them for slavery, or to exchange them, was not the idea of a people, who despised all the laws of war. The halter and the gibbet, slaughter and desolation, fire and sword, were the marks of savage valour. Aware that vengeance would overtake them, they were resolved to make sure of their revenge, and glut themselves with the blood of their enemies.

"The fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and the auxiliaries from the adjacent stations, having joined Suetonius, his army amounted to little less than ten thousand men. Thus reinforced, he resolved, without loss of time, to bring on a decisive action. For this purpose, he chose a spot encircled with woods, narrow at the entrance, and sheltered in the rear by a thick forest. In that situation he had no fear of an ambuscade. The enemy, he knew, had no approach but in front. An open plain lay before him. He drew up his men in the following order: the legions in close array formed the centre; the light armed troops were stationed at hand, to serve as occasion might require; the cavalry took post in the wings. The Britons brought into the field an incredible multitude. They formed no regular line of battle. Detached parties and loose battalions displayed their numbers in frantic transport, bounding with exultation; and so sure of victory, that they placed their wives in waggons at the extremity of the plain, where they might survey the scene of action, and behold the wonders of British valour.

meatuum maxime celebre. Ibi ambiguus an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta in frequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatim. Petilii cœcitam unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. Neque fletu ni lachrimis auxiliam ejus orantium, flexus est, quin daret profectionis signum, et commitantes in partem agminis acciperet. Si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa ætas, vel loci dulcedo attinuerat ab hoste oppressi sunt.

" Boadicea, in a warlike car, with her two daughters before her, drove through the ranks; she harangued the different tribes in their turn: ' This,' said she, ' is not the first time that the Britons have been led to battle by a woman. But now she did not come to boast the pride of a long line of ancestry, nor even to recover her kingdom, and the plundered wealth of her family. She took the field like the meanest among them, to assert the cause of public liberty, and to seek revenge for her body seamed with ignominious stripes, and her two daughters infamously ravished. From the pride and arrogance of the Romans, nothing is sacred; all are subject to violation; the old endure the scourge, and the virgins are deflowered. But the vindictive gods are now at hand. A Roman legion dared to face the warlike Britons; with their lives they paid for their rashness; those who survived the carnage of that day, lie poorly hid behind their entrenchments, meditating nothing but how to save themselves by an ignominious flight. From the din of preparation, and the shouts of the British army, the Romans, even now, shrink back with terror. What will be their case when the assault begins? Look round, and view your numbers. Behold the proud display of warlike spirits, and consider the motives for which we draw the avenging sword. On this spot we must either conquer or die with glory. There is no alternative. Though a woman, my resolution is fixed; the men, if they please, may survive with infamy, and live in bondage.'

" Suetonius, in a moment of such importance, did not remain silent. He expected every thing from the valour of his men, and yet urged every topic that could inspire and animate them to the attack. ' Despise,' said he, ' the savage uproar, the yells and shouts undisciplined barbarians. In that mixed multitude, the women outnumbered the men. Void of spirit, unprovided with arms, they are not soldiers who come to offer battle; they are dastards, runaways, the refuse of your swords, who have often fled before you, and will again betake themselves to flight, when they see the conqueror flaming in the ranks of war. In all engagements, it is the valour of a few that turns the fortune of the day. It will be your immortal glory, that with a scanty number, you can equal the exploits of a great and powerful army. Keep your ranks; discharge your javelins; rush forward to a close attack; bear down all with your bucklers, and hew a passage with your swords. Pursue the vanquished, and never think of spoil and plunder. Conquer, and all is yours.' This speech was received with warlike acclamations. The soldiers burned with impatience for the onset, the veterans brandished their javelins, and the ranks displayed such an intrepid countenance, that Suetonius, anticipating the victory, gave the signal for the charge.

" The engagement began. The Roman legion presented a

close embodied line. The narrow defile gave them the shelter of a rampart. The Britons advanced with ferocity, and discharged their darts at random. In that instant, the Romans rushed forward in the form of a wedge. The auxiliaries followed with equal ardour. The cavalry, at the same time, bore down upon the enemy, and, with their pikes, overpowered all who dared to make a stand. The Britons betook themselves to flight, but the waggons in their rear obstructed their passage. A dreadful slaughter followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. The cattle, falling in one promiscuous carnage, added to the heaps of slain. The glory of the day was equal to the most splendid victory of ancient times. According to some writers, not less than eighty thousand Britons were put to the sword. The Romans lost about four hundred men, and the wounded did not exceed that number. Boadicea, by a dose of poison, put a period to her life. Pœnius Posthumus, præfect in the camp of the second legion, as soon as he heard of the brave exploits of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, felt the disgrace of having, in disobedience to the orders of his general, robbed the soldiers under his command of their share in so complete a victory. Stung with remorse, he fell upon his sword, and expired on the spot."

This was the most terrible overthrow the Britons ever received; but though defeated, they were not entirely dispersed. Suetonius obtained a reinforcement, and the country round, wherever the people had declared open hostility, or even suspected of treachery, was laid waste with fire and sword. Famine was the greatest calamity which the unfortunate Britons had to encounter; for, when employed in preparations for the revolt, they had neglected the cultivation of their lands, depending altogether on the success of their arms, and the booty which they expected to seize from the Romans. Suetonius, however, was recalled soon after, and as his successor did not press hostilities, a state of tranquillity ensued.

In contemplating a scene like that of this dreadful conflict, as described by Tacitus, we are naturally led to enquire on what spot it took place. The prevailing opinion has long been, that the battle was fought at Islington, in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis. Mr. Nelson, the historian of Islington, who appears to have given the most attention to the subject, states, that

"Battle Bridge * is supposed to have been so called, from its contiguity to the spot where the celebrated battle was fought between the Romans and the Britons, A. D. 61. The operations of the Roman General were, it is probable, confined to the north and north-western vicinity of London. It will be readily admitted, that no situation in the neighbourhood of the capital could afford a more advantageous position, than the high ground in the

* Adjoining the Small Pox Hospital, St. Pancras.

vicinity of Islington, both in regard to security, and as a post of observation for an army apprehensive of an immediate attack from an immense superiority of force.

"The opinion that the scene of this dreadful conflict was not far distant from this spot, is further strengthened by some considerable remains of an encampment, which may yet be seen in the neighbourhood, and which exhibit sufficient evidence that the situation was an important military post, upon some occasion in the early part of our history.* In a field, called the Reed Moat Field, a little to the northward of the workhouse, are the remains of a camp, evidently Roman, and which is generally supposed to have been the position occupied by Suetonius, previous to his engagement with the Britons. These remains consist of a prætorium, which, in situation, form, and size, exactly corresponds with the description of the general's tent, as given by Polybius in his account of the Roman method of castrametation. The site of the prætorium is a square of about 200 feet; the area within the entrenchment being a quadrangle of about 45 yards. The surrounding fosse varies in breadth from 20 to 30 feet, which irregularity has been occasioned by encroachments on the embankments. The fosse, which is about 10 or 12 feet deep, is for the most part filled with water, and overgrown with sedge.

"In the encampment of a Roman army, the general's tent always occupied the most convenient place for prospect or command, so this prætorium is seated on an elevated spot, embracing an extensive view over the adjacent country on all sides. To make it more convenient in this respect, that wall from whence the view was least commanding has been raised by art, and presents a bolder embankment; and there is a visible ridge across the middle of the area where this elevated part begins. There is also a raised breast-work or rampart, extending for a considerable length on the western side of the prætorium, and another on the south. The positions occupied by this camp (supposing it to have been that of Paulinus), will be found strikingly advantageous, when it is considered that the enemy was expected to make the first attack from the circle nearest the metropolis.

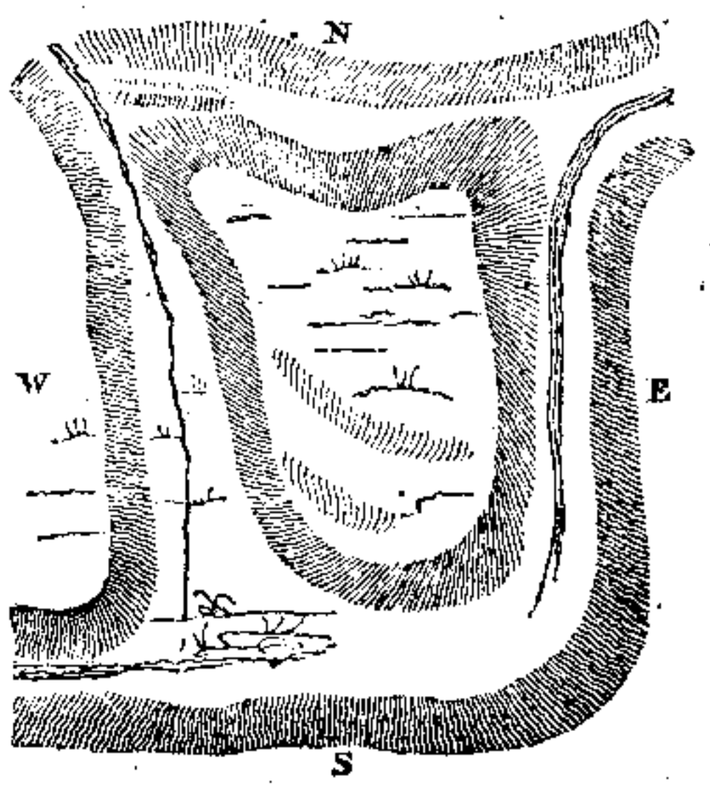
"It is probable that this was the first place of security to which Paulinus retired, to unite his scattered forces, and upon which occasion the camp was formed; for it was customary with the Romans to entrench themselves, though they remained but a single night in the place. The description Tacitus gives of the scene of his operations is very narrow and confined:—'Deligitque locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva clausam; satis cognito, nihil hostium nisi in fronte et apertum planitiem esse sine metu

* The name of the district, which in the Doomsday Book is spelt Isen*done*, appears to have reference to a *don*, or fortified enclosure, as most of the names with similar terminations have.

nisidiarum.' But the great scene of carnage appears to have been a couple of eminences. "Angustias loci pro munimento."

"It is not unlikely that the Roman general abandoned the above encampment on finding the disparity of his forces compared with that of the Britons, with which he had to contend, and fixed upon the narrow spot of ground, as best calculated for his little army to act with advantage. The situation of the valley that lies between the acclivities of Pentonville, and the high ground about Gray's Inn Lane, and where the river Fleet has its course though now, for the most part, obscured by buildings, will not, on inspection, be found any thing at variance with the above description of Tacitus; and an opinion may be fairly hazarded, that the scene of this action was confined to this place, in the immediate vicinity of Battle Bridge."*

The vestiges of the encampment alluded to, have recently been much defaced by digging carried on to make bricks. In 1826, a survey was made of the prætorium and fosse, an engraving of which is annexed.



* Nelson's Islington, p. 69.

Bagford, in his letter to Hearne, speaking of a friend, Mr. John Conyers, an apothecary, who formerly lived in Fleet Street, says, "It was this very gentleman that discovered the body of an elephant, as he was digging for gravel in a field, near to the sign of Sir John Oldcastle in the Fields; not far from Battle Bridge, and near to the river of Wells, Fleet Ditch, which, though now dried up, was a considerable river in the time of the Romans! How this elephant came there is the question. I know some will have it to have lain there ever since the Universal Deluge. For my own part, I take it to have been brought over, with many others, by the Romans, in the reign of Claudius the emperor, and conjecture, (for a liberty of guessing may be indulged to me, as well as to others that maintain different hypothesis) that it was killed in some fight by a Briton. For not far from the place where it was found, a British weapon, made of a flint lance, like unto the head of a spear, fastened into a shaft of a good length, which was a weapon very common amongst the ancient Britons, was also dug up; they having not, at that time, the use of iron or brass, as the Romans had."

It has been drained, and we have learned, that in the course of 1824, a labourer, who was occupied in digging in it, turned up a number of arrow heads, which he sold. Shortly afterwards, a labourer, whilst digging a few yards to the south of the prætorium, for materials to mend a road, uncovered a pavement of red tiles. It was little more than a foot beneath the surface of the soil, and was about sixteen feet square. The tiles were about two fingers thick, and about six inches square. They were mostly figured; but as neither taste nor curiosity prompted the proprietor to preserve any of the fragments, they were all consigned, as rubbish, to the bottom of a deep road. This pavement was, in all probability, Roman. From this circumstance, and from fragments of stone ware which it is reported have been found here, little doubt need be entertained, on the whole, that this was a Roman station.

The passages we have quoted from Tacitus claim our attention, not alone from their general interest, but from their conveying, with the first recorded notice of the town which was to become the future metropolis, an outline of the advances made towards civilization by the Roman settlers in its neighbourhood, and from the additional evidence they give as to its probable origin and early condition.

CHAPTER II.

Historical account of Roman London, with notices of remains discovered, &c.

The great consequence which London had acquired at this early period, may be deduced from the celebrated Itinerary of Antoninus, from which it appears, that no fewer than seven of the fifteen iters commence or terminate here. The commerce of this port was also so extended, that as early as 339, eight hundred vessels were employed in the exportation of corn alone. Of the roads formed to and from the metropolis by the Romans, little can be gleaned; time has long since obliterated every vestige. The Roman stations in Middlesex appear to have been confined to *Londinium* or *Augusta* (London), *Sulloniacim* (Brockley Hills, near Elstree), and *Ad Pontes* (Staines). The principal roads concentrated in London, from which city they branched off as from a centre. The *Watling street*, a British trackway, improved by the Romans, had its southern termination at Dover; its course through Kent was over Blackheath, along the present Kent-road, by St. Thomas a Watering, to the east side of Kent

Street, and thence to Bellings-gate, on the north side of the Thames, and along the present Watling-street to Aldersgate, where it quitted the city; along Goswell Street to the west of Islington, through Hagbush Lane, now in part destroyed, to *Verulamium* (St. Albans.) Another branch of the Watling Street diverged in a north-westerly direction from St. Thomas a Watering, passing to the north of Newington Church, over St. George's Fields, to Stane Gate, adjoining Westminster Bridge, and thence to the Edgeware Road, skirting Paddington, and along the high road to St. Albans. The *Ermin Street* led northwards; its course was from *Noviomagus*, (Woodstock, in Surrey), pretty near in the present road to London, by Streatham, Newington, and Southwark, by Stoney Street to the point now called Dowgate; thence by London Stone to Bishopsgate, where it left the city; and pursuing the course of the present road, northwards, went to *Ad Fines* (Braughing). Another road was through Newgate, by Holborn and Oxford Street, to *Ad Pontes* (Staines). From this road, at or about the end of Oxford Street, diverged a road in a north easterly direction, by Portpool Lane, Clerkenwell, Old Street, and Hackney, to *Duraleiton* (Low Leyton)*; this was probably the *Ikeneld Street*, a British track-way. The last of the leading roads from the metropolis was the *Vicinal Way*, which left London at Aldgate; and pursuing the present course of road, led to *Camulodunum* (Colchester.) These are the principal roads; and various opportunities will offer in the course of the work, to illustrate the positions laid down, which, in many points, widely differ from previous writers on the subject.

The correct period, at which the original walls of London were erected, is not ascertainable. Stow imagines that they were not built so late as 296, 'because, in that yeare, when Alectus the tyrant was slaine in the field, the Frankes easily entred London, and had sacked the same, had not God of his greate favour, at the very instant brought along the river of Thames certeine bandes of Romaine souldiers, who slew those Frankes in everie streete of the cittie.'* The same author states, on the authority of Simeon of Durham, that Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, was the first that walled the city, 'aboute the yeare of Christ, 306.' Camden says, the work was executed by Constantine himself, through the persuasions of his mother; and Maitland ascribes the raising the walls to Theodosius, who was Governor of Britain in 379. Certain it is, both from the testimony of various authors, and from the fact of many Roman remains having been found in and about them, that their erection may with safety be ascribed to them. The course of the city walls was as follows:

Beginning at a fort that occupied a part of the present Tower

* Stow's London, p. 4, 5.

of London, the line was continued by the Minories, between Poor Jury Lane and the Vineyard, to *Ald-gate.* Thence forming a curve to the north-west, between Shoemaker Row, Bevis Marks, Camomile Street, and Houndsditch, it abutted on *Bishops-gate*, from which it extended in nearly a straight line through Bishopsgate Church-yard, and behind Bethlem Hospital and Fore-street, to *Cripple-gate.* At a short distance further on, it turned southward by the back of Hart-street and Cripplegate Church-yard, and thence continuing between Monkwell and Castle streets, led by the back of Barber-Surgeons' Hall, and Noble-street, to Dolphin Court, opposite Oat Lane; where, turning westerly, it approached *Alders-gate.* Proceeding hence towards the south-west, it described a curve along the back of St Botolph's Church-yard, Christ's Hospital, and old *New-gate*; from which it continued southward to *Lud-gate*, passing at the back of the College of Physicians, Warwick-square, Stationers' Hall, and the London Coffee-house, on Ludgate Hill. From Ludgate it proceeded westerly by Cock Court to New Bridge Street; where, turning to the south, it skirted the Fleet Brook to the Thames, near which it was guarded by another fort. The circuit of the whole line, according to Stow's admeasurement, was two miles and one furlong. Another wall extended the whole distance along the banks of the Thames, between the two forts; but this, which measured one mile and about 120 yards, 'was long since subverted,' says Fitz-Stephen, who lived in the reign of Henry the Seventh, 'by the fishful river, with his ebbing and flowing.' The walls were defended at different distances by strong towers and bastions; the remains of three of which, of Roman masonry, were, in Maitland's time, to be seen in the vicinity of Houndsditch and Aldgate.

Dr. Woodward, who had an opportunity to examine the foundation of the wall in Camomile-street, near the site of Bishopsgate, about the year 1707, says, that it lay about eight feet beneath the present surface; and that almost to the height of ten feet, it was composed of rag-stone, with single layers of broad tiles interposed, each layer being at the distance of two feet from each other. The tiles were all of Roman make, and of the kind called *Sesquipedales*, or in English measure, seventeen inches 4-10 in length, eleven inches 6-10 in breadth, and one inch 3-10 in thickness. The mortar was so firm and hard, that the stone itself might as easily be broken. The thickness of this part, which was the whole that remained of the Roman masonry, was nine feet.

The wall was carried up to the height of about eight or nine feet more, chiefly with rag stone, having only a few bricks occasionally interposed, and that without regularity. On the outside the stone was squared and wrought into layers of five inches in thickness; between these were double courses of large bricks,

eleven inches long, five broad, and two and a half thick, but not a single Roman tile; neither was the mortar of that strength and durability as that before mentioned. Another line of wall erected upon the last, and composed of statuteable bricks, having battlements coped with stone, rose to the height of eight feet more.*

Discoveries of Roman London and its environs, made on the north side of the Thames.

The earliest discovery of any remains of the Romans on the north side of the Thames appears to have been about 1576. Stow mentions it in the following manner:—

"On the east side of this church-yard (St. Mary Spital), lieth a large field, of old time called *Lolesworth*, but now *Spittle-fielde*, which, about the year 1576, was broken up for clay to make brick; in the digging whereof, many earthen pots, called urns, were found full of ashes, and of burnt bones of men, to wit, of the Romans that inhabited here: for it was the custom of the Romans to burn their dead, to put their ashes into an urn, and then to bury the same, with certain ceremonies, in some field appointed for the purpose, near unto their city. Every of these pots had in them with the ashes of the dead, one piece of copper money, with the inscription of the emperor then reigning. Some of them were of Claudius, some of Vespasian, some of Nero, of Antoninus Pius, of Trajan, and others. Besides those urns, many other pots were there found, made of a white earth,† with long necks and handles, like to our stone jugs; these were empty, but seemed to have been buried full of some liquid, long since consumed and soaked through, for there were found divers vials (lachrymatories), and other fashioned glasses, some most cunningly wrought, such as I have not seen the like, and some of chrystall, all which had water in them; nothing differing in clearness, taste, or savour, from common spring water. Some of these glasses had oil in them very thick, and earthy in savour; some were supposed to have had balm in them, but had lost the virtue. There were also found divers dishes [pateræ], and cups of a fine red coloured earth, which showed outwardly such a shining smoothness, as if they had been of coral; those had in the bottom Roman letters printed. There were also lamps of white earth, artificially wrought with divers antiques about them; some three or four images [penates] made of white earth, about a span long, each of them; one was of Pallas, the rest I have

* Vide Letter from Dr Woodward to Sir Christopher Wren.

† Sir Christopher Wren presented to the Royal Society a curious Roman urn, or ossuary, of glass, which was sufficiently large to contain a gallon and a half, and was encompassed by fine parallel circles. It had a handle and a very short neck, with a wide mouth, of a white metal. This vesse, was found in Spitalfields, and was probably one of those mentioned above

forgotten. I myself have reserved, amongst divers of those antiquities there found, one pot of white earth, very small, not exceeding the quantity of a quarter of a wine pint, made in shape of a hare squatted upon her legs, and between her ears is the mouth of the spot.*

Sir Robert Cotton also discovered a Roman cemetery in 1615, in what is now called Sun Tavern Fields, at Shadwell, where, formerly, gravel was dug for ballasting ships. Here were found divers urns; a coin of Pupienus, who associated with Balbinus against Maximus, and was slain with him in a sedition of their own soldiers about the year 237; and two coffins, "one whereof being of stone, contained the bones of a man; and the other of lead, beautifully embellished with escallop shells, and a crotister border, contained those of a woman; at whose head and feet were placed two urns of the height of three feet each; and at the sides, divers beautiful red earthen bottles, with a number of lachrymatories of hexagon and octagon forms; and on each side of the inhumed bones were deposited two ivory sceptres, of the length of eighteen inches each; and upon the breast, the figure of a small Cupid, curiously wrought, as were likewise two pieces of jet, resembling nails, of the length of three inches."†

In the account of the ancient state of London, given in the '*Parentalia*,' from the papers of Sir Christopher Wren, who had the best opportunities of acquiring information on that head, through the facilities afforded by the Great Fire, in 1666, it is affirmed, that 'the north boundary of the Roman colony, or city, ran along a causeway (now Cheapside), skirted by a great fen or morass; that it extended in breadth from the same causeway to the river Thames, and in length from Tower Hill to Ludgate; that the Prætorian Camp was situated on the west side; and that the Prætorian Way and principal middle street, was the present Watling Street. The causeway was discovered at the depth of eighteen feet, in digging the foundations for the tower of the present church of St. Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside: its thickness was four feet; the upper part was of rough stone, close, and well rammed; and the bottom of Roman brick and rubbish, all firmly cemented.‡ In the vallum of the presumed Camp, near Ludgate, was dug up, in 1669, a sepulchral stone, with an inscription,§ and the figure of a Roman soldier, which is now preserved among the Arundellian Marbles at Oxford:

* Stow's London, p. 130—133.—Some bodies interred in the same cemetery had been buried in timber coffins, with thick plank lids, fastened down by large iron nails a quarter of yard long.—*Ibid.*

† Malcolm, Vol. IV. p. 566; from "a New and Complete Survey of London," 1742.

‡ Parentalia, p. 265.

§ To be read thus:—"Vivio Marciano militi legionis secundæ Augustæ Januaria Matrina conjunx pientissima posuit memoriam.

This stone, which is much mutilated, has been several times engraved, yet never with sufficient accuracy. The sculptured figure, according to Pennant, represents the deceased Vivius Marcianus, "as a British soldier, probably of the *Cohors Britonum*, dressed and armed after the manner of the country, with long hair, a short lowe, garment fastened round the waist by a girdle and fibula, a long *Sagum*, or plaid, flung over his breast and one arm, ready to be cast off in time of action, naked legs, and in his right hand a sword of vast length, like the *claymore* of the later Highlanders."* This engraving is from an original drawing by J. Carter, F.S.A.

In digging the foundations for the present Cathedral of Saint Paul's, on the north and north-east sides, Sir Christopher Wren discovered the remains of an ancient cemetery, which he describes as follows:—"Under the graves of the latter ages, in a row below them, were the burial places of the Saxon' times. The Saxons, as it appeared, were accustomed to line their graves with chalk-

* Pennant's London, p. 10

stones; though some, more eminent, were entombed in coffins of whole stones. Below these were British graves, where were found ivory and wooden pins of a hard wood, seemingly box, in abundance, of about six inches long. It seems the bodies were only wrapped up, and pinned in woollen shrouds; which, being consumed, the pins remained entire. In the same row, and deeper, were Roman urns intermixed. This was eighteen feet deep or more, and belonged to the colony when the Romans and Britons lived and died together. The more remarkable Roman urns, lamps, lachrymatories, fragments of sacrificing vessels, &c. were found deep in the ground, towards the north-east corner, near Cheapside: these were generally well wrought, and embossed with various figures and devices. Among those preserved, were a fragment of a vessel in the shape of a basin, whereon Charon is represented with his oar in his hand, receiving a naked ghost; a *patera sacrificalis*, with the inscription PATER. CLO.; a remarkable small urn, of a fine hard earth, and leaden colour, containing about half a pint; many pieces of urns, with the names of the potters embossed on the bottoms; a sepulchral earthen lamp, figured with two branches of palms, supposed Christian; and two lachrymatories of glass."*

Many of the above remains were found about a pit excavated by the Roman potters, in a stratum of close and hard pot earth, which extends beneath the whole site of St. Paul's, varying in thickness from four to six feet.† This pit was directly under the north-east angle of the present choir; and here the urns, broken vessels, and pottery-ware were found in great abundance. Not any of the discoveries, however, made by Sir Christopher, could induce him to adopt the popular opinion of there having been a Roman temple of Diana on the site now occupied by the Cathedral. His own words, speaking of the temple of Apollo, asserted traditionally to have stood on the site of the Abbey Church, at Westminster, and to have been ruined by an earthquake in the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, are these:—"Earthquakes break not stones to pieces; nor would the Picts be at that pains: but I imagine that the monks, finding the Londoners pretending to a Temple of Diana where now St. Paul's stands, (horns of stags, and tusks of boars, having been dug up there in former times, and it is said also in later years,) would not be behindhand in antiquity. But I must assert, that, having changed all the foundations of old St. Paul's, and upon that occasion rummaged all the ground thereabouts, and being very desirous to find some footsteps of such a temple, I could not discover any; and therefore can give no more credit to Diana than to Apollo."‡

Dr. Woodward, on the contrary, was fully impressed with the

* Parentalia, p. 266-7.

† Ibid, p. 286.

‡ Ibid. p. 296

belief of Diana having a temple upon this spot; and he informs us, that in his collection were the tusks of boars, the horns of oxen and stags, and sacrificing vessels with representations of deer, and even Diana herself, upon them; all of which were dug up at St. Paul's Church.* He also mentions a small brass figure of Diana, two inches and a half in height, which was found in digging between the Deanery and Blackfriars, and which "the best judges of different nations admitted to have all the characters of Roman work."†

Among the other discoveries of Roman antiquities made in rebuilding the city after the Fire of London, were numerous coins of different emperors, utensils of various kinds, figures of household gods, and foundations and remains of buildings. The most remarkable of the latter were met with under Bow Church, Cheapside, and "appeared to be the walls, with the windows also, and the pavement, of a Temple or Church of Roman workmanship, entirely buried under the level of the present street."‡

The next discoveries, in point of time, appear to have been made in 1670; when, in cleaning out Fleet-ditch, at the depth of fifteen feet, was discovered, between the Fleet Prison and Holborn Bridge, many Roman utensils; and still lower, a great quantity of Roman coins in silver, brass, copper, and other metals. The silver coins were of different sizes, from that of a silver two-pence to a crown-piece, all of the Roman period, and a great quantity of the same kind of the Saxon and Norman people. At Holborn Bridge, two brazen lares, or household gods, were found; and opposite St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, a tesselated pavement; of the size or pattern of which, no account has hitherto been given.

A very curious and interesting description of Roman London is given in a letter to Hearne, the antiquary, in 1714, from Mr. Bagford, a gentleman who had made the research into the antiquities of this city his peculiar study. In this work is an account of a curious brick discovered in Mark Lane, in 1674. He says, "And now I shall take notice of a very great curiosity found in Mark Lane, more properly called Mart Lane, it being a place where the Romans, and, not improbably, the ancient Britons, used to barter their commodities, as tin, lead, &c. with other nations, it may be with the Greeks, who often came into this island to purchase the like goods. Whence I am apt to conjecture that the name of the lane hath been continued ever since the time of the Romans, and that the names of some other lanes and streets, as Cornhill,

* Parentalia, p. 303.

† For a full description of this figure, and a Dissertation on it, see Malcolm's Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 509—12, printed from an unfinished manuscript by Dr. Woodward, now in the possession of Alexander Chalmers, Esq. F.S.A.

‡ Parentalia, p. 265.

Grace Street, the Querne, Broad Street, Watling Street, and perhaps Old Fish Street, &c. are of equal antiquity, and were so called from the same kind of accidents. The curiosity I am speaking of is a brick, found about forty years since, twenty-eight feet deep below the pavement, by Mr. Stockley, as he was digging the foundation of a house that he built for Mr. Wolley. Near to this place were dug up many quarters of wheat burnt very black, but yet sound; which were conjectured to have lain buried ever since the burning of this city about eight hundred years before. This brick is of a Roman make, and was a key brick to the arch where the corn was found. It is made of a curious red clay, and in bass relief. On the front it hath the figure of Sampson putting fire to the foxes' tails, and driving them into a field of corn. It seems to be the same story that is mentioned in Scripture of destroying the Philistines' corn, from whence came the fable of Hercules to be the guardian of their corn stores, or granaries; as they had their peculiar deities for all domestic affairs in or near their houses and camps, as Priapus was the protector of their gardens, &c. not to mention many other household gods of several names and uses.

"The brick is at this time preserved in the museum belonging to the Royal Society in Fleet Street. I, at the same time, must not forget to acquaint you, that the late ingenious Richard Waller, Esq. (whose death is much lamented by the virtuosos) communicated to me the following account of the measure of it, as it was exactly taken, viz. On the picture or largest face four inches broad, and five inches 1-10 long; on the other, or reverse side, three inches 7-10 broad, and five inches 1-10 long; its thickness is two inches 4-10.

"At the same time Mr. Waller observed to me in his letter, that the proportions in the bass relief are so very fine, that it is plain from thence, that it cannot be a work of the bass empire; "but then," says he, "how the story of Sampson should be known to the Romans, much less to the Britons, so early after the time of the propagation of the Gospel, seems to be a great doubt; except it should be said that some Jews after the final destruction of Jerusalem should wander into Britain; and London, being even in Cæsar's time a port or trading city, they might settle here, and in the arch of their own granary record the famous story of their delivery from their captivity under the Philistines. Be that as it will, the thing is very curious, and it is plain by the impressions that it was made by a mould or stamp; so that doubtless there were many of the same made."

Various Roman antiquities are described by Dr. Woodward as having been discovered, in digging some cellars in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate. The principal of these was a tessellated pavement, lying about four feet below the level of the street, and situated only three feet and a half from the City wall

Its breadth was ten feet, and its length upwards of sixty: the colours of the tesseræ were red, black, and yellow; scarcely any of them exceeded an inch in thickness. Four feet below the pavement, in a stratum of clay, various urns were discovered of different forms and sizes; the largest sufficiently capacious to hold three gallons; the least more than a quart. These contained ashes and burnt human bones; and along with them were found, a simpulum and patera of pure red clay, a lachrymatory of blue glass, several beads, copper rings, a fibula, and a coin, the obverse inscribed

ANTONINVS AVG. - - - IMP. XVI.

On the reverse, a woman sitting, holding in her right hand a palm, in her left a spear.*

When the foundations of the new Church of St. Martin in the Fields were dug in 1722, a Roman brick arch was found, with several ducts, fourteen feet under ground; and Gibbs, the architect, said, that buffaloes heads were also dug up there. Sir Hans Sloane, likewise, had a glass vase, bell-shaped, that was found in a stone coffin, among ashes, in digging the foundations of the portico.† About the same period, at Mary-le-bone, a large brass Roman key with many Roman coins, was discovered.‡

On the rebuilding of Bishopsgate Church about the year 1725, several urns, pateræ, and other remains of Roman antiquities, were discovered, together with a coin of Antoninus Pius, and a vault arched with equilateral Roman bricks, fourteen feet deep, and within it two skeletons. Dr. Stukeley, also, saw there, in 1726, a Roman grave, constructed with large tiles, twenty-one inches long, which kept the earth from the body.§

In 1730, on digging the foundation for the Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, an earthen lamp was discovered, whereon was the following inscription:

I
ATTLV
F

and numerous fragments of vessels, a tesselated pavement, bones of animals, remains of an aqueduct, and a well; the latter is now in use. These remains induced Dr. Harwood to imagine, that here, not only a considerable pottery, but a temple of Concord, must have stood. Such vast quantities of broken pottery abounded, that many cart loads were carried away with the rubbish to mend the roads about St. George's Fields.‖

In June, 1774, in laying the foundations of a sugar-house in

* Letter to Sir Christ. Wren, p. 12—14.

† Gough's Camden, vol. ii. p. 93, from Minutes of the Antiq. Society.

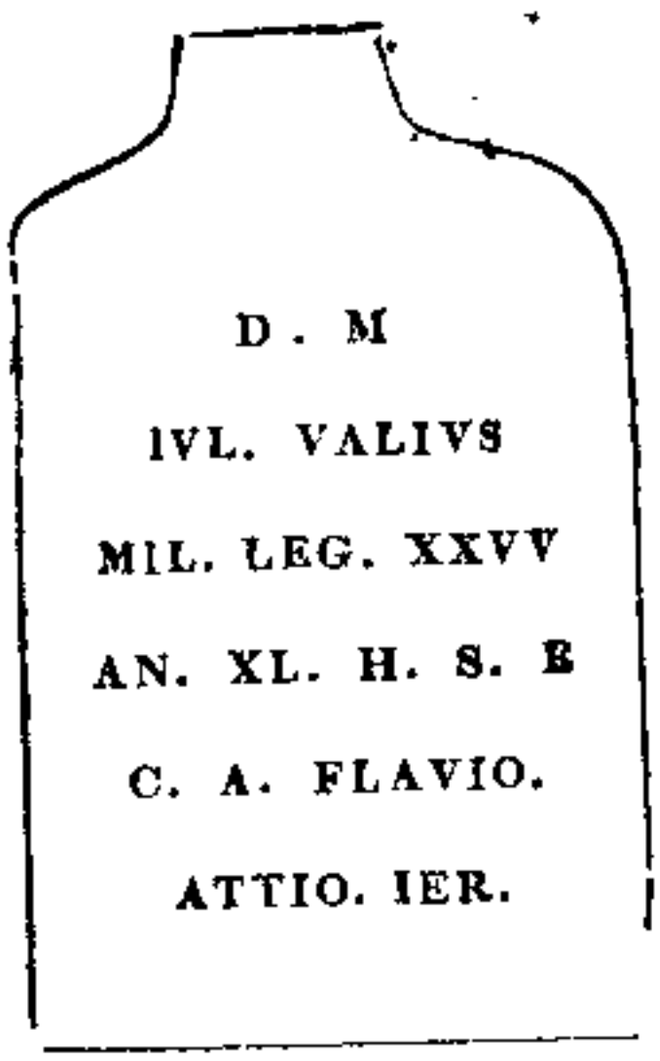
§ Gough's Cam. vol. ii. p. 93. Edit. 1806; from A. S. Min.

‖ Hughson's London, i. p. 34.

the Parish of St. Mary Hill, two earthen vessels were found buried beneath the brick pavement of an old cellar; these contained an abundance of small Saxon coins of silver, and some Norman ones; most of them were pennies of Edward the Confessor; and others of Harold the Second, and William the Conqueror. On digging still deeper, human bones, both of adults and children, were found, together with fragments of Roman bricks, and coins of Domitian of the middle brass.*

Some Roman antiquities, consisting of sepulchral urns, vases, earthen lamps, &c. were dug up in the Well's walk at Hampstead in 1774; one was a repositorial urn, large enough to hold 11 or 12 gallons.†

A sepulchral stone and coin, was discovered in the year 1776, at no great distance from Goodman's Fields, in a burial-ground in Church Lane, Whitechapel, near the end leading into Rosemary Lane, about six feet under ground: the inscription and form was as follows:



The inscription is to be read thus: "*Diis Manibus Julius Valius Miles Legionis* 30 *anno* 40 *his sepultus est Caio Aurelio Flavio Attio Herede.*"‡

That the Romans had a Fort on the site of the Tower, was corroborated by some discoveries made in September, 1777, by workmen employed in digging the foundations of a new office for the Board of Ordnance. At a very considerable depth they came

* For a more particular account, see Archæologia, vol. iv. p. 356, from a communication by Dr. Griffith, Rector of St. Mary Hill.

† Gents. Mag. vol. 54, part 2, p. 627, where the vases, &c. are engraved.

‡ Gents. Mag. 1776, p. 119, where it is engraved.

to some foundations of ancient buildings, below which, on the natural ground, was a silver ingot, and three gold coins. The ingot was in form of a double wedge, four inches long, weighed ten ounces, eight grains, troy; on the centre was impressed EX. OFFIC. HONORII, in two lines.

One of the coins was also of the Emperor Honorius; the others of Arcadius, his brother, who reigned over the empire of the East, as Honorius did over that of the West, at the same time; these were in excellent preservation, and each of them weighed the sixth part of a Roman ounce, or seventy-three grains troy. A ring, supposed to have been made of a shell, a small glass crown, and an inscribed stone, two feet eight inches by two feet four, were also found, at the same depth: the inscription was as follows:—

DIS' MANB' T. LICINI ACAN'VS F.*

In digging a new sewer, beneath Lombard Street and Birchin Lane, in the autumn and winter of 1785, numerous Roman antiquities were found, as coins, fragments of earthenware, tessellated and other pavements, glass, &c. of which a very particular account has been printed in the eighth volume of the Archæologia, from communications by different gentlemen. The sewer was commenced towards that end of Lombard Street next the Mansion House; and near Sherbourn Lane, at the depth of twelve feet, a Roman pavement was found, 'composed of small irregular bricks, in length two inches, in breadth one and a half, mostly red, but some few black and white; they were strongly cemented with a yellowish mortar, and were laid in a thick bed of coarse mortar and stones.' The breadth of this pavement, from west to east, was about twenty feet; its length was not discovered. Between it and the Post Office, but on the north side of the sewer, was a wall constructed with 'the smaller-sized Roman bricks,' in which

* Archæologia, vol. v. p. 291. Dean Milles, President of the Society of Antiquaries, who communicated the account of the discovery, supposed the coins to have been minted at Constantinople, and to have been part of the money transmitted to pay to the last legion ever sent to the assistance of the Britons.

were two perpendicular flues; the one semicircular, the other rectangular and oblong: the height of the wall was ten feet, its length eighteen; the depth of the top of it from the surface was also ten feet. Further on, opposite to the Post Office, was another wall, of the common kind, of Roman masonry; and near it, at the depth of nine feet, a pavement of thin flat tiles, each seventeen inches 4-10 in length, twelve inches 3-10 broad, and about three tenths of an inch in thickness. Beyond this was another pavement, much decayed, and about a foot lower, chiefly composed of red bricks about an inch square, with a few black bricks, and some white stones, irregularly intermixed. 'This pavement, as well as most of the rest, was laid on three distinct beds of mortar; the lowest very coarse, about three inches thick, and mixed with large pebbles; the second, of fine mortar, very hard, and reddish in colour, from having been mixed with powdered brick: this was about one inch in thickness, and upon it the bricks were embedded in a fine white cement.'

Many other fragments of walls and pavements were dug up in proceeding along Lombard Street, together with burnt wood, and wood ashes, and many other things exhibiting marks of conflagration. Some of the walls were of rough stones, and others of chalk. Similar discoveries of walls and pavements were made in Birchin Lane; together with one angle of a fine tessellated pavement, composed of black, red, green, and white squares, about a quarter of an inch in size, and forming a beautiful border: the extent of this pavement was not ascertained, as its course appeared to run below the adjacent footway and houses.

Fragments of Roman pottery, or earthenware, were found in abundance throughout the whole extent of the excavation, as well as Roman coins, and pieces of glass urns, bottles, &c. with Roman keys, and horns and bones of different animals. The earthenware was of various colours, red, brown, grey, white, black, &c. some glazed, and some not; many of the fragments were of the fine coral-coloured ware, called Samian, and these were mostly ornamented with figures on the outside: some were impressed with names and inscriptions on the rims. The centre compartment of one beautiful vessel of red earthenware, (of which the principal fragments were found), represented a combat, partly of naked figures, opposed to each other, and to two horsemen: the attitudes were very spirited, and the whole design in a good taste. Fig. 1. exhibits the form of the vase, and Fig. 2 an extended view of the whole. On other fragments were represented armed men, satyrs, hares, dogs, birds, foliage, a boar's head, and fancy ornaments of various descriptions. One beautiful fragment is represented in the annexed plate, Fig. 3. Many handles of jugs, and pieces of round shallow vessels of coarse clay, which seemed to have measured about a foot in diameter when entire, with broad brims, having a channel across them to pour off the con-

tents, were also found; the latter appeared to have been worn by trituration, as if they had been used for grinding some substance.

The coins were of various descriptions, gold, silver, and brass. Among them was a beautiful gold coin of Galba, Fig. 4, a Nero, Fig. 5, and an Antoninus Pius; and a silver one of Alexander Severus, Fig. 6. The others were brass ones of Claudius, Nerva, Vespasian, Dioclesian, Gallienus, Antonia, Constantinus, and Tetricus: nearly 300 of the two last Emperors were found together on one spot opposite to the end of St. Nicholas Lane; the workmanship of these was extremely rude. The discoveries were all made within the depth of from nine to sixteen feet.

Various sepulchral remains were discovered in digging the foundations of the new church in Goodman's Fields; and when the Tenter Ground there was converted into a garden, in the year 1787, several fragments of urns and lachrymatories were dug up about seven feet below the surface, together with a sepulchral stone, measuring about fifteen inches by twelve, inscribed thus:—

D. M.
FL. AGRICOLA MIL.
LEG. VI. VICT. V. AN.
XLII. D. X. ALBIA.
FAVSTINA CONINGI.
INCONPARABILI.
F. C.

In the same year, some remains of a tesselated pavement was found in Crutched Friars. In 1794, some bones, burnt wood, and small pieces of pavement, were discovered in making some cellars in Pancras-lane.* In 1796, in digging in Tower-street, near the church of Allhallows Barking, a patera of fine pottery was discovered

On pulling down the remains of the convent of St. Clare, or Minoresses, in 1797, on the south and east part of the present Haydon-square, many curious fragments of Roman pottery, as well as glass vessels, were discovered; two complete urns, filled with bones, ashes, &c. were taken up.†

The next discovery in order of time was the beautiful tesselated pavement in Leadenhall Street, which was discovered in December, 1803, at the depth of nine feet six inches below the carriage way pavement, in searching for a sewer opposite to the easternmost columns of the East India House.

The pavement did not exceed half an inch in thickness, and was bedded in a layer of brick-dust and lime of about an inch;

* Gent's. Mag. 1795 p. 986.

† Smith's Antiq. of London, p. 8.

beneath which was a thick stratum of loam, the precise depth whereof could not be ascertained. The whole eastern side had been some time before cut away to make room for a sewer; but little doubt could exist of the two borders having been continued round the square, two thirds of which remained perfect.

Nothing worth notice occurred in taking up the residue, except the fragment of an urn; which, together with a jaw-bone, and some finger bones, was found under the western angle.

The ornamented centre, although not quite perfect, appeared also to have been a square of eleven feet. The device which occupied the centre, was a highly-finished figure of Bacchus, who was represented reclining on the back of a tyger, his thyrsus erect in his left hand, and a small two-handed Roman drinking cup pendant from his right: round his brow was a wreath of vine leaves: his mantle, purple and green, falling from his right shoulder, was thrown carelessly round his waist; and his foot guarded with a sandal, the lacing of which extended to the calf of his leg. The countenance of Bacchus was placid, his eyes well set; and all his features, as well as the beast on which he was riding, were represented with much freedom of design, and accuracy of delineation, in appropriate tints. Round the circle which contained the above, were three borders of the same figure; the first exhibited the inflections of a serpent, black back and white belly, on a party-coloured field, composed of dark and light grey, and red ribbands; the second consisted of indented cornucopiæ, in black and white; and the third of squares diagonally concave. In two of the angles, which were formed by the insertion of the outer circle in the inner square border, was represented the Roman drinking-cup on a large scale; and in the counter angles, were delineations of a plant, but too rude to be designated; these were wrought in dark grey, red, and black, on a white ground. The inner square border bore some resemblance to a bandeau of oak, in dark and light grey, red and white, on a black ground. The outer border consisted of eight lozenge figures, with ends in the form of hatchets in black, on a white ground, inclosing circles of black, on each of which was the common ornament, a true lover's knot. The whole was environed by a margin consisting of coarse red tessellæ, an inch square, traced to the extent of five feet six inches on the north-west side, but could not be followed further, on account of the difficulty and danger of breaking up the street; in opening the ground, however, on the opposite side of the way, foundations of Kentish ragstone and Roman brick appeared at nearly the same depth, which probably were those of the building to which this pavement belonged. The room could not have been less than twenty-two feet square; but, in all probability, was considerably larger.

"In this beautiful specimen of Roman mosaic," says Mr. Fisher, who published a fine print of the pavement, coloured after the

original, from a drawing by himself, and to whose pen we are indebted for the above description, "the drawing, colouring, and shadows, are all effected with considerable skill and ingenuity by the use of about twenty separate tints, composed of tessellæ of different materials, the major part of which are baked earths; but the more brilliant colours of green and purple, which form the drapery, are glass. These tessellæ are of different sizes and figures, adapted to the situations they occupy in the design. They are placed in rows, either straight or curved, as occasion demanded, each tessellæ presenting to those around it a flat side; the interstices of mortar being thus very narrow, and the bearing of the pieces against each other uniform, the work in general possessed much strength, and was very probably, when uninjured by damp, nearly as firm to the foot as solid stone. The tessellæ used in forming the ornamented borders, are in general somewhat larger than those in the figures, being cubes of half an inch."

This pavement was taken up at the charge of the East India Company, but broken to pieces in the process; and the mutilated remains were deposited in their library.

In Lothbury, a neat but elegant pavement was taken up entire in the spring of 1805, by direction of John Soane, Esq. F. S. A architect to the Bank, and has been deposited in the British Museum, to which it was presented by the Bank Directors. The depth at which it lay is stated to have been about eleven feet; its situation about twenty feet westward from the westernmost gate of the Bank opening into Lothbury, and about the same distance south of the carriage-way. It consisted of an ornamented square centre, measuring four feet each way, of the floor of an apartment eleven feet square. Within a circle in the centre, is a figure apparently designed to represent four leaves, perhaps acanthus, expanded in black, red, and dark and light grey, tessellæ on a white field; round this, a line of black; in the angles, four leaves of black, red and grey; and a square bandeau border similar to that mentioned in the former pavement, environed the whole. Beyond this, were tiles of an inch square, extending to the sides of the room. On examining the fragments of the marginal pavement which had been taken up with it, evident marks of fire were observed on the face of them; and to one piece adhered some ashes of burnt wood, and a small piece not quite burnt.*

In making some alterations in the month of July, 1806, at the back of the London Coffee-house, Ludgate-hill, a circular tower and stair-case was discovered; and about three feet below the pavement, some curious remains of Roman art were found. They consisted of a trunk of a statue of Hercules, half the size of life. The figure resting on his club, with a lion's skin cast over his

* Brayley's London, v. 97.

shoulders, and the attitude elegant. It is engraved in the annexed plate (fig. 1). An altar, or pedestal, (height 3 feet $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches, width 2 feet 6 inches) fig. 2. of hexagonal form, with a plinth with mouldings of two fillets, and an ogee. The cornice has three fillets, two hollows, and a plat-band. The top of the design takes a large hollow uniting with a torus; and on that side where the inscription is presented, the torus is enriched with scrawls and flowers. The following is the inscription:

D. M.
CL. MARTN
NAE. AN. XI
ANENCLE
TVS
PROVINC.
CONIVGI
PIENTISSIME
H. S. E.

This was read by Mr. Gough as follows: *Diis Manibus; Claudiæ Martinæ; Annorum xi, Anencletus Provincialis Conjugi Pientissimæ hoc Sepulchrum,* or *hanc Statuam, erexit.* By the term *Provinciales,* as appears from various inscriptions in Grævius, is to be understood men raised in the province where the Romans were stationed.*

At the same time and place, the head of a female, large as life: the upper portion is destroyed. (fig. 3.)†

In December, 1808, a coin of the emperor Titus Vespasian was found in digging in Leadenhall-street. In 1818, in digging the foundations for the New Post-office, in St. Martin's-le-Grand, a Roman tile (engraved in the annexed plate, fig. 4,) and coin was discovered; and in 1826, various sepulchral remains were discovered in excavating the site of the New Hall of Christ's Hospital; they consisted of burnt bones, vases, a few coins, and broken pottery.

During the progress of making the foundations for the piers of new London-bridge, numerous curiosities have been discovered. In the early part of 1825, a beautiful little statue, supposed to represent Harpocrates, was found in digging the southern abutment foundation. It is of silver, about three inches high, the attitude elegant; around it is a neat chain of gold attached to a ring, and near its feet are apparently the figures of a dog, tortoise, and a bird: the whole is executed in a chaste and finished manner. It came into the possession of Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, goldsmiths, of Ludgate-hill, who presented it to the British Museum. It is engraved in the annexed plate. (fig. 6.)

* Brayley's London, i. 39 † Gent. Mag. vol. lxxvi. p 2.—722

In the month of July, 1827, a figure of a horse in lead, and numerous Roman brass and silver coins were discovered; among them was one with the inscription PLON, which antiquaries read *Pecunia Londini.*

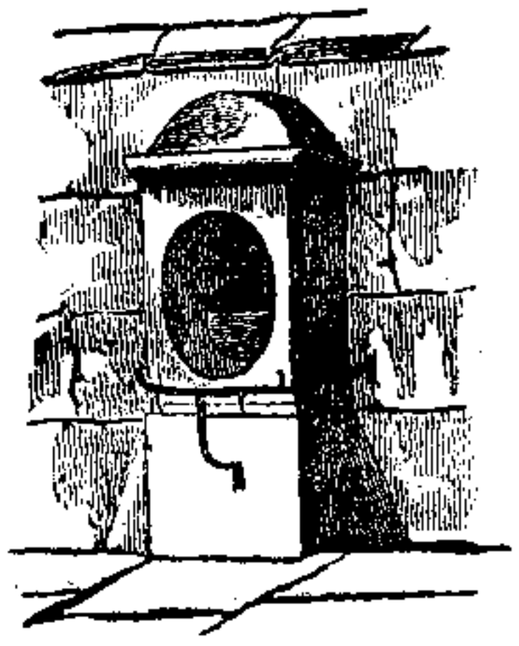
At the same time and place, various antiques of a later age were discovered; they principally consisted of crucifixes,* coins of Elizabeth, Richards I. and II., swords, &c. Some have been presented to the civic museum forming in Guildhall.

Fig. 5. in the plate before referred to, is a figure of Diana found beneath St. Paul's by Dr. Woodward.†

A Roman specula, or watch-tower, is stated to have stood without the walls, beyond Cripplegate, near to the street called Barbican. Stow says on the north side thereof.

We will now notice the most curious relic of the Roman era in the metropolis,

LONDON STONE.



This ancient monument, which is now reduced to a fragment, encased in free-stone, stands against the south wall of St. Swithin's church, in Cannon-street. Antiquaries generally concur in considering this stone as a Roman milliary, or, more properly, as the *Milliarum Aureum*‡ of Britain, from which the Romans began the admeasurement of their roads as from a centre. This is stated to be confirmed by the 'exact coincidence which its

* A curious chapel was erected on this bridge; a notice and engravings of which will appear hereafter.

† Noticed at p. 22, *ante*.

‡ Milliarum Aureum fuit columna in capite fori Romani, sub Saturni æde, prope arcum Septimii, in quæ omnes Italiæ viæ incisæ finerunt, et a qua ad singulas portas mensuræ regionum currerunt.—*Plin.* lib. iii. c. 5.

distance bears with the neighbouring stations mentioned in Antonine's Itinerary;' yet Sir Christopher Wren was of opinion, that, 'by reason of its large foundation, it was rather some more considerable monument in the Forum; for, in the adjoining ground to the south, upon digging for cellars after the great fire, were discovered some tessellated pavements, and other extensive remains of Roman workmanship and buildings.'*

The earliest known record relating to it is at the end of 'a fayre written Gospell booke given to Christes Church in Canterburie, by Ethelstane, King of the West Saxons,' where a parcel of land belonging to that church is described 'to ly neare unto London Stone.' It is again noticed in a record of a fire, which, in the first of King Stephen, 1135, 'began in the house of one Ailwarde,' neare unto London Stone.'†

London Stone is also noticed by Holinshed, who, in his acconnt of the insurrection headed by Jack Cade, says, that when that rebellious chieftain had forced his way into the city, he struck his sword upon the Stone, and exclaimed, 'Now is Mortimer Lord of this city;' as if, Mr. Pennant remarks on this passage, 'that had been a customary way of taking possession.' Cade was, probably, not unaware of its emblematic character; and there may have been a popular tradition among the English on the subject, similar to that which the Scots have with respect to the marble-chair, on which their kings were crowned.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Stow's description of London Stone is as follows: speaking of Wallbrook, he says, "on the south side of this high street, neere unto the channell, is pitched upright a great stone, called London Stone, fixed in the ground very deep, fastened with bars of iron, and otherwise so stronglie set, that if cartes do runne against it through negligence, the wheeles be broken, and the stone itselfe unshaken. The cause why this stone was there set, the verie time when, or other memory hereof, is there none; but that the same hath long continued there is manifest, namely, since, or rather before the time of the Conquest.—Some have saide this stone to have beene set as a marke in the middle of the cittie within the walles; but, in truth, it standeth farre nearer unto the river of Thames than to the wall of the city. Some others have saide the same to bee set for the tendering and making of paymentes by debtors to their creditors at their appointed daies and times, till of later time, paymentes were more usually made at the font in Pontes Church, and nowe most commonly at the Royall Exchange. Some againe have imagined the same to bee

* Parentalia, p. 265. † Stow's Survay of London, p. 177

set up by one John or Thomas Londonstone, dwelling there against; but more likely it is, that such men have taken name of the stone, rather than the stone of them, as did John at Noke, Thomas at Stile, William at Wall, or at Well, &c.

From these different notices of London Stone, Mr. Brayley considers it is apparent that it was formerly of much greater magnitude, and was held in far higher estimation than it is at present. It now, indeed, appears reduced to a fragment, 'not much larger than a bomb-shell,' and is enclosed in a sort of pedestal, which admits it to be seen through an aperture near the top. Some small portion of its decay may be attributed to the lapse of ages, but the chief mischief must have been committed by the hands of man. It was probably much mutilated after the Great Fire, when its 'large foundation' was seen; and again, when it was removed from 'the south side' of the street, in December, 1742, to the edge of the curb-stone on the north side. That it is now in existence at all is, in a great measure, due to the interposition of Mr. Thomas Maiden, of Sherborne Lane, who, at the beginning of the year 1798, when St. Swithin's Church was about to undergo a complete repair, and this venerable relic had been nearly doomed to destruction as a nuisance by some of the parishioners, prevailed on one of the parish officers to give his consent that London Stone should be removed to the situation which it now occupies against the church wall.*

Roman remains discovered south of the river Thames.

From the various discoveries made in Southwark and its environs, it is evident the Romans frequented and had habitations this side of the Thames; in fact, their principal road from the continent passing through what is now Southwark, it is reasonable to suppose they would have a station in a situation where they could command a passage, or more than one passage, over so important a river as the Thames, and thus secure the communication between the road leading from their landing-place, in Kent, to that part part of the island which lay on the north side of the river.†

One of the earliest discoveries on record is by Sir William Dugdale, who says, "I myself, in the year 1658, saw, in those fields (on the back side of Winchester House) called Southwark Park, upon the sinking of divers cellars for some new buildings, at about two foot below the present levell of the ground, a Roman pavement, made of bricks, not above an inch and a half square; and adjoyning to it a more curious piece, of the like small bricks (in length about ten foot, and in bredth five) wrought in various colours; and in the midst thereof, betwixt certain

* Brayley's London, i. 101.

† Manning and Bray's Surrey, iii. 655.

borders, in the fashion of wreathed columns, the form of a serpent, very lively expressed in that kind of Mosaique work."* Various tiles, &c. were discovered in 1820, in excavating the ground for the erection of a warehouse.

Dean Gale says, that in St. George's Fields, many Roman coins, tessellated works, and bricks were found; he himself had a large urn filled with bones, which he purchased of the men who were digging there.

In 1690, a Janus's head was found near St. Thomas's Watering Place;

One side represented the countenance of a man bearded, with the horns and ears of a ram; a jewel ornament hanging down on each side his head, which was crowned with laurel; on the opposite side was the countenance of a young woman in an ancient head attire, which, at the same time it covered the head, projected from it. It was entire, and seemed formerly to have been fixed to a square column, or to a terminus. It was a foot and a half high, and was in the possession of Dr. Woodward.†

In 1786, a vase and several coins were found in Park-street.

Bagford, in his letter to Hearne, the antiquary before quoted, says, 'On the left hand of Kent-street, on the road to London, in the garden ground, (which was a Roman military way, and is commonly made use of upon an extraordinary cavalcade, as it was particularly upon the entrance of king Charles II. at his return from Holland, and at such time is layd open,) they have found in digging, several Roman antiquities, with many of their coins both in silver and brass, some of which were much esteemed by the worthy Mr. Charlton. I have seen many of these antiquities

* History of Embanking, p. 66.

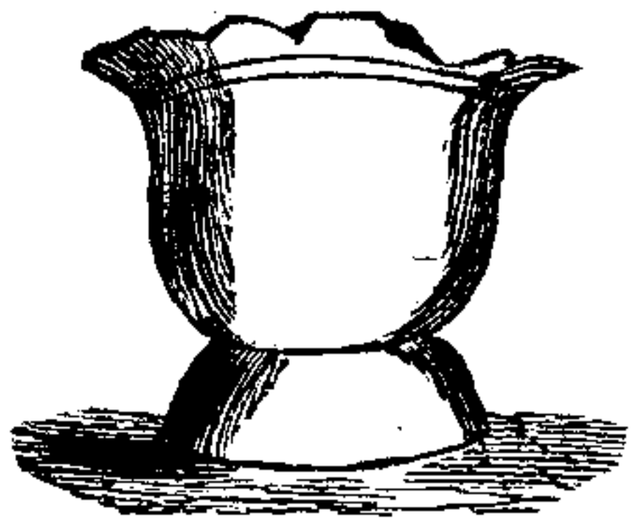
† Harris's Kent, i. 50.

myself, by the favour of my good friend, Mr. John Cannop, such as glass bottles with liquor in them, and divers old Roman utensils. To these must be added a great many Roman antiquities that were found in the grounds of Mr Ewer, at Clapham, in digging for gravel. They are still in being, and have been viewed by Mr. John Kemp; who, as he is a great judge in these affairs, so he owns that some of them are extraordinary, and such as he had not seen before.'

Opposite Bethlem Hospital, in St. George's Fields, a great quantity of Roman remains have been discovered at different periods. In 1810, pottery of various kinds, remains of tessellated pavements, some small vases, and a few coins were thrown up. At the back of St. Thomas's Street some Roman tiles were discovered in 1811; and in making a sewer along Union Street, in the years 1819-20-21-22-23, various curious lamps, lachrymatories, small glass vessels, fine coral ware, &c. were found. In the course of the years 1818 to 1822, in making various excavations in St. Saviour's Church-yard and its neighbourhood, much was discovered; a Mosaic pavement, vase, and unique coin of Antoninus Pius, within the church-yard; and a coin of Alexander Severus, and red stucco-floor, near Cure's College. These are in the possession of G. Gwilt, Esq. F. S. A.

Near Newington Church, in 1824, a portion of the Roman road from St. Thomas à Watering to Stangate was discovered, and a coin.

On the north side of Vauxhall Gardens, Defoe seems to consider was a Roman fort or cămp. This, in some degree, has been authenticated; for, in digging the foundations of some houses, considerable quantities of the pottery, peculiar to that people, were discovered and thrown up. Amongst them was a small utensil, engraved below, of the size of the original.*



The last discovery we have to notice was made in 1825 and 1826; in excavating the foundation of Trinity Church, Newington, a human skeleton, vase, and sepulchral remains were found.

* History of Lambeth, 367.

"It may be doubted," says Dr. Goldsmith, "whether the arts which the Romans planted among the Britons were not rather prejudicial than serviceable to them, as they only contributed to invite the invader, without furnishing the means of defence. If we consider the many public ways and villas of pleasure that were then among them, the many schools instituted for the instruction of youth, the numberless coins, statues, tessellated pavements, and other curiosities that were common at that time, we can have no doubt but that the Britons made a very considerable progress in the arts of peace, although they declined in those of war. But, perhaps, an attempt at once to introduce these advantages will ever be ineffectual. The arts of peace and refinement must arise by slow degrees in every country, and can never be propagated with the same rapidity by which new governments may be introduced."

CHAPTER III.

History of London from the departure of the Romans till the time of the Conquest.

When Britain was deserted by the Romans in the early part of the fifth century, and the ancient inhabitants were left to conduct their own affairs, London once more became a British town. Though this period of British history is very obscure, it is an acknowledged fact, that Vortigern, a British chieftain, obtained the sovereignty of the southern part of the island, and made a notable use of his authority, by adopting those measures which terminated in the subjugation of what is now called England, by the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, piratical tribes of adventurers from Germany, who had long been formidable enemies of the provincial Britons. Hengist, leader of the first of these bands of invaders, soon obtained possession of the county of Kent; and though he had been originally invited hither to assist Vortigern in repelling the attacks of the Picts and Scots, yet he, ere long, turned his arms against the Britons themselves. It appears from the Saxon Chronicle, that in 457, a British army having been defeated at *Crecanford* (Crayford) in Kent, retreated to London. About twenty years after this battle, Hengist made himself master of this city, and kept possession of it, probably, till his death, A. D. 498. It was then recaptured by the British king Ambrosius, the successor of Vortigern, and continued to belong to the Britons during a great part of the sixth century.

The Saxon kingdom of Essex having been established some years: and London, though in what manner, or at what particular period, has not been ascertained, becoming subject to that state, its walls and fortifications, doubtless, preserved it from the ravages that had been inflicted in most other parts of the island, whilst its favourable situation for commerce contributed to increase its population.

After the partial conversion of the East Saxons to Christianity, in the time of king Sebert, nephew to Ethelbert, king of Kent, the latter monarch, to whom all the country south of the river Humber was feudatory, erected a cathedral church on the site of St. Paul's, about the year 610; London having been chosen for a bishop's see by Augustine, the 'Apostle of the English,' and Mellitus, one of the companions of his mission, having been nominated first bishop in 604. Bede, in mentioning this fact, describes London as an 'emporium of many nations, who arrived thither by land and by sea.'*

On the decease of Ethelbert, and Sebert, king of the East Saxons, in 616, their subjects relapsed into paganism; and the bishop was expelled from his see by the three sons of Sebert, to whom he had refused the communion of the Sacrament, unless they would also consent to be baptised.†

During the confused period of the Saxon Heptarchy, but very few notices of London seem to have been recorded. In 664, it was ravaged by the plague; and in 764, 798, and 801, it suffered greatly from fires: in that of 798, it was almost wholly burnt down, and numbers of the inhabitants perished in the flames.‡

It has been stated by Noorthouck, and other writers on the history of London, that on the dissolution of the Heptarchy, and union of the Saxon kingdom under Egbert, in 827, London was appointed to be the royal residence: Pennant says, that the great Alfred 'made it the capital of all England;' yet both these assertions are erroneous; for the seat of government, for more than two centuries after the period spoken of, was continued at Winchester, which, having long been the residence of the West Saxon sovereigns, became naturally the metropolis of the kingdom, after the Saxon states were rendered feudatory by Egbert. That London was still advancing in consequence, may, however, be presumed, from the circumstance of a *Wittenagemot*, or meeting of wise men, having been held here in 833,§ to consult on the best means of repelling the Danes, who had now begun to desolate the country by their ravages. At this assembly, Egbert himself was present, together with Ethelwolf, his son; Withlaf,

* Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. ch. 3. Bede's words are, 'Londinia civitas est, super ripam præsati fluminis [Thamesis] posita, et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium.'

† Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 5.

‡ Sim Dun. Hist. Brayley's London, i. 104.

§ Spel. Con. An 833.

the tributary king of Mercia, and most of the prelates and great men of the realm; yet their deliberations were but of little effec for the Danes, who swarmed over the island like devouring locusts, plundered the city twice within the ensuing twenty years, and massacred numbers of its inhabitants. The first time of their obtaining possession was in 839, when they committed, says Rapin, 'unheard-of cruelties, sacking the city, and murdering most of the inhabitants;'* the next was in 851, or 852, when having landed from a fleet of 350 sail,† they pillaged and laid waste by fire, both London and Canterbury. In the same year, however, their whole army was routed at Okely, in Surrey, after a most sanguinary and bloody conflict, in which but very few Danes escaped the sword.

This victory freed the country from its ravagers till about 860, when the Danes renewed their invasions, and being continually reinforced by fresh bodies from beyond sea, they were enabled to obtain a permanent settlement in England in the reign of Ethelred the First; though not till they had fought many desperate battles with that sovereign, and with the great Alfred his brother. In the year 872, Alfred having recently succeeded to the crown, was constrained to make a treaty with the Danes, who, retiring to London, which they had again taken in the late wars, made it a place of arms, and garrisoned it.

During the following ten or twelve years, all the resources of Alfred's genius were brought into exertion by Danish perfidy and rapine; yet, after many struggles, and various successes, he at length obtained a decided superiority. This was principally accomplished by the creation of a fleet, with which he frequently chased the foe from his shores, or overwhelmed them in the deep. To this measure of the truest policy, he united the further one of securing the interior of the kingdom, by building or repairing castles and walled towns; and knowing the importance of London, both from its extent and situation, he forced it to surrender, after a short siege, conducted with great bravery, about the year 884. Immediately afterwards, he repaired and strengthened the walled fortifications, and after erecting some additional buildings, conferred the government of the city, with extraordinary powers, on his son-in-law, Ethelred, whom he at the same time made earl of Mercia, in hopes that it would afford him a secure retreat against both his foreign and domestic enemies.‡

The Danes, not yet giving up their lucrative hopes of subduing England, landed in a considerable body, under their general Hæsten, on the Essex shore, below Tilbury, within the mouth of the Thames; and erected a strong castle at *Beamfleote* (now South Bemfleet, near the isle of Canvey, in Essex); from which

* Hist. of Eng. i. 84.
† Asser. and Sax. Ann. page 255: Henry of Huntingdon says but 250 sail, p. 348.
§ Asser. Flor. Wor.

they made frequent excursions, committing great ravages in the neighbouring country. This roused the vigilant Alfred, who dispatched against them his son-in law Ethelred, governor of London, with such expedition, and an army joined by a select body of citizens, that they came up with the enemy before they had been able to make any considerable advance; engaged, and routed them; and laying siege to their castle, took it and a very rich booty therein, together with the wife and sons of Hæsten, who were brought prisoners to London. In this battle, the citizens signalized themselves with the greatest intrepidity.*

London was now fast rising in maritime and political consequence; for we find that king Athelstan, who succeeded Edward the Elder in 925, had a palace in London; though the principal residence of the Saxon monarchs was still at Winchester.

Maitland says, 'The city about this time, being recovered from its late sufferings by the Danes, seems to have been in as flourishing a condition as any other place in the kingdom; for, by a law of Athelstan's, which appointed a certain number of coiners to each of the principal cities of England, no less than eight were allowed to London, which was considerably more than was allotted to any other town, Canterbury excepted; for which the same number was appointed.'†

In the year 945, king Edmund held a wittenagemot, or parliament, in this city; wherein divers laws were passed, chiefly relating to ecclesiastical affairs.‡

In 961, a very malignant fever raged in London, which carried off a great number of people; and, in the same year, St. Paul's cathedral was consumed by fire. Land then sold at one shilling per acre.

In the fourth year of king Ethelred, A. D. 982, this city was almost wholly destroyed by fire. In this disastrous reign, the city was several times assaulted by the Danes, but the assailants were always repulsed by the determined bravery of the inhabitants.

The Danes returning again in 992, Ethelred fitted out a numerous fleet at London, to prevent their landing, and gave the command thereof to the aldermen Ealfrick and Thorod, and the bishops Elstane and Escwige; who, being almost come up with the enemy's fleet, the treacherous Ealfrick, by a private signal cautioned them to provide for their security; and in the night preceding the intended engagement, deserted with his ship, and perfidiously joined the enemy, whereby they had an opportunity of escaping. The desertion of Ealfrick was no sooner known than a signal was given to pursue; and coming up with the rear of the Danes, one of their ships was taken. And after the return of their fleet, a squadron of Londoners fell in with the enemy'

* Chron. Sax. A. D. 894. † Brompt. Chron. A. D. 945.
‡ Brompt. Chron. Leg. Adel.

East-Anglian squadron, which they bravely attacked; and after a desperate engagement, wherein some thousands were killed, took the ship of the infamous traitor Ealfrick, himself narrowly escaping.*

Two years after, Anlaf and Sweyn, kings of Norway and Denmark, arrived before the city with a fleet of ninety-four ships, and attacked the same with an intent to sack and burn it. But the citizens, in its defence, behaving with the greatest intrepidity, the enemy, after many sharp and desperate assaults, meeting with no success, raised the siege; but, to revenge themselves for the great loss they had sustained, they ravaged the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, committing the most unheard-of cruelties, and destroying all with fire and sword.†

In the year 1000 an ox was sold at two shillings and six-pence; a cow at two shillings; a sheep at one shilling; and a swine at eight-pence.‡

Ethelred, with a policy as unwise as cowardly, sought to purchase the departure of the Danes, by presenting them with large sums of money; and for this purpose, he established that oppressive rate, called *Dane-gelt*. This tax appears to have been imposed in a national council, or wittenagemot, assembled at London,§ where Ethelred usually resided.

Though this purchase cost the nation dear, yet the people imagined themselves happy, in having got rid of their cruel and merciless enemies; as they expected and hoped soon to repair by peace the damage sustained by war. But this dear-bought peace proved of no long duration; for Ethelred, by a perfidious act of cruelty, brought upon himself and the nation the resentment of Sweyn, king of Denmark, a resentment that was but too well justified; for that barbarous prince caused all the Danes in England to be massacred, without distinction of age or sex; among whom was the princess Gunilda, Sweyn's sister, with her hus-

* Chron. Sax.

† Ibid.

‡ Chron. Preci, A. D. 1000.

§ For the payment of the Dane-gelt, every hide of land in the kingdom was taxed twelve-pence yearly; and as the whole number of hides was computed to be 243,600, the produce of the tax, at one shilling, was 12,100 Saxon pounds; which was equal in quantity of silver to about 36,540l. sterling, and equivalent in efficiency to about 400,000l. according to the present value of money. At different periods, Dane-gelt was raised from one up to seven shillings the hide of land, according to the exigencies of the government, or rather, to the rapacity or generosity of the reigning prince. While the Danish visits were annually repeated, the Saxon sovereign could put little into his coffers of the surplus of the tax, as the whole, and sometimes more, was expended in fighting or bribing the invaders; but when the government of the country became Danish, Dane-gelt became one of the principal sources of revenue to the crown. Edward the Confessor remitted it wholly, but it was levied again under William the Norman and William Rufus; it was once more remitted by Henry the First, and at length finally, by king Stephen, seventy years after the Conquest.—*Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. I. and Rapin's Hist. Vol. I p.* 119, *note.*

band Palingus, who, soon after their arrival in this kingdom, had embraced the Christian faith, and became guarantees or hostages for the observation of the peace lately concluded with their nation.*

Sweyn, king of Denmark, in the fell spirit of revenge for the death of his sister Gunilda, who was among the number put to death under the cruel orders of Ethelred, carried fire and desolation for three successive years through almost every part of the island; and when, at length, he had partly satiated his vengeance, and returned to Denmark, the work of destruction was still continued by fresh bodies of his countrymen. The calamities spread through the land by these sanguinary invaders, were augmented by domestic treason, and by the weakness of Ethelred, who, having lost nearly the whole of his dominions except London, once more resorted to the measure of bribing the Danes to quit the kingdom; and this they agreed to do, on receiving the enormous sum, at that period, of 48,000l.

In the same year (1013), Sweyn entered the river Humber with a powerful fleet, and having overrun all the northern and midland parts of the country, invested London, where the cowardly Ethelred had taken refuge. The citizens bravely defended themselves; and Sweyn being ill-provided with necessaries for a long siege, drew off into Wessex, to pursue his accustomed ravages. Meeting with no opposition, he marched a second time towards London, and whilst making preparations to re-invest it with additional vigour, he was informed, that Ethelred after having suffered his realm to be desolated by the retaliation of the Danes, had retired to Normandy, leaving his capital city and distressed country to the insatiate barbarity of the conquerors. London, thus deserted, was compelled to open her portals to her bitterest enemies; and, with her, England submitted to the Danish yoke; and, shortly afterwards, Sweyn was proclaimed king of England, no one daring to dispute his assumption to that dignity.

On the death of Sweyn, and the accession of Canute, his son, in the following year (1014), the English resolved to attempt to free themselves from bondage; and London, as it had been the last to submit, so also was it among the first to throw off the yoke of servitude. Ethelred was recalled, and Canute was compelled in his turn to quit the kingdom; though, to this step, he was partly induced by events in Denmark, where Harold, his younger brother, having been left regent, had possessed himself of the throne.

Ethelred still continued to disregard the interests of his subjects, and the general murmur emboldened Canute to hasten his preparations for a new invasion. Landing at Sandwich in 1016, that warlike chief found his conquests facilitated by the treachery

* Chron. Sax

of the duke of Mercia, who deserted to the Danes with a large force; and all the address of prince Edmund was unable to retrieve the disorders generated by the imbecility of Ethelred, his father, who kept himself shut up in London; and dying in a short time, was succeeded by the gallant Edmund, who was crowned in London amidst the fervent acclamations of the citizens.*

Though his rival Canute had been crowned at Southampton, he soon taught that monarch to experience that the golden prize was not easily to be obtained; for Edmund, immediately on his accession, marched into the western provinces to consolidate the scattered remains of his royal inheritance. In his absence, Canute laid siege to the capital; which, by its intrepidity, baffled all his endeavours to reduce it, till Edmund, with the force he had collected, flew to its relief.

Canute having thus lost his aim, he used many stratagems to surprize the enemy, or draw him off from London; and this last project succeeding, he went and laid siege a second time to the city.† It was probably on this occasion, that Canute, after having fitted out a considerable fleet to reduce London, the chief support of his competitor, found, on his arrival, that he could not pass the bridge, the citizens having strongly fortified it; he therefore set about cutting a canal through the marshes, on the south side of the river Thames, that he might invest the city on all sides, and by preventing supplies from entering, to facilitate its reduction, By a diligent search of several days, Mr. Maitland conceived he discovered the vestiges and length of this artificial water-course; its 'outflux from the river Thames was where the great wet dock below Rotherhithe is situate; whence, running due west by the Seven-houses in Rotherhithe-fields, it continues its course by a gentle winding to the drain windmill; and with a west-north-west course, passing St. Thomas à Waterings by an easy turning, it crosses the Deptford road a little to the south-east of the Lock Hospital, at the lower end of Kent Street; and, proceeding to Newington Butts, intersects the road a little south of the turnpike; whence, continuing its course by the Black Prince in Kennington, it runs west and by south through the Spring Garden at Vauxhall, to it influx into the Thames at the lower end of Chelsea reach.' Mr. Maitland enquired of a carpenter of the name of Webster, who was employed in making the great wet dock at Rotherhithe in 1694, and who remembered that in the course of that work, a considerable body of faggots and stakes were discovered, which Mr. Maitland considers as part of the works intended to strengthen the banks of the canal.‡

* Brayley's London, i. 109.—This is the first coronation ceremony recorded to have been performed in the metropolis.

† Rapin's History, i. 123.

‡ Maitland, ed. 1739, p. 26.

That there might have been such a water-course, as Mr. Maitland terms it, from the wet dock at Deptford, round by St. Thomas à Watering and Newington Butts, quite up to Vauxhall, and into the Thames at Chelsea-reach, is allowed by many eminent antiquaries.

In a letter from Dr. Wallis to Mr. Pepys, in 1699, he says, "I had one Sunday preached for Mr. Gataker, at Redriff, and lodged there that night. Next morning I walked with him over the fields to Lambeth, meaning to cross the Thames to Westminster. He showed me in the passage, divers remains of the old channel, which had heretofore been made from Redriff to Lambeth, for diverting the Thames whilst London bridge was building, all in a straight line, or near it, but with great intervals, which had been long since filled up. Those remains, which then appeared very visible, are, I suspect, all, or most of them, filled up before this time, for it is more than fifty years ago, and people in those marshes would be more fond of so much meadow grounds, than to let those lakes remain unfilled; and he told me of many other such remains, which had been within his memory, but were then filled up."*

But when the time, and expense, and needless labour such a canal must have required, to make it navigable for vessels that had been able to transport an army from the northern seas is considered, and the little time the Danes had to execute such a design in the enemy's country, there appear great obstacles against the opinion, that the water course above described was the canal by which the Danish fleet sailed or were towed to the west side of the bridge. Another author supposed, that the cut made by Canute began at the dock, near to the place called at this time Dockhead, in Rotherhithe; and from thence, in a small semicircle by St. Margaret's Hill, in Southwark, into the Thames again at St. Saviour's dock, above bridge. But Mr. Buckmaster, an ingenious and intelligent inhabitant of Lambeth, controverts both these hypotheses; observing, that in the old plans of London, the end of London bridge appears to be defended by a wall, with towers at different distances, extended, so as to take in and cover the bishop of Winchester's palace, &c.; which wall was called the south-work, or out-work to the south. Now, this work extending so far, destroys the idea of Canute's trench ending at Saint Saviour's dock (which was made so for a ferry before the bridge was built), as Canute must have destroyed this south work before he could have made his trench. He is equally against the former; but thinks the trench begun at Dockhead was continued through Five-foot Lane in Bermondsey, to the end of Kent Street, where a bridge is built over it, and thence to Newington, on the north side of the new road, into St. George's Fields, and terminated

* Pepys' Correspondence, ii. p. 201.

below the king's barge house. Mr. Buckmaster then remarks on the Broadwall and its ditches, and considess his line of canal to be pretty accurate by the sewers being left so wide. His, certainly, is the most probable course.

I conceive it can be traced from the north side of the Kent road, by the Elephant and Castle inn, on the south side of the Fishmongers' almshouses; here, Mr. Maitland says, is a moorish ground, with a small water-course, denominated the river Tygris, which is part of Cnut's trench or canal already mentioned. But what supports this supposition of Maitland's is, that during the year 1824, an extensive sewer was made along this road; in the course of which, a few feet south of the almshouses, were discovered several stakes driven into the ground several feet below the surface, and evidently intended to protect an embankment; a piece of one of those stakes I have in my possession, excessively hard, and capable of a high polish, the colour black. This, certainly, corroborates Maitland so far. From here, the trench ran along at the back of the houses in the Lambeth-road, and what forms the boundary between the parishes of Lambeth and Saint George's, Southwark, pursuing its course along the north side of Brook-street. Here we lose it; but it most probably went into the Thames, between Lambeth Palace and Vauxhall; but certainly not so low as Mr. Maitland has placed it.

Mr. Nichols conceived it went north of the palace, a little beyond the king's barge-house: and, he says, the ditches are still said to remain. (1786.)*

Canute was again unsuccessful; for the Londoners defended themselves till Edmund advanced to their relief, and 'chased the Danes to their ships.' Soon afterwards, both armies met in the field; and king Edmund, but for the defection of Edric Streon, earl of Mercia, his traitorous relation, would have obtained a complete victory: as it was, night parted the combatants; and Canute, retreating to his ships, rowed along the coast for some time, till, thinking that his absence might have excited a false security in the inhabitants, he suddenly returned, and once more laid siege to London, but with the same ill success as before.

The war between these princes was terminated by a treaty of partition. which left Edmund in possession of London and all the country south of the Thames. On the murder of the Saxon king, which immediately followed, through the base Edric's contrivance, Canute claimed the dominion of the whole kingdom, which was awarded to him in a general council held in London, in 1007.

Canute, now sole monarch of England, resolved, by all political means, to maintain his possession of the throne; and in order to secure the hearts of his new subjects, he married Emma

* History of Lambeth.

Ethelred's widow; and to convince them that he had their interest as much at heart as any of the English kings, his predecessors, disbanded his army, and sent back his fleet to Denmark, and threw himself entirely upon the affections of his new people. This confidence so highly pleased the parliament, then convened in London, that, to enable him to put his designs in execution, they granted him eighty-three thousand pounds, a prodigious sum at that time! seventy-two thousand pounds, part whereof, was raised in all the several parts of England, exclusive of London, which alone raised eleven thousand pounds of the whole sum. Whereby is shewn the great opulency of this city at that time; for if we may reckon the riches thereof upon the foot of this subsidy, it must have been possessed of above one seventh part of the wealth of the whole kingdom. And this vast sum granted to Canute, according to the prices of lands and provisions then, must have been equal to that of nine millions at present.*

This year also was distinguished for the well-merited punishment of the traitor Edric Streon; who, at the 'feast of Christmas,' which Canute kept in this city, had the temerity to reproach his sovereign with not having enough rewarded him 'for ridding him of such a formidable rival as Edmund had been.' Canute immediately ordered him to be put to death, for daring to avow so black a crime "Some say hee was tormented to death wyth fire-brandes and linkes. Some say one way, some another; but dispatched he was; for the king feared, through his treason, to be circumvented of his kingdome, as his predecessors had been before. His bodie hee caused to be layde foorth on the wall of the citie, there to remayne unburyed to be seene of all men."†

Upon the death of Canute, a wittenagemot, or convention of wise men, was held at Oxford; where earl Leofric, and most of the Thanes on the north side of the river Thames, with the liðȝmen of London, chose Harold their king. Liðȝmen is by the translator of the Saxon Annals rendered *Nautæ*, i. e. Mariners. This translation seems very inconsistent with the honour of the city, to chuse only one of its fraternities to represent it on so solemn an occasion: but, taking liðȝmen to mean pilots, (which the directors or governors of cities may not improperly be called) I am of opinion, that the city representatives at Oxford were the magistrates, and not the mariners, of London. Be that as it will, it suffices to show, that this city then was of such distinction, grandeur, and power, that no national affair of consequence was transacted without its assent: for in this case the Saxon annals are very plain,

* Chron. Sax. Maitland.

† Stow's Ann from Marianus, p. 115. William of Malmesbury and Matthew of Westminster affirm, that he was beheaded in the king's palace, and that his body was cast out of a window into the Thames. Brompton says, that his head was fixed on the highest gate in London by Canute's order; Henry of Huntingdon says, on the highest tower in London.—*Vide Rapin.*

that none else were admitted into this electorial convention, but the nobility and the liðrmen of London.*

After the death of Harold, the nobility, assisted by the citizens of London, sent messengers to Hardacanute, (son of Canute, by Emma, relict of Ethelred) then with his mother at Bruges, in Flanders, intreating him to come over and receive the crown.†

Upon the demise of Hardacanute, another general council of the clergy and people, held in this city in 1041, Edward, surnamed the Confessor, son to Ethelred the Second, was chosen king through the address and influence of earl Goodwin. In another great council held in London anno 1047, fourteen ships of war were ordered to be fitted out, to protect the coasts against the Danish piracies.

From the account given in Stow's Annals from Marianus, of the contests between earl Goodwin and king Edward, it appears that the Earl had a house in Southwark ;‡ and that, after he had assembled a fleet and army in 1052, he sailed through London bridge on the south side, for the purpose of attacking the royal fleet, then consisting of fifty sail, and lying at Westminster. "His armie," says the historian, "placing it selfe upon the bankes side, made shewe of a thicke and terrible battayle:"§ but the great men on both sides interfering, to prevent the effusion of blood, an accommodation was effected, and Goodwin was restored to his former honours and possessions. One of the last acts of Edward's life, was the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, which he designed for his sepulchre; and on the completion of the Abbey church in 1065, he summoned a general assembly to meet at London, to increase the solemnity of its dedication. His decease, within a few days afterwards, led the way to the accession of Harold, earl Goodwin's son, who had sufficient interest to prevail on the assembly which Edward had summoned, and at which all the bishops and great men of the kingdom were present, to elect him for their sovereign, though in opposition to the superior claims which hereditary descent gave to Edgar Atheling.

The decisive battle of Hastings was the end of the Saxon monarchy in England, which had continued for more than six hundred years. London had now attained a considerable degree of consequence, and from this period we may justly consider it the metropolis of England.

* Chron. Sax. A. D. 1036.
† Flor. Wig. Chron. lib. 2. Sim. Dunelm. Hist. A. D. 1039.
‡ Stow's Ann. p. 121
§ Ibid, p. 122.

CHAPTER IV.

History of London from the Conquest to the reign of Henry the Third.

On the extinction of the Anglo-Saxon government in England by the victory of William over Harold, at the decisive battle of Hastings, anno 1066, Edwin and Morcar, Earls of Northumberland and Mercia, hastened from the fatal field, and arriving in London, proposed to the citizens the setting up of Edgar Atheling for King, as the most effectual way to extricate themselves and the nation from their present state of confusion, and to save the kingdom from becoming a prey to the victorious Norman.

The citizens being in great consternation were divided in opinion; some thinking it more for their interest to deliver up the city to the conqueror, lest they should by resistance exasperate him to destroy it, whilst the majority supporting the arguments of the above noblemen, declared for Edgar, and for defending the city to the utmost of their power.

William receiving advice of the conduct of the citizens, hastened his march towards London, and arriving in Southwark, was attacked by the citizens, who were repulsed by a detachment of five hundred Norman horse, though with such a loss to the latter, that the conqueror thought it prudent to decline undertaking the siege of so formidable a place in winter: he therefore laid Southwark in ashes, and marched to reduce the western counties. In the mean time the clergy of London sought all opportunities to break the measures entered into between the Londoners and Earls Morcar and Mercia; by dint of perseverance and craft, they at last prevailed on the citizens to break their contract and submit to the conqueror's yoke, an act contrary to all the ties of justice and honour, and diametrically opposite to the interests of their country. Upon this disgraceful defection of the citizens, the two Earls retired into the north of England, and the bishops and clergy repaired to Berkhampstead, where they submitted, and swore fealty to the conqueror; and as if that were not sufficient to ingratiate themselves with the Norman bastard, they not only prevailed upon the major part of the nobility, but likewise upon Edgar Atheling himself, who had just before been created king, to submit to the Norman authority. William no sooner received the agreeable news of the city of London's submission, than he began his march thither, where he was received by the magistrates and principal citizens, who not only presented him with the keys of their city, but likewise acknowledged him for their sovereign; and in conjunction with the nobility and prelates than present, desired him to accept the crown. The capital city having thus declared for the conqueror, its example was quickly followed by all the rest of the kingdom. Having thus

gained possession of London, William caused a strong fortress to be erected, which he garrisoned with the best of his troops in order to secure the same, and awe the citizens; notwithstanding, when he made his public entry into London soon after, he was received with the greatest acclamations, and external signs of joy.

The conqueror soon after set out to visit his Norman dominions; and on his return from thence, in the 2d year of his reign, anno 1067, was received into London with a magnificent procession of the clergy, magistrates, and principal citizens; in return for which, and at the intercession of William Stigand, (the Norman) Bishop of London, he granted a charter to the citizens in their own language; a great favour at that time, when the Anglo Norman was so common. This charter consists of four lines and a quarter, beautifully written in the Saxon character on a slip of parchment, of the length of six inches, and breadth of one, which is preserved in the city archives as a jewel of great value. The seal of the charter is of white wax, and now broken into several pieces, preserved in an orange coloured silk bag; the rim of the seal being almost gone, the only letters remaining are M. WILL. but the writing of the charter is very perfect. The following is an exact transcript:

Willm. kyng gret Willm. biscop] Godfreg portrefan] ealle þa burhþaru binnan Londone Frencisce] Englisce freondlice.] ic kyðe eop þ ic wille, þ get beon eallra þæra laga þeorðe þe gyt wæran on Eadwerdes dæge kynges.] ic wylle þæt ælc cyld beo his fæder yrfnume æfter his fæder dæge.] ic nelle gepolian þ ænig man eop ænig wrang beode God eop gehealde.

In English thus:

William the King friendly salutes William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreve, and all the Burgesses within London, both French and English. And I declare, that I grant you to be all law-worthy, as you were in the days of King Edward;*

* "There were two ways of being law-worthy, or having the benefit of the law. By the state and conditions of men's persons, almost all freemen had the free benefit of the law; but men of servile condition had not, especially such as were *in Dominio*, (in Demesne,) for they received justice from their lords, were judged by them in most cases, and had not the true benefit of the law: so neither as to the second observation in this charter, could their children be their heirs; for they held their lands and goods at the will of the lord, and were not sure to enjoy them longer than at his pleasure.

"The second way of being law-worthy was, when men had not committed any crimes, or done any thing for which they forfeited the law, and deserved to be outlawed; then they were said to be *legales homines, recti in curia*, or law-worthy, but not so properly as in the first sense of the word.

"Hence may arise a very probable conjecture at the meaning of this protection or charter. That the burgesses of London had obtained of the Saxon kings several liberties and im-

and I grant that every child shall be his father's heir, after his father's days; and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep you.

Some time after, William granted to the citizens another charter in the same language, consisting of three lines finely written on a slip of parchment, of the length of six inches and a half, and breadth three quarters of an inch, which is carefully preserved in the city archives.

The seal of this charter is of white wax, broken and sewed up in a silken bag like the former. The contents of it are as follows:

Willm. kyng gret Willm. b] dpegn cynd gerefan] ealle mine pegnaf on Eaft deaxan freondlice] ic kyde eop, þ ic habbe geunnen, deop manne, minan men, pa hide landef æt gyddefdune pe him offgenyden.] ic nelle gepolian. Frem cifcan ne Englifcan þ him-æt ænigan pingan mifbeode.

In English thus:

William the King friendly salutes William the Bishop, and Swegn the Sheriff, and all my thanes (or nobles) in East Saxony; whom I hereby acquaint that, pursuant to an agreement, I have granted to the people my servants the hide of land at Gyddesdune. And also, that I will not suffer either the French or the English to hurt them in any thing.

By this charter's not mentioning the persons to whom the grant was made, it probably cannot be paralleled. The hide of land therein mentioned Mr. Maitland considers to have been at Gaddsden in Hertfordshire.

Mr. Brayley remarks as a curious fact, 'that Domesday Book, which is usually so minute in regard to our principal towns and cities, is wholly silent in respect to London. It only mentions a vineyard in Holborn belonging to the crown, and ten acres of

munities is undoubted, among which this was one, to be so far free, as not to be *in Dominio*, or so obnoxious to any lord, but that, by reason of their state and condition, they might be lawworthy, that is, have the free benefit of the law; and likewise further obtained, (if it was not then a consequent of their personal estate and condition) that their children should be heirs of their lands and goods, and in both these were free from the injuries and unreasonable demands and power of any severe lord; so that all the application made by their bishop William, and not unlikely by Godfrey the portreve, to the Conqueror for them, was, that their state and condition might be the same it was in King Edward's days, that their children might be their heirs, and that they might in both be protected from the injury and violence of imperious lords; which by the prevalency of their bishop were granted.

"Considering, therefore, that by the foregoing instances it is clear, that many or most burgesses of other burghs were *in Dominio*, either of the king, or some other lords or patrons in the time of King Edward, and that the Londoners might fear the Conqueror would break in upon their privileges, and reduce them to the same condition; that was a great privilege obtained." *Brad. Hist. Treat. Bur.*

land nigh Bishopsgate, (now the manor of Norton Falgate,) belonging to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's.' *

In the year 1077, a great fire happened in the city; whereby the greatest part of it was laid in ashes. And about two years after, the Conqueror caused the present white Tower † of London to be erected (in the place where it is supposed he built his fort above-mentioned) for the more effectually keeping the citizens in obedience, whose fidelity at this time, it seems, he had some reason to suspect, his numerous exactions having caused great murmurs.‡

In 1086, another very dreadful fire happened, which began at Ludgate, and consumed the Cathedral of St. Paul, with the greatest part of the city.

A curious occurrence happened about 1089: King William Rufus, having received some very rich presents from the Jews of this city, was transported to such an amazing degree of frantic joy, as to encourage them to dispute with the Christians concerning their respective faiths, assuring them, that, if they obtained the victory, he would himself become one of their religion.‖

In 1090, upwards of 600 houses, and many churches, were blown down in London by a tremendous hurricane, which occurred in the month of November: § the 'Tower of London was also broken:' but the most surprising event was, its breaking down part of the church wall of St. Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside, (whereby two men were killed,) and, raising the roof, carried it a considerable way; when it fell with such violence, that six of its rafters, of 26 feet in length each, were forced into the ground above twenty feet deep, and in the same position as they stood on the church. This relation would seem very incredible, were it not for the concomitant circumstances: for, 1. the ground whereon the roof was pitched was of a moorish nature. 2. The streets were then unpaved. And, 3. The uncontested authority of those grave and faithful historians, who lived at that time.¶

Two years after, another great fire happened in this city, which destroyed a great part thereof.**

William II. in the year 1097, exacted vast sums of money in all parts of the kingdom, towards the carrying on his works at the Tower of London, Westminster Hall, and in rebuilding of London Bridge anew with wood, which some time before (in 1091) had been carried away by a great land-flood.††

On the decease of this King in 1100, the throne was seized

* Brayley's Lond. i 115.

† This is one of the most perfect specimens of Norman architecture in the kingdom. We shall notice it more particularly hereafter.

‡ Chron. Sax. A. D. 1077.

‖ Malms. de Vit. Will. II. lib. 4.

§ Stow's Annals 178.

¶ Malms. de Vit. Will. II. lib 4.

** Flor. Wigorn. Chron.

†† Chron. Sax. 1097

by his younger brother, Henry, who was crowned at London within five days afterwards; and as a reward for the ready submission of the Londoners to his usurped authority, he granted to the city an extensive charter of privileges. This is the earliest record that is known to exist, in which the ancient customs and immunities of London are particularly noticed.

The contents of it are as follows:—

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, to the bishop of Canterbury, and to the bishops and abbots, earls and barons, justices and sheriffs, and to all his faithful subjects of England, French and English, greeting. Know ye, that I have granted to my citizens of London, to hold Middlesex to farm for 300*l*., upon account to them and their heirs; so that the said citizens shall place as sheriff whom they will of themselves; and shall place whomsoever, or such a one as they will of themselves, for keeping of the pleas of the crown, and of the pleadings of the same, and none other shall be justice over the same men of London; and the citizens of London shall not plead without the walls of London for any plea. And be they free from scot and lot, and danegelt, and of all murder, and none of them shall wage battle: and if any of the citizens shall be impleaded concerning the pleas of the crown, the man of London shall discharge himself by his oath, which shall be adjudged within the city; and none shall lodge within the walls, neither of my houshold, nor any other, nor lodging delivered by force.

"And all the men of London shall be quit and free, and all their goods, throughout England, and the ports of the sea, of and from all toll and passage and lestage, and all other customs; and the churches and barons and citizens shall and may, peaceably and quietly, have and hold their sokes with all their customs; so that the strangers that shall be lodged in the sokes, shall give custom to none but to him to whom the soke appertains, or to his officer, whom he shall there put; and a man of London shall not be adjudged in amerciaments of money, but of 100 shillings (I speak of the pleas which appertain to money); and further, there shall be no more miskenning in the hustings, nor in the folkemote, nor in any other pleas within the city; and the hustings may sit once in a week, that is to say, on Monday; and I will cause my citizens to have their lands, promises, bonds and debts, within the city and without; and I will do them right by the law of the city, of the lands of which they shall complain to me: and if any shall take toll or custom of any citizen of London, the citizens of London in the city shall take of the borough or town, where toll or custom was so taken, so much as the man of London gave for toll, and as he received damage thereby: and all debtors, which do owe debts to the citizens of London, shall pay them in London, or else discharge themselves in London that they owe none: but, if they will not pay the same, neither

come to clear themselves that they owe none, the citizens of London, to whom the debts shall be due, may take their goods in the city of London, of the borough, or town, or of the county, wherein he remains who shall owe the debt: and the citizens of London may have their chaces to hunt, as well and fully as their ancestors have had, that is to say, in the Chiltre, and in Middlesex and Surrey.*

'Witness the bishop of Winchester, and Robert son of Richard, and Hugh Piggot, and Almer of Totness, and William of Albs-prima, and Hubert Roger, Chamberlaine, and William de Mountfitchett, and Hangul Taney, and John Ballet, and Robert son of Steward of West.'

On the death of Henry the First, in 1135, the crown was usurped by Stephen, who being assisted by the chief prelates and ecclesiastics, though in direct violation of their late oath to defend the rights of the Empress Maud, or Matilda, and by the citizens of London, met with little opposition to his claim in the metropolis.

In 1136, a great fire happened in the city, which began at London Bridge, and destroyed all the way westward to St. Clement's Danes: but Stow says, that this dreadful conflagration began in the house of one Ailward, near London Stone, and consumed all the way east to Aldgate, and west to St. Erkenwald's Shrine in St. Paul's Cathredral; both which it destroyed, together with London Bridge, which was then of wood. By which accounts, this appears to have been the greatest casual fire that ever happened in this city before that time.†

* Some of these have in the course of time been considerably modified; such as the exemption of the citizens from going (from *being obliged to go*) to war (*nullus eorum faciat bellum*); their freedom from all tolls, duties, and customs, throughout the realm; and the privilege of hunting in Chiltre, Middlesex, and Surrey, now annually compounded for by a day's frolic at Epping. Others again have been lost entirely; particularly a right of summary execution against the goods of debtors without the walls: but the citizens have still, as is declared in this charter, the right of electing their own sheriffs and magistrates, and of being amenable only to courts held within the walls—for the rule, which is to this day observed by the King's courts of holding sittings in each term at Guildhall *for the city of London*, is but the practical result of this privilege; and they are still exempted from having soldiers, or any of "the king's livery" quartered upon them. A stout sheriff of the city, named John de Causton, once resisted, *by force of arms*, an attempt to invade this last privilege within the verge of the Tower, in the time of Edward II.; and on being prosecuted for this contempt, as it was called, of the King's authority, was brought in "*faulty in nothing*."

It is deserving of remark, that this declaratory charter makes no mention of the rights of inheritance and of conferring freedom, recognized by the charter of William I.; and the omission can only be explained by the supposition, that they had by this time become matters of such notoriety and necessity, as not to be reckoned among those rights which stood in need of confirmation.—*Percy Hist.* p. 28.

† Stow's Ann. Matt. West. Flor Hist.

In the year 1139, the citizens were obliged to pay to King Stephen one hundred marks of silver, for a right to chuse their own Sheriffs.*

During the contest for empire between Stephen and the Empress, the Londoners were in general firm in their allegiance to Stephen; and, even after he had been made prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, in 1140, by the Earl of Gloucester, they continued to support his cause. This greatly irritated the haughty Maud, who, on the ascendancy of her affairs, 'resolved to revenge herself upon her enemies; and as the citizens of London were the principal, she began with them, by making a convention with Geffrey, Earl of Essex, wherein she granted to him all the possessions which his grandfather, father, or himself, had held of the crown, in lands, tenements, castles, and bailiwicks, among which were the Tower of London, and the sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex, at a fee-farm rent of 300*l.* per annum, as they had been held by his grandfather. And, as a greater mortification to the citizens Matilda granted to Geffrey also, the office of chief justiciary of their city, and of the county of Middlesex, so that no person whatsoever could hold pleas, either in the city or county, without his special permission. This convention was ratified by the Empress upon oath, and attested by divers of the prime nobility; for the performance of which, several of the English and Norman nobility were given as hostages; and, as a farther corroboration of the same, it was to be confirmed by all the English clergy under her dominion.'†

This compact, next to that of Magna Charta, appears to have been the most solemnly executed of any that ever was entered into betwixt an English sovereign and a subject. The woful effects of which the Londoners soon after felt by sad experience; for by this agreement, they were divested of some of their most valuable privileges.‡

About this time, 1141, a general council was summoned to meet at Winchester by the Pope's legate, (Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and brother to Stephen,) as a preliminary measure to the recognition of the Empress as Queen of England; yet the deputies from the magistracy of London, and the barons who had retired thither, instead of assenting to the proposal, required that Stephen should be set at liberty, though without success.

During this transaction, the city was violently agitated by different factions; one whereof was for giving way to the times; but the other strenuously insisted upon their adhering to their unfortunate king. The former prevailing, commissioners were sent to St. Albans to treat with the Empress about the surrender of the city; to which she was accompanied by David, King of

* Madox's Hist. Exch. † Hen. Hunt. Madox.
‡ Will. Malmsb.

Scotland, her uncle, attended by a great number of the nobility, bishops, and others of the clergy, and was received into London by the citizens in a very pompous and solemn manner.*

The extreme arrogance of Maud, and her disdainful refusal to revive the laws of Edward the Confessor, for which the citizens had petitioned, occasioned her to lose the crown that now seemed so fully within her grasp. The bishop of Winchester, who thought his own services were not enough rewarded, fomented the popular discontents so strongly, that a conspiracy was formed to seize the person of Maud in her palace; but she being timely apprised of the scheme, secured her safety by flight. Soon afterwards, she was besieged in Winchester by Stephen's adherents, of whom the Londoners composed the chief body; and Robert, the brave Earl of Gloucester, her natural brother, having been made prisoner, was subsequently exchanged for the King. Through this event, and the steady assistance of the Londoners, Stephen obtained a complete ascendancy; yet the Tower of London, which had been fortified for Geffrey, Earl of Essex, held out till 1143, when that nobleman having been made prisoner at St. Albans, was obliged to consent to its being given up, together with his castles of Walden and Plessy. In 1152, a council was held by Stephen in this city, for the purpose of securing the accession of Eustace, his son; but the opposition and subsequent flight of the archbishop of Canterbury, and some 'other bishops,' prevented the fulfilment of the King's design: Stow says it was defeated by 'the subtle policy of Thomas Becket,'† who thus early began to display that contumacious spirit which distracted the kingdom in the following reign.

Madox has stated the value of commodities at this time. The price of an ox was 4*s.* the same for a labouring horse; a sow 1*s.*; a sheep with fine wool 10*d.*; ditto with course wool 6*d.* It appears also that in the 30th of Henry II. 33 cows and two bulls were sold for 8*l.* 7*s.* of the money of those times; 500 sheep sold for 22*l.* 10*s.*; 66 oxen for 18*l.* 3*s.*; 15 brood mares for 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; and 22 hogs for 1*l.* 2*s.* The interest of money was at the rate of 10 per cent.; but the Jews exacted an interest still more exorbitant. This may, in some degree, account for the rancour of the vulgar against that people whenever occasion offered.

In the 4th year of Henry II. the citizens of London paid the King, for their *donum*, the sum of 1,043*l.*

In the year following, the citizens of London, with Gervase de Cornhill, (I suppose one of the sheriffs of that time,) paid the King the sum of 1,000 marks, being the *donum* of the city: and, in the 16th of the same reign, the citizens paid the King a *donum* of 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* towards his expedition to Ireland: and, in the

* Will. Malmsb

† Stow's Ann. p 208

18th and 19th years of the said prince, the citizens paid a *donum* of 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for each of the said years.

These *donums* Mr. Maitland seems to consider as so many free gifts of the citizens, in lieu of tallages.

Henry II. is stated to have granted to the citizens, a charter confirmatory, &c. of the one performed by his grandfather, Henry I. After recapitulating the principal heads of his grandfather's charter, he proceeds as follows:—

"Furthermore also, for the advancement of the said city, I have granted to them that they shall be free and quit of bridtoll, childwite, jeresgive, and scotall; so as the sheriff of London, or any other bailiff, may take no scotall."*

Mr. Brayley, with good ground, seems to doubt the authenticity of this charter, which bears no date. Among the witnesses are, *Robert*, bishop of London, *hilip*, bishop of Bath, *Edward*, bishop of Exon, and *Richard de Lucy*, the chief justiciary. Now as Henry came to the throne in 1154, and Richard de Lucy died in 1179, it is evident that the charter, if genuine, must have been given some time within the period bounded by those years; yet, on refering to Godwin,† Le Neve,‡ Newcourt,‖ &c. it will be found, that the only bishops of London who lived at the time so limited, were *Richard* and *Gilbert*; the only bishops of Bath, *Robert* and *Reginald*; and the only bishops of Exeter, *Robert* and *Bartholomew*. These discrepancies, with others that might be suggested, seem effectually to disprove the validity of the charter under notice. Indeed, Henry II. does not appear to have held the city in any great degree of favour; as we learn from Madox, that several large sums were paid by the citizens at different times, under the name of *donums*, or free-gifts, but which should rather be regarded as forced benevolences.§

The great imperfections in the police of the metropolis in this reign, may be estimated from the following passage, given in Stow's Annals, from Roger Hoveden, and Walter of Coventry.—'Anno 1175. A brother of the Earle Ferrers was in the night privily slaine at London, which when the King understood, hee sware that hee would be avenged on the citizens: for it was then a common practice in the citie, that an hundred or more in a companie of yong and olde, would make nightly invasions upon the houses of the wealthy, to the intent to robbe them; and if

* *Bridtoll* is a toll paid for passing of bridges; *childwite* is a fine taken of a bondswoman, for suffering herself to be got with child, without the consent of her lord and master; *jeresgive* is a bribe given to the king's, or other officers, for connivance, and being favorable in their several offices; and *scotall* were abuses put upon the King's subjects by his officers, who kept ale-houses, invited the people to drink, and fraudulently extorted money from them, under pretence of preventing their informing against them for some imaginary crime.—*Maitland* i. 53.

† Cat. of Eng. Bishops

‡ Fas. Ecc. Engli.

‖ Repertorium.

§ Brayley's London i. 120.

they founde any man stirring in the citie within the night, they would presently murther him: in so much, that when night was come, no man durst adventure to walke in the strectes. When this had continued long, it fortuned that a crew of yong and wealthy citizens assembling together in the night, assaulted a stone house of a certain rich man, and breaking through the wall, the goode man of that house having prepared himself, with others, in a corner, when hee perceived one of the theeves, named Andrew Burquinte, to lead the way, with a burning brand in the one hande, and a potte of coales in the other, which he assayed to kindle with the brande, he flewe upon him, and smote off his right hande, and then with a loud voyce cryed Theeves, at the hering whereof the theeves took their flight, all saving hee that had lost his hande, whome the good man in the next morning delivered to Richard de Lucy, the king's Justice. This theefe upon warrant of his life, appeached his confederates, of whome manie were taken, and many were fledde; but among the rest that were apprehended, a certayne citizen of great countenance, credite, and wealth, surnamed John the Olde, when hee coulde not acquite himselfe by the water-dome [water-ordeal] offered the king for his life five hundred markes; but the king commanded that he shoulde be hanged, which was done: and the citie became more quiet.'

In 1176, the building of a new bridge of stone was commenced at London, at a short distance westward from the wooden bridge; yet it was not completed till the year 1209, tenth of King John.

In a curious Tract written about 1174, by Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, intituled, '*Descriptio nobilissimæ civitatis Londoniæ*,' * is an interesting picture of the metropolis, and its customs, in Henry the Second's time. According to this author, the city was then bounded on the land-side by a high and spacious wall, furnished with turrets, and seven double gates;† and had in the east part 'a tower palatine,' and in the west two castles well fortified.‡ Further westward, about two miles, on the banks of the river, was the Royal Palace, (at Westminster,) 'an incomparable structure, guarded by a wall and bulwarks.' Between this and the city was a continued suburb, mingled with large and beautiful gardens and orchards belonging to the citizens, who were themselves every where known, and respected above all others, for their 'civil demeanour, their goodly apparel, their table, and their discourse.' The number of conventual churches in the city, and its suburbs, was thirteen, besides 126 'lesser parochial ones.' On the north side were open meadow.

* First printed in Stow's Survey, 1598.

† Supposed to have been Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Aldergate, Newgate, Ludgate, and a Postern near the Tower.

‡ These were the Castles of Baynard and Montfichet.

and pasture lands; and beyond, a great forest,* in whose woody coverts lurked 'the stag, the hind, the wild boar, and the bull.' With the three principal churches were connected, by 'privilege and ancient dignity,' three 'famous schools;' and other schools had been established in different parts: upon holydays the scholars 'flocking together about the church where the master hath his abode,' were accustomed to argue on different subjects, and to exercise their abilities in oratorical discourses. The handicraftsmen, the venders of wares, and the labourers for hire, were every morning to be found at their distinct and appropriated places, as is still common in the bazars of the east; and on the river's bank was a public cookery and eating place, belonging to the city, where, 'whatsoever multitude,' and however daintily inclined, might be supplied with proper fare. Without one of the gates also, in a certain plain field (Smithfield) on every Friday, unless it be a solemn festival, was 'a great market for horses, whither earls, barons, knights, and citizens, repair, to see and to purchase.' To this city 'merchants bring their wares from every nation under heaven. The Arabian sends his gold; the Sabeans, spice frankincense; the Scythians, armour; Babylon, its oil; Egypt, precious stones; India, purple vestments; Norway and Russia, furs, sables, and ambergrease; and Gaul, its wine.'

'I think there is no city that hath more approved customs; either in frequenting the churches, honouring God's ordinances, observing holydays, giving alms, entertaining strangers, fulfilling contracts, solemnizing marriages, setting out feasts and welcoming the guests, celebrating funerals, or burying the dead.—The only plagues are, the intemperate drinking of foolish people, and the frequent fires.' —'Most of the bishops, abbots, and nobility, of England, have fair dwellings in London, and often resort hither.'

Fitz-Stephen gives a curious account of the morts and pastimes of the period; 'London,' he says, in allusion to the exhibitions and sports of ancient Rome, 'instead of theatrical interludes, and comic shows, hath plays on more sacred subjects, as the miracles wrought by holy confessors, or the glorious constancy displayed by suffering martyrs:—Besides these diversions, to begin with the sports of youth, seeing that we were all once children, the boys of every school do yearly, at Shrove-tide, bring game-cocks to their masters, and all the forenoon is spent at school in seeing these cocks fight together. After dinner, all the youths of the city go into the fields to play at ball. The scholars of every school have their balls: and the teachers also, that train up others to feats and exercises, have each of them their ball. The aged and wealthy citizens ride forth on horseback to see the sports of these youngsters, and feel the ardour of their own youth revive in beholding their agility and mirth.

* Of this forest, Enfield-chace is a small remainder

'Every Friday* afternoon in Lent, a company of young men ride out on horses fit for war and racing, and trained to the course. Then the citizens' sons flock through the gates in troops armed with lances and shields, and practice feats of arms; but the lances of the more youthful are not headed with iron. When the king lieth near, many courtiers and young striplings from the families of the great, who have not yet attained the warlike girdle, resort to these exercises. The hope of victory inflames every one; even the neighing and fierce horses shake their joints, chew their bridles, and cannot endure to stand still. At length they begin their race; afterwards the young men divide their troops, and contend for mastery.

'In the Easter holydays they counterfeit a fight on the water: a pole is set up in the midst of the river, with a target strongly fastened to it, and a young man standing in the fore part of a boat, which is prepared to be carried on by the flowing of the tide, endeavours to strike the target in his passage: in this, if he succeeds so as to break his lance, and yet preserve his footing, his aim is accomplished; but if he fail, he tumbleth into the water, and his boat passeth away with the stream; on each side of the target, however, ride two vessels, with many young men ready to snatch him from the water, as soon as he again appeareth above the surface.

'On the bridge and convenient places about the river, stand numerous spectators to behold the diversions, well prepared for laughter.

'On all the summer holydays, the youths are exercised in leaping, shooting with the bow, wrestling, casting stones, and darting the javelin, which is fitted with loops for the purpose; they also use bucklers, like fighting men: the maidens dance with timbrels, and trip it as long as they can well see. In winter, on almost every holyday before dinner, the boars fight for their heads, or else some lusty bull or huge bear is baited with dogs.

'When the great moorish lake on the north side of the city wall is frozen over, great companies of young men go to sport upon the ice. Some taking a run, and setting their feet at a distance from each other, and their body sideways, slide a long way; others make seats as great as mill-stones of the ice, and one sitting down, is drawn along by his fellows who hold each other's hands; and in going so fast, they sometimes all fall down together. Those who are more expert, fasten bones to their shoes, (as the tibia of some animals,) and impelling themselves forward by striking the ice with staves shod with iron, do glide along as swiftly as a bird through the air, or as a dart from a warlike engine. Sometimes two persons, starting from a distance, run against each other with these staves, as if they were at tilt, whereby one or both of them

* Some copies of Fitz Stephen's read Sunday.—*Brayley's Lond.* i. 127.

are thrown down, not without bodily hurt; and, after their fall, are, by the violent motion, carried onward, and grazed by the ice; and if one fall upon his leg or arm, it is usually broken: yet our youth, who are greedy of honour, and emulous of victory, doe thus exercise themselves in counterfeit battles, that they may sustain the brunt more strongly when they come to it in good earnest.

'Many citizens take delight in birds, as sparrow-hawks, gos-hawks, &c. and in dogs to sport in the woody coverts: for they are privileged to hunt in Middlesex, in Hertfordshire, in all the Chilterns, and in Kent as low as Cray-water.' We are also told by Fitz-Stephen, but evidently through mistake or exaggeration, that, in the wars of King Stephen, 'there went out to a muster,' from this city, of 'men fit for war, 20,000 armed horsemen, and 60,000 foot.' The more probable fact is, that the muster was a general one, and that London was only the place of rendez-vous.*

Many artizans of divers arts and mysteries of London having erected themselves into Fraternities or Companies, without the necessary powers of incorporation, were, therefore, opprobriously denominated Adulterine Guilds, and amerced to the king for their illegal and presumptuous proceedings, as follows: viz.

'The Gild whereof Gosceline was Alderman or President, thirty marks; Gilda Aurifabrorum, or Goldsmiths, Radulphus Flael, Alderman, forty-five marks; Gilda de Holiwell, Henry, son of Godr. Alderman, twenty shillings; Gilda Bocheiorum, William la Feite, Alderman, one mark; Gilda de Ponte, Thomas Cocus, Alderman, one mark; Gilda Piperariorum, Edward ——, Alder man, sixteen marks; Gilda de Ponte, Alwin Fink, Alderman, fifteen marks; Gilda Panariorum, John Maurus, Alderman, one mark; Robert Rochfolet his Gild, one mark; Richard Thedr. Feltrarius, Alderman, two marks; Gilda de Sancto Lazaro, Radulph de Barre, Alderman, twenty-five marks; Gilda de Ponte, Robert de Bosio, Alderman, ten marks; Gilda Peregrinorum, Warner le Turner, Alderman, forty shillings; Odo Vigil, Alderman, his Gild, one mark; Hugo Leo, Alderman, his Gild, one mark; and Gilda de Ponte, Peter, son of Alan, Alderman, fifteen marks.'†

On the coronation of Richard the First, surnamed Cœur de Lion, in 1189, a sad massacre of the Jews who were settled in London was made by the brutal and ignorant populace. On the preceding day, September the 2nd, Richard had given orders that neither Jews nor women should be present at the solemnity, 'for feare,' says Stow, 'of enchantments, which were wont to be practised;'‡ yet, either through the strong impulse of curiosity,

* Brayley's London, i. 125. † Madox. Hist. Exchеq. 1180.
‡ Stow's Ann. p. 226.

or from a desire to conciliate the favour of the new sovereign by rich gifts, a number of Jews assembled at Westminster, and endeavoured to gain admittance into the Abbey Church; and being repulsed by the royal domestics, a rumour spread through the surrounding multitude, that the king had commanded them to be put to death; and, under this impression, 'the unruely people falling uppon the Jewes with staves, battes, and stones, beate them to their houses, and after assayling them therein, sette them on fire and burnt them in their houses, or slewe them at their coming out.' On the following day, however, the ringleaders in this dreadful tumult were apprehended, and immediately executed by Richard's order. At the coronation feast, as appears from Hoveden and Diceto, who were eye-witnesses of the ceremony, 'the citizens of London officiated as the king's butlers, and those of Winchester served up the meat.' The principal magistrate of London, who was then styled the Bailiff, acted as chief butler.*

Richard, soon after his coronation, resolving to execute the treaty his late father had concluded with the king of France, in respect to an expedition to Palestine, or the Holy Land, directed his precepts to Henry de Cornhill, Sheriff of London, to provide a certain number of helmets, steel caps, shields, knives, spears, iron, cordevan, pavilions, and other military accoutrements; together with silken habits, mitres, caps, dalmatiques, coats, and wine for the king's use. And, towards defraying the vast expence of this great armament, Richard contrived all ways and means to raise money, by alienating the crown lands, and selling additional liberties to cities and towns; insomuch, that some of the nobility took the freedom to tell him, that he acted therein very much to his own dishonour, and to the great prejudice of his successors. To which he replied, that *in a time of necessity, it was no bad policy for a man to make use of his own;* adding, ***that if he could light on a proper purchaser, he would even sell the city of London.****

The great and destructive fires which frequently happened in this city, to the great damage of the citizens, being chiefly occasioned by the houses built of wood, and thatched with straw or reeds; the court of the mayor and aldermen ordained, that all houses thereafter to be erected in London and the liberties thereof, should be built of stone, with party walls of the same, and covered with either slates or tiles, to prevent such dreadful calamities for the future. For which purpose was made the following order.

"Henry Fitz-Alwine being then Mayor," (admitted to the chief magistracy by the name of Bailiff, 1 Rich. I. according to Arnold,) "it was provided and ordained by the discreeter men of

* Rog. Hov. p. 657. Bromp. p. 1159-60. Matt Paris, p 154. Ran Hig. Polych

the city, to appease contentions that might arise among neighbours in the city, upon inclosures between land and land, that twelve men, aldermen of the city, should be chosen in full husting, and there sworn that they would perform it, and come at the mayor's summons, unless hindered by some reasonable cause; and to be present with the mayor for executing the aforesaid business: and this was decided and confirmed in full hustenge."*

By these Jurats were regulated the dimensions of party-walls, which were to be of stone, and at least sixteen feet in height, and three in thickness. These commissioners were also to give directions about girders, windows, gutters, and wells.

When Richard left England on his expedition to the Holy Land, he entrusted the government of the kingdom to a Regency, of which Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, his favorite, was at the head. This prelate so disgusted all classes by his arrogance and tyrannic government, that in 1191, a conspiracy was formed against his power, and he was summoned to appear before a great council of the nobility, bishops, and citizens of London,† that had been convened to assemble in St. Paul's Church-yard. The bishop, instead of complying, took refuge in the Tower, where he was besieged by Prince John, with the earls, barons, and citizens; but after one night, he consented to relinquish all his castles, on being permitted to retire to the continent.‡ The ready concurrence of the Londoners in this affair was so agreeable to the council, that the city was rewarded with a recognition and confirmation of all its ancient privileges.

One reason of disgust which the Londoners took at Lord Chancellor Longchamp, was, the encroachments he had made on their limits, in his works at the Tower. For, in encompassing the premises of that fortress with a wall and a ditch, he broke in, and deprived both the church of the Holy Trinity, the hospital of St. Catherine, and the city of London of their properties in an arbitrary manner. Having enclosed the square tower and the castle with an outward wall of stone embattled, he caused a deep ditch to be dug round, from the south-east point by the north side, to the south-west corner of the said wall, in order to environ it with the river Thames. In which work, the mill belonging to the hospital of St. Catherine, and standing on the place now called Irongate, was removed, and part of a garden, which they had let to the king at six marks per annum, was laid waste. And a piece of ground next Smithfield, belonging to the priory of the Holy Trinity, without Aldgate, worth half a mark per annum, was taken from it. And the city was deprived of all the ground from the White Tower to the postern gate. §

* Stryp. Ed Stow's Sur. 1191.
† Madox. Hist. Exchеq. 1180.
‡ Bromp. p. 1225-6.
§ Entick.

On the return of Richard to England in 1194, after his unjust imprisonment by that avaricious emperor Henry the Sixth, he was received into London with the greatest pomp and magnificence, and the inexpressible joy of the citizens. The richness of the cavalcade was so excessive, that it occasioned a German nobleman, who attended the king, inadvertently to say, that, had the emperor known the immense wealth of England, he would have insisted on a much greater ransom.

Richard, to wipe off the stain of his imprisonment, resolved to be crowned a second time. At this coronation, the citizens of Winchester disputed with those of London the right to the office of chief butler; though the same had been executed by the Londoners at the late coronation. But a free gift of 200 marks to the king obtained his confirmation of this privilege to the latter. Soon after, the king, in consideration of the good deportment of his loyal and faithful citizens of London, during his long absence, granted them a new charter, with additional privileges, and a full confirmation of all its liberties, rights, and immunities.

In the year 1196, a great sedition arose in London, through the practices of one William Fitz-Osbert, alias Long-beard, who 'poore in degree, evill favoured in shape, but yet very eloquent, mooved the common people to seeke libertie and freedome, and not to be subject to the rich and mightie; by which meanes he drew to him many great companies, and with all his power defended the poore men's cause against the rich: fifty-two thousand Londoners he allured to him to be at his devotion and commandement.' His opposition to some tax or tallage, which had been ordered to be levied on the people, but which he argued had been so unjustly proportioned, that the poor had to sustain nearly the entire burthen, had been the means of raising a commotion in St. Paul's Church-yard, wherein many citizens lost their lives This exciting alarm in the king's council, he was summoned before the Chief Justiciary, Archbishop Hubert, and he obeyed the summons, but was accompanied by such a multitude of his followers, that it was thought advisable to dismiss him with only a gentle admonition. Means, however, were employed to secure his person; yet, he effected his retreat to Bow Church, the steeple of which he had 'fortified with munition and victualles.' He was now promised his life if he would quietly surrender; but he refused 'to come foorth; whereby the Archbishop called together a great number of armed men, lest any stir should be made. The Saterday, therefore, being the Passion Sunday even, the steeple and church of Bowe were assaulted, and William and his accomplices taken, but not without bloodshed; for he was forced by fire and smoake to forsake the church, and he was brought to the Archbishop in the Towre, where he was by the Judges condemned; and by the heeles drawn from thence to a place called the Elmes [without Smithfield] and there hanged with nine of

his fellowes." After his death, and partly through the artifices of a designing priest, his relation, it was reported among the people that miracles were wrought at the place of his execution, "insomuch that they steale away the gibbet whereon he was hanged, and pared away the earth that was be-bled with his blood, and kept the same as holy reliques to heal sick men." These delusions were at length dispelled by the excommunication of the priest; and the publication of a life of Fitz-Osbert, in which his pretended virtues were contrasted with his 'numerons villainies,' and all belief in his superior sanctity removed, by the exposure of his unhallowed conduct.*

King Richard, in the eighth year of his reign, granted to the citizens of London the following charter, for which they paid him the sum of fifteen hundred marks:—

"Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy, and Earl of Anjou; to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, stewards, castle-keepers, justices, constables, bailiffs, ministers, and all his faithful subjects, greeting.

"Know ye all, that we, for the health of our soul, and for the soul's health of King Henry, our father, and all our ancestors' souls, and also for the commonweal of our city of London, and of all our realm, have granted and steadfastly commanded, that all wares [wears] that are in the Thames be moved, wheresoever they shall be within the Thames: and that no wares be put any where within the Thames; also, we have clearly quit-claimed all that, which the keeper of our Tower of London was wont yearly to receive of the said wares. Wherefore, we will, and steadfastly command, that no keeper of the said Tower, at any time hereafter, shall exact any thing of any one, neither molest nor burthen, or any demand make of any person, by reason of the said wares: For it is manifest to us, and by our right reverend father, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and other our faithful subjects, it is sufficiently given us to understand, that great detriment and discommodity hath grown to our said city of London, and also to the whole realm, by occasion of the said wares: which thing, to the intent it may continue for ever firm and stable, we do fortify by the inscription of this present page, and the putting to our seal:

"These being witnesses, John of Worcester, Hugh of Coventry, bishops; John, Earl of Moreton, Ralph, Earl of Chester, Robert, Earl of Leicester, William, Earl of Arundel, William of St. Mary's Church, Peter, son of Hereb, and Matthew his brother, Simon of Ryma, Scherio de Quincero. Given by the hand of Eustace, dean of Salisbury, Vice-Chancellor, then agent at the isle of Audlyer, the fourteenth day of July, in the eighth year of our reign."

* Maitland's London, p. 38.

In this charter the citizens of London are empowered to remove all wears out of the river Thames; by which nuisances, the navigation of that noble stream was greatly obstructed: and, as a farther encouragement to the citizens, the king resigned all his right and pretensions to the annual duties arising thereby, which were paid to the officers of his Tower of London.

This is the first charter by which the city claims its jurisdiction and conservancy of the river Thames.

In 1198, Roger Blunt and Nicholas Ducket, sheriffs of London and Middlesex, were, by the king, commanded to provide measures, gallons, iron rods, and weights, for standards, to be sent to the several counties of England.* At the same time, so great a famine happened, that wheat was sold at eighteen shillings and four-pence the quarter.†

On the decease of king Richard I. (A. D. 1199) his brother John, Earl of Moreton, succeeded to the throne, and immediately granted to the citizens of London three charters,

By the first, the citizens, besides having all their ancient rights and privileges confirmed to them, are exempted from the payment of all toll in the king's foreign dominions; for this the city paid the sum of three thousand marks.

By the second, the citizens of London obtained a right to move all the wears in the rivers of Thames and Medway, with a power of inflicting a penalty of ten pounds upon any person that shall presume to erect any wear or wears in either of the said rivers.

By the third charter, the citizens of London have the fee-farm of the sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex confirmed to them at the ancient rent, with an additional power of choosing their sheriffs.

In a fourth charter, granted by King John in 1202, the guild or fraternity of Weavers were expelled the city; but for what offence is not mentioned.

This charter is the earliest published record in which the chief magistrate of London has the appellation of Mayor, though that title is said to have been assumed by Henry Fitz-Alwyn, as early as the first of Richard Cœur de Lion. Fabian and Arnold, in their respective chronicles, affirm, that Fitz-Alwyn first took the name of Mayor in 1207, yet their statement is disproved by the above charter.‡ The office of Chamberlain, which was yet in the crown, was purchased in 1204, of the king, by William de St. Michael, for the sum of 100l. and the annual rent of 100 marks.§ In the following year, the emperor Otho, the king's nephew, arrived in London, and was received by the citizens in a magnificent manner.‖

* Madox. Hist. Excheq. 1198.

† Tho. Wic. Chron.

‡ Arnold states under the date 1280 that thirty-five men were chosen by the wise men of the city, and sworn to maintain the assizes in London.

§ Madox's Hist. Exch.

‖ Matt. West. Flor. Hist.

In 1207, the Londoners not only made the king a present of three hundred pounds, but likewise paid him two hundred marks, to be excused from the quinzieme, or fifteenth, imposed upon merchants. However, they were soon after charged with the sum of one thousand pounds, towards the king's expedition against the Scots. In this year, the chief magistrate of this city, at that time Henry Fitz-Alwyn, or, as Arnold in his Chronicle writes it, Heryson Alwyn, took the title of Mayer or Mayor, instead of Custos and Bailiff, under which names he had held that dignity for twenty years successively.*

In 1209, the king's purveyor having bought a certain quantity of corn in London, Roger Winchester and Edmund Hardell, the sheriffs, would not permit him to carry it off; which so highly incensed the king, that he sent a positive command to the council of the city (which consisted of five and thirty members), to degrade and imprison the said sheriffs: which being done, in obedience to the royal precept, the said council sent a deputation to the king at Langley, to intercede for their unfortunate sheriffs, and to assure his majesty, that what they had done, was not out of any disrespect to him, but purely to prevent an insurrection, which was then threatened, and at that critical juncture might have proved dangerous to the royal affairs; which reason proved so satisfactory to the king, that he gave order for their immediate discharge.

In the year 1210, King John summoned a Parliament to meet him at St. Bride's, or at his palace in St. Bride's parish, London; where he exacted of the clergy and religious persons, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, and forty thousand pounds in particular from the white monks. The present hospital of Bridewell stands on a part of that palace.†

In 1210, the city of London, together with all other parts of the kingdom, were, by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, interdicted by the order of Pope Innocent, for the king's not obeying his unjust and imperious command: whereupon, all churches and church-yards were shut up; divine service ceased in all places; there was no administration of sacraments, except to infants and dying persons; and, all ecclesiastical rites being omitted, the bodies of the dead were buried in the highways and ditches, without the performance of funeral service.

In this year, the king, upon some displeasure conceived against the Londoners, as a punishment for the offence, removed the Exchequer from Westminster to Northampton.

A. D. 1211, the citizens, as an additional security to the city, began to encompass the wall thereof with a spacious and deep ditch, of two hundred feet wide; which, notwithstanding the

* Mad. Hist. Excheq. Arnold's Chron. † Matt. Par.

vast number of hands employed therein, took up two years in making.*

In 1212, a dreadful calamity befel many of the inhabitants of London, through a fire which commenced at the bridge end in Southwark, and occasioned a destruction of lives almost unparalleled from such a cause. Stow relates this disaster in the following words:—"In the yeare 1212, on the 10th of July, at night, a marvellous terrible chance happened, for the citie of London, upon the south side of the river of Thames, as also the church of our Ladie of the Chanons in Southwerke, being on fire, and an exceeding great multitude of people passing the bridge, eyther to extinguish and quench it, or els to gaze at and behold it, suddenly the north part, by blowing of the south winde, was also set on fire, and the people, which were even now passing the bridge, perceiving the same, would have returned, but were stopped by fire; and it came to passe, that as they stayed or protracted time, the other ende of the bridge also, namely the south ende, was fired, so that the people thronging themselves betweene two fires, did nothing else but expect present death; then came there to aide them many ships and vessels, into the which the multitude so unnaturally rushed, that the ships being drowned, they all perished. It was said, that through the fire and shipwracke, there were destroyed about three thousand persons, whose bodies were found in parte or half burned, besides those that were wholly burnt to ashes, and could not be found."*

In the civil feuds, which marked the latter years of King John, the Londoners aided the barons, who had been compelled to take up arms in order to maintain the expiring liberties of the kingdom, as well as to defend their own domestic comforts and homes. Among the causes that gave offence to the citizens, was the demolition of Baynard's Castle, which then belonged (1214) to Robert Fitz Walter, Castellan and Standard-bearer to the city, whose daughter Maud, the Fair Maid of Essex, the king had sought to deflower.

Nicholas, the pope's legate, being arrived in London, to receive the king's submission, pursuant to a determination of the court of Rome, a convention of the states of the kingdom was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, where, in presence of that great assembly, the king renewed his infamous subjection of the crown and kingdom of England and lordship of Ireland, to the insatiable and iniquitous pope Innocent; and the king's charter, which was at first sealed with wax, and delivered to Pandulph the Legate, was now sealed with gold, and delivered to Nicholas the Legate, for the use of the pope, and that of the Roman church.

In the sixteenth year of King John, this city was tallaged at two thousand marks,† towards taking off the national interdict.

* Stow's Sur. f London. Ibid. p. 21, 22.

‡ Mad. Hist. Exchеq. 1215.

About which time, the king granted the citizens his fifth and last charter.

"John, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy, Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou; to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriff, rulers, and to all his faithful subjects, greeting:—

"Know ye, that we have granted, and by this our present writing confirmed, to our barons of our city of London, that they may choose to themselves every year a Mayor, who to us may be faithful, discreet, and fit for government of the city, so as, when he shall be chosen, to be presented unto us, or our justice (if we shall not be present); and he shall swear to be faithful unto us; and that it shall be lawful to them, at the end of the year, to amove him, and substitute another, if they will, or the same to retain, so as he be presented unto us, or our justice, if we shall not be present. We have granted unto the same our barons, and by this our present charter confirmed, that they well and in peace, freely, quietly, and wholly, have all their liberties, which hitherto they have used, as well in the city of London as without, and as well by water as by land, and in all other places, saving to us our chamberlainship. Wherefore, we will and streightly command, that our aforesaid barons of our aforesaid city of London may chuse unto themselves a Mayor of themselves, in manner and form aforesaid; and that they may have all the aforesaid liberties well and in peace, wholly and fully, with things to the same liberties appertaining, as is aforesaid.

"Witness, the lords P. of Winton, William of Worcester, William of Coventry, bishops; William Brigword; Peter, son of Herbert; Godfrey d'Lucy; and John, son of Hugh. Given by the hands of Mr. Richard Harrister, our Chancellor, at the New Temple," &c.

About the same time, the Barons of England, having previously assembled at Bury St. Edmund's, and sworn at the high altar of the Abbey Church there, to obtain the re-establishment of the laws of Edward the Confessor, and the confirmation of the famous charter of Henry the First, repaired to John at the New Temple, and made the demands required by their oath. The king declined giving an immediate answer, but appointed a time for that purpose; and the barons acquiesced in the delay, with a view to strengthen themselves in the interval for an appeal to arms, without which, it was evident they could not accomplish their design. At length the answer was given: it contained a contemptuous refusal, and the sword was drawn. The Londoners, in a secret negociation, agreed to admit the barons, who instantly began their march for London: and, being arrived at Ware, marched from thence by night, and on the 24th of May, early in the morning, during mass-time, entered the city at Aldgate (before the king received

intelligence of their approach, notwithstanding his being then in the Tower of London); and having secured the gates with their own troops, fell to plundering the houses of the royalists and Jews, the latter of which they demolished; and with the stones thereof, with the utmost diligence, repaired the defects of the city wall; and, having got ready their military engines, laid siege to the Tower;* and the king finding the defection of his partizans becoming general, consented to grant the whole of their demands; and, after a short negociation, the meadow called Runnimede, between Staines and Windsor, was fixed on by both parties as the place for a final adjustment. In a few days afterwards, the king and the barons met on the appointed spot; and on the 15th of June, the humbled monarch affixed his signature to those memorable records of British freedom, *Magna Charta*, and the *Charta de Foresta*; by an article in the first of which it was expressly stipulated, that "the City of London should have all its ancient privileges and free customs, as well by land as by water."† The barons, having had frequent experience of the king's great insincerity, resolved upon taking all necessary precautions to oblige him to keep the treaty, and among other things they engaged him to leave them in possession of the city and Tower of London; notwithstanding which they soon found that neither oaths nor treaties were capable of binding John; who, soon repenting of what he had done, not only applied to the Pope for an absolution from his oath, but likewise to divers foreign princes for assistance, obliging himself, that, if by their help he should reduce his rebellious subjects, they should be put into immediate possession of all their lands. This promise had so great an effect upon soldiers of fortune, that in a short time a vast number of men rived from Normandy, Poictou, Gascony, Brabant and Flanders

The barons, finding themselves not in a condition to withstand so great a power, retired to London, where they were soon overtaken by a thundering bull of excommunication from Rome, whereby all confederate barons were excommunicated, and their lands interdicted, together with the city, that had joined them.‡ But, whilst the barons and citizens seemed to despise the pope's thunderbolts, the king proceeded in ravaging and destroying all their lands and castles, by which they were reduced to a very deplorable condition; therefore, to be revenged of the king, they, with the Londoners, had recourse to a very desperate expedient, by inviting over Lewis, eldest son to Philip, king of France, to whom they offered the crown. This overture was readily accepted by the French king, who immediately began

* Act Reg. Gualt. Cov. Chron.

† —'et civitas London, habea omnes antiquas liberiates, et liberas consuetudines suas tam per terras quam per aquas.'

‡ Matt. Par. Hist. Angl.

his preparations to invade England, on receiving hostages from the barons for the due fulfilment of their engagements. In the mean time, a body of John's troops, which had approached the city, was routed by the Londoners, and Saverie de Mallion, their commander, being much wounded, escaped with difficulty. "The Londoners also," says Stow, "tooke the 65 ships of pirates, besides innumerable others that were drowned, that had besieged the river of Thamis."*

On the arrival of Lewis, who, in May 1216, landed at Sandwich from a fleet of nearly 600 vessels, the citizens received him with much pomp, and, with the barons, 'swore fealty to him, after his solemn oath to restore to all their lost inheritances, and to the nation its ancient privileges.'† Whether this oath would, or would not, have been observed, had success crowned his enterprize, it is difficult to say; unless we give credit to what Matthew Paris and Knighton relate of the Viscount de Melun, one of Lewis's principal confidents, 'who being seized with a mortal distemper in London, when at the point of death, disclosed to certain English barons, that the prince, in the event of his final triumph, had resolved to banish all the nobles that had opposed king John, as traitors to their country, and also to destroy their posterity.' Certain it is, that the barons had been very soon convinced of their imprudence in calling in foreign aid; and at the time of the king's death at Newark, in the October following, many of them were preparing to return to their allegiance. The accession of Henry the Third occasioned a still more important change in the state of affairs; and through the political conduct of William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, who was declared regent, the French prince was constrained to shut himself up in London, being blocked both by land and water, and ultimately to relinquish all his claims to the throne, and to quit the kingdom. He obtained pardon, however, for his English adherents, and conditioned that the city of London should retain all her ancient privileges. This attention to their interests was so gratifying to the citizens, that, on the departure of Lewis from France, they lent him 5,000 marks to discharge his debts.‡

John is said to have been the first monarch who coined what has since been denominated sterling or easterling money; which obtained this name from the circumstance of his sending for artists from the German states to rectify and regulate the silver coinage; gold coin not having yet been appropriated as a circulating medium of commerce.

It is curious to observe that an income of 10*l.* per annum, at the time we are describing, would have gone as far in housekeeping as 150*l.* of our present currency. Wheat was 3*s.* per

* Stow's Ann. 253. † Rapin i. 278.
‡ Brayley's Lond. i. 133.

quarter, or about 9*s.* of our time; Rochelle wine 20*s.* per tun; Anjou wine 24*s.*; and the best French wine, at about 26*s.* 8*d.*, or about 80*s.* at present.

The manner of living during this period was grossly extravagant. Of the luxury of those times it will be sufficient to produce a single instance. Fitz-Stephen tells us, that an archbishop of Canterbury paid for a single dish of eels five pounds, amounting, according to the most moderate computation, to four-score pounds of our money; but, in reality, to almost double that sum. But the extravagance of the entertainments was compensated by the soberness of the hours. The time of dining, even at court, and in the families of the proudest barons, was nine in the morning, and of supping, five in the afternoon. These hours were considered not only as favourable to business, but as conducive to health. The proverbial jingle of the day gives us a picture of the division of time in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:

Lever à cinq, diner à neuf,
Souper à cinq, coucher à neuf;
Fait vivre ans nonante et neuf.

To rise at five, and dine at nine,
To sup at five, and bed at nine;
Lengthens life at ninety-nine.*

CHAPTER V.

History of London from the Reign of Henry the Third to the Reign of Edward the Second.

IMMEDIATELY after the departure of Lewis, Henry, the young king, made his public entry into London in a pompous manner, where, to appearance, he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. But this was not sufficient to wipe off the dislike the court had conceived against the city, as may be discovered in the tyrannic proceedings of this reign.†

In 1218 the citizens paid him the sum of forty marks, that they might not be questioned for selling a certain sort of cloth, that was not full two yards within the list.‡

At the same time the forest of Middlesex being disforested, it gave the citizens an opportunity of purchasing land and build-

* Hunter. † Walt. Coven. Chron
‡ Madox Hist. Exchcq.

ing thereon, whereby the suburbs of the city were greatly increased; at which time the king wrote to the sheriffs of London to repair the prison of Newgate, and the money disbursed by them should be allowed in their accounts; which shews that this gaol was not then under the direction of the city. And in the same year the citizens paid the king a fifteenth of their personal estates, for the enjoyment of their ancient rights and immunities.

Proclamation was made in London, A. D. 1220, strictly enjoining all foreigners whatsoever, merchants excepted, to depart the kingdom by Michaelmas following. At the same time, the citizens of Cologne, who were merchants and members of the Anseatic corporation in London, paid the king thirty marks, to have seisin or possession of their Guildhall in the city, which stood where now the Still-yard is in Thames-street.*

The year 1222 furnished the court with a plausible pretence to carry their resentment into execution against the Londoners; the event is thus related by our historians:—

A great wrestling match being held without London, at Matilda's Hospital, now St. Giles in the Fields, on St. James's day, between the citizens and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, the Londoners obtained the victory from the people of Westminster, who being thus exposed to the raillery of the conquerors, sought an insidious and base revenge. The steward of the Abbot of Westminster (who, it is to be presumed, vainly imagined that his master's or his own honour was thereby affected) meditating revenge against the Londoners, perfidiously appointed another wrestling match to be held at Westminster, on the first of August following, and as an encouragement, gave a ram for the prize; thither the citizens, at the time prefixed, resorted in great numbers, when, to their great surprise, instead of diversion, which they went for, they found themselves betrayed in a most cowardly and villainous manner, and set upon by a great number of armed men, appointed for that purpose, who cruelly beat and wounded many of them, and put the rest to flight.

This treachery occasioned great commotion in the city, where the populace being assembled, they breathed nothing but vengeance: insomuch that Serle Mercer, then mayor, though a wise and prudent magistrate, was not able to restrain their fury; for one Constantine Fitz-Arnulph, an eminent citizen, who had been a great favourer of the French during the late troubles, putting himself at the head of the mob, told them that the best way to revenge themselves upon the abbot and his steward, would be to pull down their houses; whereby they would be made sensi-

* Fabian's Chron. p. 7.

ble that the citizens of London were not to be affronted with impunity. This advice being approved of, he led them to Westminster, crying with a loud voice, *Monjoye St. Denis, God help us, and our Lord Lewis*;* and, having pulled down several houses belonging to the abbot and his steward, returned to London in triumph.

The Abbot of Westminster, who afterwards repaired to the city to complain of the loss he had sustained, was himself insulted, and with great difficulty effected his escape by water. When the tumult was appeased, the Chief Justiciary, Hubert, came with an armed force to the Tower, and summoning the Mayor and principal citizens before him, inquired for the authors of the late riot. Fitz-Arnulph, who was present, with a boldness worthy of a better cause, avowed himself to be one; and said, that 'they had done no more than what they ought, and were resolved to stand by what they had done.' Hubert, highly incensed at this speech, ordered Constantine to be hanged on the following morning; though when the latter 'sawe the rope about his necke,' he offered the enormous sum of 15,000 marks to have his life spared. With him were executed his nephew, and one Geoffrey.

The executions being over, the Justiciary repaired to the city, attended by a strong guard, where he apprehended many of the principal rioters, and in a most inhuman and arbitrary manner, caused the hands or feet of most of them to be cut off. These citizens, with the former, suffered without any manner of legal proceedings, or form of trial. Hubert, thinking that he had not sufficiently punished the city by those dreadful severities, (for which he was ever afterwards rendered justly odious to the citizens) degraded the mayor and all the magistrates, set a Custos over the city, and obliged thirty persons of his own chusing to become security for the citizens' good behaviour; which the community of the city not only confirmed by charter under their common seal, but likewise promised to surrender either one or all of the sureties, when demanded; and, in case of mortality, to fill up the vacancies with other persons of worth. This was the beginning of the grievous sufferings of this city under the intolerable government of Henry III.† And besides the punishments above-mentioned, Henry, before he would restore their privileges, compelled the citizens, with 'heavy threatenings, to pay to the kinge *many thousand marks*.'‡

Some time after, A. D. 1224, the states of the kingdom being assembled in parliament, at London, and the arbitrary and cruel

* The watch-word of the French during the previous troubles.

† Matt. Paris. Matt. West. Brad. Hp. Hist. Eng.

‡ Stow's Ann. 263

proceedings exercised against the Londoners, as above, making them apprehensive that they were to expect no better treatment in this, than in the former reign; therefore, to obviate the like practices for the future, they addressed the king, that he would be pleased to confirm the charter of liberties which he had sworn to observe. Which he at last agreeing to, it may be remarked, that this good action was the result of evil.*

Next year Henry exempted the citizens from all prosecutions on account of burels or listed cloth, notwithstanding an ordinance newly made to the contrary; and in the parliament held at Westminster in the same year, the Magna Charta, or great charter of liberties, was confirmed; in the ninth chapter of which, all the ancient rights and privileges of the city of London are ratified. This clause cost the citizens a fifteenth of all their personal estates. At the same time the king granted the commonalty of the city a right to have a common seal.†

Henry had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than he began to shew himself in his proper colours, and to act the tyrant with a high hand. The first attempt he made was upon the citizens of London, by extorting from them five thousand marks, declaring, as they had given (lent) Lewis, his enemy, that sum, they should likewise give him the same; which they were obliged to do. However, he granted five charters (on condition of paying him a fifteenth of their personal estates). Four of these charters were confirmatory only of the grants of his predecessors.‡ And by the fifth, divers privileges are conferred on the citizens in the disforested warren of Staines. At the same time the king granted that each of the sheriffs should have two clerks and two serjeants.

Exactions still continued; for the king, in the year 1229, commanded a tallage to be assessed on the city, partly by a poll-tax, and partly upon the several wards, which was collected by the respective aldermen. The assessment upon the wards appears to have been discretionary; for some of the principal citizens were rated at ten and twelve marks, and others at forty; and one William Fitz-Adams at one hundred shillings. The sum raised in London upon this occasion is not mentioned by the historians of that time. However, they all agree that it was very great, and that the same was exacted from the citizens by way of ransom;

* Rym. Fœd.

† Stow's Sur.

‡ The third charter manifestly refers to the ancient privilege granted to this city by Edward the Confessor, of keeping the hustings only once a week; which had been broken into by the gentlemen of the law, who had greatly increased in number since the Conquest, and interrupted the quiet commerce of the citizens by litigious suits, which took up several days in the week. It was to remove this growing evil that the citizens petitioned for the confirmation of King Edward's charter.—*Maitland*, 81.

perhaps for recovering the king's favour, for some pretended crime committed by their predecessors.*

Soon after, viz. on St. Paul's day, as Roger Niger, bishop of London, was celebrating mass in St. Paul's church, there happened a very terrible storm of thunder and lightning, attended with a great darkness, and a most obnoxious smell; whereby both the clergy and laity, some thousands in number, were so greatly terrified, that, in a tumbling manner, they made the best of their way over one another out of the church, leaving their bishop, with only one deacon to attend him. About the same time it was by the magistrates of London ordained, that for the future the sheriffs should continue no longer in office than one year, thereby to prevent their imposing upon their fellow-citizens, by extorting money from them; as also their taking bribes of victuallers.

Some time after, a great fire happened, which destroyed a great part of the city. And about the same time, the citizens were compelled to purchase the king's favour with the sum of twenty thousand pounds.† The cause of their disgrace does not appear. In the same year their bitter enemy, Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justiciary, was degraded from his offices, and accused of so many crimes, that, seeing his ruin was determined on, he took sanctuary at Merton Priory, in Surrey, where, having refused to obey the summons sent him to appear, and answer to the articles exhibited against him, the king was thereby so highly incensed, that he commanded proclamation to be made in London, that all persons should immediately apply to him for justice; and Henry, with great impetuosity, ordered the Mayor of London to force him from his sanctuary, either dead or alive; the citizens, glad of this opportunity to be revenged on their cruel and implacable enemy, immediately flocked together to the number of 20,000, and were with great difficulty prevailed on to disperse, when the King, in his cooler moments, had been induced to countermand his order. Soon afterwards, however, they had the pleasure of seeing the object of their hatred conveyed to the Tower in chains, amidst the shouts of a triumphing populace.

In 1235, Walter le Bruin, a farrier, had a piece of ground granted him in the Strand, in the parish of St. Clement's Danes, whereon to erect a forge, he rendering at the exchequer annually for the same a quit-rent of six horse-shoes, with the nails thereunto belonging; which was twice paid there in the reign of Edward I. and is still rendered annually at the exchequer at this time, by the mayor and citizens of London, for the said piece of ground, which was granted them some ages ago; though at present lost.‡

* Madox: Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. † Madox Hist. Exched.
‡ Madox Hist. Exchcq.

In 1236, Henry, with Eleanor, his queen, whom he had just married at Canterbury, made a public entry into London on the day appointed for the queen's coronation. 'The citizens,' says Stow, 'rode to meet the King and Queene, being clothed in long garments, embroidered about wyth gold and silke of diverse coulours, their horses finely trapped in array to the number of 360, every man bearing golden or silver cups in their hands, and the King's trumpetters before them sounding. The citie was adorned with silkes, and in the night with lamps, cressets, and other lights without number, besides many pageants and strange devices which were shewed.—To this coronation resorted so great a number of all estates, that the citie of London was scarce able to receive them. The Archbishop of Canterbury did execute the office of coronation: the citizens of London did minister wine as butlers: the citizens of Winchester tooke charge of the kitchen; and other citizens attended their charges.'*

In 1258, Baldwin, the Greek Emperor, arrived at London, where he was received in a very pompous manner by the mayor and citizens. But their mirth was much abated by the following accident:—Otto, the Pope's Legate, being at Oxford, a poor Irish student went into his kitchen to ask some relief for God's sake; but, instead of administering to his wants, the barbarous cook (the Legate's kinsman) threw a ladle full of hot broth into his face, in the presence of a Welsh student, who was so highly irritated at this cruel and barbarous action, that having a bow in his hand, he let fly at the cook, and killed him on the spot. This, with other outrageous treatment the scholars had received from the Legate's domestics, occasioned a great tumult among the students; and the Legate, apprehensive of his own danger, fled to a church steeple, until he found means to escape under the cover of the following night; but, being recovered from his fright, he interdicted the university, and excommunicated all that were concerned in the riot. So that the heads of several colleges, with their scholars, were obliged to repair to St. Paul's church, London, and thence to walk to Durham-house (the Legate's palace) in the Strand, undressed, bare-headed, and bare-footed; where, but not without the intercession of many persons of the greatest distinction, they obtained absolution.†

In the year 1239, the king's first son was born at Westminster; on which occasion great rejoicings were made in all parts of the kingdom; but, more especially by the Londoners, who expressed their joy by playing upon sundry sorts of musical instruments, and dancings in every street, and at night all the streets were illuminated in a very extraordinary manner. But nothing could engage the king's affections; for, upon complaint of Symond Fitz-Mary, who had, previous to the election of sheriffs, purchased

* Stow's Ann. 271.

† Matt. Par. Hist. Angl.

of the king a mandamus, directed to the mayor and aldermen, for causing him to be chosen sheriff for the year ensuing, the magistrates, who wisely considered that this injunction was derogatory to the rights and immunities of the citizens, and chose a person of much greater merit to that office, were not only severely reprimanded for their not obeying the precept, but Henry, as a test of his resentment, degraded William Joyner, the new mayor, and commanded them to proceed to a new election. The citizens, in obedience to this command, chose Gerard Batt; by whose good deportment, the city regained the king's favours, or at least Henry pretended to be reconciled to the city, to bring the citizens into a humour to swear fealty to his son Edward. At which time, Thomas, earl of Flanders, the queen's uncle, arrived at London, where he was received by the citizens in a very magnificent manner.*

This year the Jews of Norwich were severely punished for circumcising a Christian child; and those in London, though innocent, were for the same crime obliged to pay the king twenty thousand marks, or be condemned to perpetual imprisonment.†

Gerard Batt was rechosen mayor of the city in 1241, and presented to the king at Woodstock for his acceptance; but rejected on an information brought against him for extorting money from the bakers, brewers, and other victuallers, until better informed; and when presented to him a second time for acceptance at Westminster, and found guilty of extorting forty pounds from the victuallers, in his former mayoralty, and unwilling to make restitution, the king was so highly enraged, that he swore that Batt should not then, nor at any time thereafter, be mayor of the city, and commanded the citizens to proceed to a new election; who elected Reyner de Burgay, or Reynold Bongay, who was presented, accepted, and sworn in accordingly.

About this time, certain fortifications, which were added to the Tower of London in the year 1239, and had cost the king above twelve thousand marks, and the citizens much uneasiness, fell down, and were destroyed, to the great satisfaction of the citizens, who were told the said buildings were erected as prisons for such as should contend for the liberties of the city.

In 1243, a tallage was raised, the greatest part by the Londoners. Just after, Beatrice, the countess of Provence, and mother to the queen, was received at London with an incredible magnificence, being attended by Cincia, her daughter, bride to Richard, the king's brother, whose nuptials were soon after solemnized with the greatest pomp and feasting; for, at the wedding dinner, Matthew Paris says, there were no less than thirty thousand dishes.

* Fab. Chron. 7. Matt. Par. † Stow's Sur. A. D. 1241.

In 1244, Henry extorted from the citizens of London fifteen hundred marks, on pretence of their having admitted into the city. Walter Buckerel, who had been banished for twenty years; though the Londoners offered to prove that the king, by his letters patent, had pardoned the criminal long before. The king, as if to make amends to the citizens for the great injustice he had done, in the succeeding year repaired to St. Paul's cathedral (before he set out on his expedition to Wales), and in a familiar and affectionate manner, bade the citizens adieu. Soon after, there was a fresh demand of one thousand marks: added to which, the city charter was forfeited for a false judgment given by the magistrates against Margaret Veil, a poor widow. The said magistrates being degraded, William Haverell and Edward of Westminster were appointed *custodes* of the city.*

In the 21st of his reign, Henry commanded the mayor and sheriffs, upon the oaths of twelve worthy citizens, to chuse one of the best arts in the city for the king's *Custos Cunei*, or Keeper of the Mint, in the room of Walter le Fleming, deceased. Whereupon they chose John Hasdell; who being presented by the sheriffs at the Exchequer, was there sworn admitted.†

This same year, as appears by a charter, the mayor and commonalty of London purchased of Richard Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, his fee-farm of Queenhithe in Thames-street, with all the rights, customs and appurtenances thereunto belonging. For which they were to pay to the said earl, his heirs and successors for ever, a quit-rent of fifty pounds per annum. The articles of which agreement were confirmed by the king.

On St. Valentine's eve, 1247, 'there was a great earthquake in many places of England, especially at London, about the bankes of the Thames, destroying many houses.'‡

In 1248, Henry having been denied pecuniary aid at a Parliament held at Westminster, in which he was plainly told, that 'they would not impoverish themselves to enrich strangers, their enemies,' was 'faine for want of money to sell his plate and jewels, greatly to his loss;' and when he was afterwards informed, that the Londoners had purchased them, he exclaimed passionately, 'If Octavian's (Augustus Cæsar) treasure were to be sold, the City of London would store it up.'‖—As a means, therefore, of lessening the affluence of those 'rustical Londoners, who call themselves barons on account of their wealth,'§ he soon after devised the expedient of granting a fifteen days' annual fair to the Abbot of Westminster, to be held at Tuthill, or Tothill, (now Tothill Fields,) strictly commanding that during that time

* Matt. Paris Angl.
† Madox Hist. Exchcq.
‡ Stow's Annals, p. 227.
‖ Ibid. p. 278.
§ Ibid.

'all trade should cease within the city.' All remonstrances were ineffectual; and so far was he from attending to the complaints made on this occasion, that he gave fresh marks of his displeasure, by keeping his Christmas in the succeeding year in London, and compelling the citizens to present him with valuable new year's gifts. Yet even these were not sufficient to satisfy his rapacity, and the city was soon afterwards constrained to give him the sum of 2000*l.* sterling.* 'Besides this,' says Stow, 'the kinge tooke victuals and wine where any could be found, and paide nothing for it.'† At length, in 1250, Henry, alarmed by a short-lived fear, commanded the chief citizens to attend him in Westminster Hall, and there, in presence of his nobility, he promised never more to oppress them by grievous taxations.‡ But all this was mere farce; and seems rather a snare to lull the citizens into a state of security, till a more proper opportunity offered to plunder them, which he soon found.

About this time Simon Fitz-Mary, who had disgusted the city in the year 1239, by purchasing the office of sheriff from the king, as above, and now one of the aldermen, was degraded from the office of alderman, for being principally concerned in the unjust verdict given against Margaret Veil, in the year 1246, and for his other mal-practices, to the great dishonour of the city.‖

Henry began first with the Italian usurers in London, who, to their great advantage (for a long time) carried on an illicit trade of usury with impunity; for, calling themselves the Pope's merchants, the clergy durst not interfere; and as they were protected by many of the nobility, the citizens were afraid to call them to account. But at last the king, determining not to allow any person to prey upon his subjects (beside himself) without paying for it, commanded the said usurers to be prosecuted for their illegal and intolerable extortions. Several of whom being apprehended and committed to prison, the rest took sanctuary, until they could accommodate matters with the king; upon giving him a considerable sum, they were allowed to carry on their clandestine and destructive commerce in the city as formerly. Hence it is observable, that at that time it was all one, whether innocent or guilty, provided the person accused had but money to purchase his peace of the king.§ Then causing the citizens of London, by proclamation, to be summoned to attend him at Westminster, he proposed to them the undertaking the Crusade, or Holy War; to which they shewed no great inclination; for, only three of the whole number undertook the same, viz. Richard de Gray, John de Gray, and J. Plexeto. These the king lovingly embraced and kissed, calling them his brethren;

* Rapin, Vol. i. p. 321, from Matt. Par. p. 751, 757.
† Stow's Ann. p. 279.
‡ Matt. Par. p 774.
‖ Fab. Chron. p. 7
§ Holinshed.

opprobriously upbraiding the rest of the citizens for a parcel of 'base, ignoble mercenaries and scoundrels,' for rejecting the same. And as a farther evidence of his resentment, in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner, he compelled them to give him twenty marks in gold, which was then two hundred in silver; and obliged them to keep all the shops in the city shut, and to go to the above-mentioned fair at Westminster, there to expose their persons and goods to the inclemency of the weather in the midst of winter; and to pay four pence per day for the maintenance of his white bear and its keeper in the Tower of London. This, with other mal-treatment, occasioned such heart-burnings and discontents in the city, as produced great aversion to the king, of which he and his friends, to their cost, soon after experienced the woeful effects. But the king sought further occasion to oppress them; and having commanded certain of his domesties to interrupt the young citizens in their diversions at the quintain, where a peacock was appointed for the prize, and to provoke them to blows by scurrilous and opprobrious language, his majesty, having got what he wanted, viz. a pretence to extort money from the citizens, compelled them to make satisfaction by the payment of one thousand marks. And soon after the sheriffs were, by a writ of exchequer, commanded to distrain the citizens for the queen's gold.*

About the same time, the sheriffs received a precept from the court, to provide a muzzle, an iron chain, and a cord, for the king's white bear, and to build a stall and provide necessaries for the elephant and his keeper, in the Tower of London.†

A difference happening between earl Richard, the king's brother, and the citizens, concerning the exchange of certain lands, another opportunity offered to extort more money: for Richard resented it to such a degree, that he accused the mayor of remissness in not punishing the bakers for their villainous practices in making defective bread; for which neglect the city liberties were seized, and a *custos* set over it, who continued in that office till the citizens had compromised matters with the earl, by paying him the sum of six hundred marks; and five hundred marks more to the king, on colour of granting a charter, in which the ancient rights and immunities of the citizens are not only confirmed, but likewise an additional privilege granted them, whereby they, in absence of the king, may present their new mayor to the barons of the exchequer yearly; whereas formerly they were obliged to repair to the king's residence, in any part of England, to present their chief magistrate; and besides, the king allowed the sheriffs of London seven pounds per annum, to be annually paid at passing their accounts at the exchequer, for a piece of ground formerly belonging to the city, but then annexed to St. Paul's church.‡

* Matt. Paris.
† Mad. Firm. Burg.
‡ Fabian Chron.

The king being arrived at Westminster from Gascony, the Londoners, as usual, sent a deputation to congratulate him upon his safe arrival, and to present him with the sum of one hundred pounds, as was customary on such occasions. Henry, instead of thanking them, said, it was no more than his due, and that, if they would merit his thanks, they must give him something of greater value. The citizens, unwilling to disoblige such an avaricious prince, presented him with a valuable piece of plate of exquisite workmanship, with which he seemed well pleased.*

To particularize at any length all the numerous extortions and oppressions inflicted by Henry upon the city, would occupy too extensive a space; it must be stated briefly, therefore, that in addition to the various vexations the city was forced to undergo, previously mentioned, in 1225, the sheriffs were imprisoned and degraded, and the citizens amerced in the sum of 3000 marks: in 1256, they were amerced in the additional sum of 3900 marks, and the mayor was deposed; and in 1264, the mayor and chief citizens were imprisoned for their concern in the late troubles, and forced to pay large sums for their ransom.

In 1258, the price of corn was so excessive, that a partial famine ensued, and, according to a report recorded in the chronicles of Evesham, 20,000 persons died of hunger in London only in the course of this year. Matthew Paris attributes this calamity as much to the want of money, as to the scarcity of provisions; the vast sums that had been exacted by the king and by the pope, having completely drained the country. No less than 700,000*l.* sterling, is said to have been carried out of the kingdom this year, by earl Richard when he went to be crowned king of the Romans.

The multiplied extortions of the king had now so completely alienated the affections of his people, that the statutes of Oxford were framed by the barons to restrain his power; and the citizens soon afterwards became a party in those celebrated provisions, by binding themselves under their common seal, as well as by oath, to see them duly fulfilled. Immediately after, they made proclamation, in divers parts of the city, that the "king's purveyors should take nothing in London without consent of the owners, except the two tons of wine which he had out of every wine ship." In the following year (November, 1259), Henry, before his departure for France, to sign the treaty of Abbeville, caused a folkmote† to be assembled at St. Paul's Cross, where he told the citizens that he would "faithfully maintain all their rights

* Mat. Paris. A. D. 1255.

† The *folkmote*, or assembly of the people, or commonalty, appears to have been at that time the supreme assembly of the city, in which all the citizens that would come were met together, near St. Paul's; in which the mayor and aldermen might be impeached for misgovernment; a mayor ha been chosen; and in which the libertie and customs of the city were to be fi nally examined and determined by majority of voices. This suprem assembly was summoned by the ring ing of a great bell, in a belfre erected near the east end of St. Pau

and privileges;" at the same time, he enjoined the mayor to pay particular regard to the peace of the city during his absence.* At another folkmote, held in the same place in 1260, the king commanded "the mayor, that hee should the next day following, cause to be sworne before the aldermen, every stripling of twelve yeeres of age or upwards, to be true to the king and his heires, kings of England; and that the gates of the city should be kept with harnessed men."† In the following year, he caused the same oath to be renewed; and having determined to be no longer governed by the statutes drawn up by the barons, he took possession of the Tower, and immediately proceeded to improve the fortifications, which he had before strengthened and augmented by additional works; he also ordered the city to be strongly guarded; and made proclamation, that whoever would enter into his service should be maintained at his expence. Yet all this management had like to have been overturned by the constable of the Tower, who, having stopped divers ships laden with corn, caused the same to be unloaded, and carried into that fortress, where he fixed the price according to pleasure. This proceeding highly incensed the citizens; the consequence whereof would, in all probability, have proved fatal to the king's affairs, had it not been happily accommodated by the determination of the chief justice Basset; who, having heard both sides, decreed, that whenever the constable of the Tower or any of his officers should have occasion to buy corn for the king, or the inhabitants of the Tower, he should, for the future, come to the public market in the city. Every thing now portended a civil war; the king called a parliament in the Tower, and the barons assembled another in the New Temple, in which they discharged all the sheriffs and justices that had been appointed by the king, and filled their places with their own adherents.‡

Just after, Henry commanded sir Hugh Bigot, one of the itinerant judges, to hold a court of Itinerancy in London, though contrary to the ancient rights and liberties of the citizens; by which court, divers bakers for mal-practices were set upon the tumbrel, or dung cart, as bawds usually were. Besides which, the said judge did several other things, incompatible with the privileges and immunities of the city.||

church, as appears in the pleadings on a *Quo Warranto* 14 *Edw. II.* which summons was generally by order of the mayor and aldermen; and in this court capital criminals were declared outlawed. After which, according to the law of those times, any person was empowered to kill the offender. However, this assembly, as the city increased by foreign inhabitants, became in time so tumultuous and dangerous, by the great intermixture of strangers and non freemen, contrary to the liberties and customs of the city, that, by degrees, we find it laid aside; though its authority was frequently pleaded by the citizens.

* Fabian Chron. p. 7.
† Stow's Ann. p. 285.
‡ Brayley's Lond. i. 140.
§ Maitland, i. 92.

This year the king caused to be coined in London a penny of pure gold, weighing two sterlings, which is supposed to be the first gold coined in England.

On the 9th of November 1261, a quarrel happened in the church of St. Mary Cole, at the corner of the Old Jewry, in the Poultry, between a Christian and a Jew; the latter having dangerously wounded the former, endeavoured to escape; but being pursued by the populace, was overtaken, and killed in his own house. But the mob not stopping there, they fell upon other Jews, and killed and robbed many of them.

In a cause tried between the Londoners and abbot of Westminster, 1262, in the exchequer, by a jury consisting of twelve knights of the county of Middlesex, they, after hearing witnesses on both sides, brought in their verdict, that the sheriffs of London had a right to enter the town of Westminster, even to the gates of the abbey, and also into all houses belonging to the abbot, in Middlesex; and there to summon and distrain all and every of his tenants for fault of appearing.*

In the following year, prince Edward, at his return from Wales, immediately went to the Temple, or monastery of the knights Templars; where, breaking open their treasury, he spoiled them of ten thousand pounds deposited there by the citizens, as in a sacred repository, not conceiving that any person would be so wicked as to rob a treasury that was under the immediate protection of heaven. This dishonourable action so enraged them, that they instantly ran to arms, to revenge themselves upon Edward and his adherents, assaulted and plundered the houses of lord Gray, and other courtiers, and determined them to take part with the barons; who, informed that the king had openly rejected the constitutions of Oxford, assembled, without a royal summons, in great numbers, in the neighbourhood of the city: where, in a great council; they publicly declared both against the king and prince as guilty of perjury in receding from the said constitutions; and, having assembled a large army, declared they were resolved to act in defence of the same, and defied all such as opposed them. And having proceeded to open acts of hostility, by destroying the estates, and plundering the houses of all strangers, especially those who were in favour with the king and prince, they sent a letter to the mayor and citizens of London, under the seal of Simon de Mountford, earl of Leicester, their general, to know whether they would assist them in the recovery of their just rights, and the re-establishment of the provisions made at Oxford, which they had some time before not only confirmed by their charter, but likewise in the most solemn manner swore to maintain the same.† They were, however, obliged to act with great caution, as the king, by having a garrison in the Tower, possessed a forcible means of annoyance

* Fab. Chron. p. 7. 1262.

† Chron. Tho. Wik.

During this troublesome time, a strong guard was kept in the city by day, and by night a party of horse, supported by some infantry, incessantly patrolled the streets. This guard gave a handle to a gang of thieves, who, under colour of being part of the foot patrol, gave out that they were ordered to search for strangers; under which pretence, they got into and robbed many houses. For the preventing such villanous practices for the future, a standing watch was appointed in every ward. Soon after this, the barons were admitted into the city.*

The king, finding himself disappointed of the long-expected relief of the prince, his son, thought it safest to give way to the times, by agreeing to the terms insisted on by the barons, and by a treaty, once more to oblige himself to observe the Oxford statutes. Immediately after the conclusion of this peace, Henry went from the Tower of London to Westminster, whence he sent a letter to the mayor and citizens of London, acquainting them, that the differences between him and the barons were accommodated, therefore strictly enjoined them to look to the peace of the city, and that whosoever should be guilty of a breach of the same, should be arrested, and his goods seized and kept till the king's pleasure should be known how to dispose of them

Henry never intending to keep the late peace longer than to serve his turn, was no sooner at liberty, than a garrison of foreigners in Windsor castle made an excursion, and plundered the neighbouring counties of their provisions. However, the king and his son Edward being soon after reduced, they were again necessitated to come to terms with the barons for a while; when finding means to divide them, and to draw several of the barons to his party, Leicester and his adherents were declared rebels, and the king raised an army to reduce them by force; which was not doubted, provided it could be contrived to deprive Leicester of any help from the city. But that not being possible to be effected, the citizens not only opened their gates to him and his army encamped in Southwark, but joined and marched with him, to give the king and prince battle in Lambeth fields; where it was proposed and accepted by both sides to submit their grievances to the arbitration of Lewis, king of France.†

In the short interval of peace, a barbarous massacre of the Jews took place in London. On the plea, real or pretended, that one of that persecuted race had endeavoured to extort more than legal interest‡ from a Christian, upwards of five hundred Jews were cruelly put to death by the populace, and their houses and synagogues, which Henry had permitted them to build in the beginning of his reign, were destroyed: this was in Passion-week, 1264.§

* Fab. Chron. p. 7.
† Matt. West. Flor Hist.
‡ Two-pence a week for 20
§ Fab. Chron. p. 7.

Lewis, king of France, readily accepting the office of arbitrator, after a full hearing of both sides, gave his award in favour of the king; whereby the statutes of Oxford were annulled, and Henry in all respects restored to his former power, without taking any other notice of the barons, than that the king should use them kindly, and not remember any thing to their disadvantage on account of what was past.

The barons would not abide by this decision, but began to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner against the king. The first step they took was to secure the city to their interest, into which they were readily admitted by the citizens. But divers of the aldermen and chief citizens being suspected to be in the king's interest, thought that a reason sufficient to justify their usurping the government of the city, which they were no sooner possessed of, than they, at the desire of the barons, re-chose Thomas Fitz Thomas for mayor, and chose for their captains or leaders Thomas de Pywelldon and Stephen Bukerell; at whose command, by the tolling of St. Paul's great bell, they obliged themselves to appear in arms, and to march with the said officers wheresoever they were pleased to lead them.* Their first expedition was under Hugh de Spencer, constable of the Tower of London, (and by the barons lately made justiciary of England), who, having desired the said Pywelldon and Bukerell to join him with a body of their troops, they immediately caused the alarm-bell to be tolled. The citizens, as it were one man, instantly shut up their shops, armed with the greatest expedition, joined the troops from the Tower of London, and marched with the greatest cheerfulness; but whither, or on what design they knew not; till being arrived at Isleworth, they were commanded to destroy the stately manor-house of the king of the Romans, with all its appurtenances, as they likewise did, on their return to London, the king's summer-house, near Westminster. After which, they marched back to the city in triumph, joined the earl of Leicester, and marched out under his banner to fight the king, who had pursued him up almost to the very gates of the city; which so provoked his majesty, that he marched back to Kent; where he effectually prevailed upon the Cinque Ports, to engage them to send divers ships to block up the river Thames, to prevent the carrying provisions and other commodities to London.†

During the democracy in this city, the most unheard of ravages were committed; for the populace, to enrich themselves, plundered the houses of many of the most eminent citizens, under pretence of their being friends to the king. But their greatest fury was levelled against the Italian usurers and the Jews.‡

Soon afterwards a body of citizens amounting to 15,000 men.

* M. S. Chron. Lond. Fab. Chron. p 7. † Chron. Tho Wik.
‡ Fab. Chron. p. 7.

marched out with the earl of Leicester, to strengthen the army of the barons, and fight the king, who was encamped at Lewes, in Sussex. In the battle which ensued, the Londoners were defeated with dreadful slaughter, and pursued for four miles by prince Edward, whose asperity had been provoked by some unmanly insults that had been recently offered to the queen, his mother, when attempting to pass London-bridge, on her way from the Tower to Windsor. Through this very conduct, however, the battle was lost; for, during his absence from the field, the earl of Leicester had gained such a decided advantage, that, in the end, Henry, his brother Richard, and even Edward himself, were all compelled to yield.

Prince Edward made his escape from the guard, and having assembled a considerable power, he attacked Leicester's army at Evesham; which he not only routed, but likewise killed the earl and one of his sons.

In a parliament assembled at Westminster, about Christmas, it was enacted 'that the city of London, for its late rebellion, should be divested of its liberties, its posts and chains taken away, and its principal citizens imprisoned, and left to the mercy of the king.' The inhabitants, in this extremity, threw themselves on the king's clemency; yet their prayers were, for a time, but little regarded. The opportunities for extortion were too good to be lost; and, besides deposing the magistrates, and appointing four persons in their place as guardians of the city, Henry 'seized on the estates of many of the citizens, and gave to his domestics their houses, moveable effects, lands, and chattels. He likewise caused the sons of other citizens to be imprisoned in the Tower, as a security for the good behaviour of their parents; and he detained four of the richest citizens, till they had purchased their liberty at an enormous expence.'

Whilst in this disastrous situation, the citizens made the most humble remonstrances to the king, both in their individual and corporate capacities; and at length, after many entreaties, they obtained a charter of remission under the broad seal; for this, however, they had to pay the sum of 20,000 marks, which, in the then distressed state of the city, was raised with much difficulty; lodgers and servants being obliged to contribute to the assessment as well as householders.

On the same day, the king granted the city a charter, whereby the citizens were empowered 'to traffic with their commodities and merchandizes, wheresoever they please, throughout his kingdom and dominions, as well by sea as by land, without interruption to him or his, as they see expedient, quit from all custom, toll, and paying; and may abide for their trading wheresoever they please, in the same his kingdom, as in times past they were accustomed, till such time as it should be more fully ordered by

his council, touching the state of the said city; as by the said letters patent, amongst other things, more fully appeareth.'

In 1267, the city experienced a renewal of its troubles. The faithlessness of Henry's promises had provoked the earl of Gloucester (Gilbert de Clare) to assemble an army; and under some fictitious pretences, he obtained possession of London, which he immediately began to fortify; and being joined by numbers of the disaffected, he invested the Tower, and summoned the pope's legate, who then held it for the king, to an immediate surrender; alleging, 'that it was not a post to be trusted in the hands of a foreigner, and much less of an ecclesiastic.' The legate, instead of complying, made such a stout resistance, by the assistance of the Jews who had retired thither for security, that the king had time to advance to its relief; the latter, also encamping with his troops in the neighbourhood of Stratford-le-Bow, made several assaults on the city, but was every time beaten off. In the mean time, the earl sent a detachment into Kent and Surrey, who having ravaged those two counties without opposition, returned with a great booty. Soon after, this mischievous crew repaired to Westminster, where they destroyed the church, defaced the abbey, and the doors and windows of the royal palace, and spoiled it of its rich furniture and wine. Four of this strolling gang of robbers, who were domestics to the earl of Derby, being taken, were put into sacks, and thrown into the river Thames, by their master's order, for their villany.* The earl, however, finding his affairs becoming desperate, made a timely submission, and through the intercession of the king of the Romans, was pardoned: and the Londoners were included in the general amnesty, yet not till they had agreed to pay 1000 marks to prince Edward, as a remuneration for the demolition of his palace at Isleworth, as mentioned above.

In the following year, 1268, the king, by an extended charter, dated in March, from Westminster, remitted all past offences, and confirmed all the ancient privileges of the city, with the exception of the election of the magistrates.

Walter Henry and William de Durham, bailiffs of London, rendered to the king the following account of the several issues or profits arising to him in the city for half a year:—

THE BAILIFFS ACCOUNT.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
By the amount of tonnages (at the king's weigh-house) and petty strandages - - - -	97	13	11½
By the amount of customs of all sorts of foreign merchandize, together with the issues of divers passages - - - - -	75	6	10

* Fab. Chron. p. 7.

By the metage of corn, and customs at Billingsgate	5	18	7
By the customs of fish, &c. brought to London-bridge-street - - - - -	7	0	2
By the issue of the field and bars of Smithfield -	4	7	6
By toll raised at the city gates, and duties on the river of Thames, westward of the bridge - -	8	13	2
By stallages, duties arising from the markets of Westcheap, Grass Chirche and Wool Chirche-hawe, and annual soccage of the butchers of London. - - - - -	42	0	5
By the produce of Queenhithe - - -	17	9	2
By the chattels of foreigners, for trading in the city, contrary to the laws and customs thereof - -	10	11	0
By places and perquisites within the city - -	86	5	9
By the produce of the Waidarii and Ambiani of Corbye and Neele, French merchants of those towns - - - - - -	9	6	8
Sum total	364	13	2½*

About this time a great difference happened between the company of Goldsmiths and that of the Merchant Taylors; and other companies interesting themselves on each side, the animosity increased to such a degree, that on a certain night both parties met (it seems by consent) to the number of five hundred men, completely armed: when fiercely engaging, several were killed and many wounded on both sides: and they continued fighting in an obstinate and desperate manner, until the sheriffs, raising a great body of citizens, suppressed the riot and apprehended many of the combatants; who were soon after tried by the mayor, and Laurence de Brook, one of the king's justices; and thirteen of the ringleaders being found guilty, they were condemned and hanged.†

In 1269, a great frost began in the month of November, and continued until near Candlemas; during which time, the river Thames was so hard frozen, that all foreign merchandizes were brought by land from Sandwich and other ports to London.

In 1270 the government of the city was conferred on prince Edward; who in the same year re-obtained for the citizens the privilege of electing their own magistrates; on which occasion, the fee-farm paid by the city was increased to 400l. per annum. The citizens also, in testimony of their gratitude, presented the prince with 500 marks; and to the king, who in the July following confirmed all their ancient rights and immunities, they gave 100 marks.

In this year there fell such prodigious rains, that the Thames

* Mad. Hist. Exch. † Fab. Chron. p. 7.

overflowed, and broke down its banks in many places, which occasioned an immense damage: and the fruits of the earth were thereby so destroyed as to occasion the most excessive dearth that had ever been known in this kingdom; wheat being sold at six pounds eight shillings the quarter (which is more than sixty pounds at present): and the famine reigned in so horrible and destructive a manner, that many poor parents eat their own children.*

Towards the end of this year, the steeple of St Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside, fell down, whereby many persons, both men and women, were killed.†

Henry died at Westminster, in November, 1272, and was buried in the abbey church, which had been rebuilding during almost the whole of this reign.

On the death of the king, the barons assembled at the New Temple, and appointed a regency to govern the kingdom during the absence of Edward, who was then in Sicily on his return from Palestine. Shortly afterwards, the new king, by a letter directed to the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty of London, ordered the Flemings to be expelled the city, and charged the magistrates to be careful to preserve the peace. In July, 1274, Edward landed in England with his queen, and on their arrival at London, they were received with great rejoicing and pomp. 'The outsides of the houses were hung with the richest silks and tapestry; the conduits ran with the choicest wines; and the most wealthy citizens scattered gold and silver profusedly among the populace.'‡ On the nineteenth of the following month, Edward and his queen were crowned at Westminster; and 'at his coronation, five hundred great horses were turned loose, catch them who coulde.'§ Soon afterwards, the king appointed a *custos* over the city, till some violent dissenssions, which had arisen about the choice of a mayor could be appeased. About this time, also, various laws were made for the punishment of fraudulent bakers and millers within the city. These laws subjected the bakers to a forfeiture of their light bread for the first offence, to imprisonment for the second, and to be placed in the pillory for the third: and they ordained, that all the thievish millers should be punished by the tumbrel, that is, carried by a dung cart through certain streets, exposed to the derision of the people. Moreover, his majesty admonished the citizens to devise proper laws for regulating the prices of poultry and fish; which sort of provisions had been engrossed by a few rapacious hucksters. Accordingly, it was ordained by the magistrates of the city, "By the command of our lord the king, and with the assent and consent of the gentlemen of the kingdom, and citizens aforesaid, that no huckster of fowl

* Fabian Chron p. 7.
† Chron. Tho. Wikes.
‡ Maitland, p. 63.
§ Stow's Ann. 298.

[or poulterer] go out of the city to meet them that bring poultry into the city, to make any buying from them; but buy in the city, after the buyers of our lord the king, of the barons, and the citizens have bought and had what shall be needful for them, namely, after three o'clock, and not before; and then let them buy thus:—

	s.	*d.*	*q.*
The best Hen, at	0	3	2
The best Pullet, at	0	1	3
The best Capon, at	0	2	0
The best Goose, from Easter to Whitsunday	0	5	0
Ditto, from Ditto to St. Peter ad vincula	0	4	0
Ditto, in all other parts of the year, at	0	3	0
The best Wild-goose, at	0	4	0
The best young Pidgeons, three for	0	1	0
The best Mallard, at	0	3	2
The best Cercel, at	1	6	0
The best Wild-duck, at	0	1	3
The best Partridge, at	0	3	2
The best Begaters, four for	0	1	0
The best Larks, a dozen for	0	1	0
The best Pheasant, at	0	4	0
The best Botor, at	0	6	0
The best Heron, at	0	6	0
The best Corlune, at	0	3	0
The best Plover, at	0	1	0
The best Swan, at	3	0	0
The best Crane, at	3	0	0
The best Peacock, at	0	1	0
The best Cony, with the skin, at	0	4	0
One Ditto, without the skin, at	0	3	0
The best Hare, without the skin, at	0	3	2
The best Kid, from Christmas to Lent, at	0	10	0
Ditto, at other times of the year,	0	6	0
The best Lamb, from Christmas to Lent, at	0	6	0
Ditto, at other times of the year	0	4	0

It was also ordained, "that no huckster of fish [fishmonger] who sells fish again to others, go out to meet those who bring or carry fish to the city, to make a forestall thence; nor have any partnership with a stranger, who brings fish from sea to the city; but let them seek for fish in their own ships, and permit foreigners to bring it, and to sell, when they are come, in their own ships; because, by such partnership, they who are of the city, and have known the state of the city, and the defect of victuals, will hold the fish at a greater dearness than foreigners who shall not have known it. And also, that they who are of the city, when they cannot sell as they will, lay it up in cellars, and sell dearer than

the strangers would do, if they came without partnerniship, and knew not where they might be harboured; nor let them buy any thing in the city, until the king's servants, &c. have bought, and not before three o'clock. And if they who have bought fish shall come after three o'clock, let them not sell that day, but let them sell on the morrow morning. And if they expect more, let the fish be taken into the lord the king's hands; and let them keep no fish, except salt-fish, beyond the second day of their coming; which, if it shall happen to be found, let them lose their fish, and be at the mercy of our lord the king [to fine them.] And thus let the huckster of fish buy, that they afford,

	s.	*d.*	*q.*
The best Plaise, at	0	1	2
The best Soles, the dozen at	0	3	0
The best fresh Mulvel, at	0	3	0
The best salt Mulvel, at	0	3	0
The best Haddock, at	0	2	0
The best Barkey, at	0	4	0
The best Mullet, at	0	2	0
The best Conger, at	1	0	0
The best Turbot, at	0	6	0
The best Dorac, at	0	5	0
The best Bran, Sard, and Betule, at	0	3	0
The best Mackarel, in Lent, at	0	1	0
Ditto, out of Lent, at	0	3	2
The best Gurnard, at	0	1	0
The best fresh Merlins, four for	0	1	0
The best powdered Ditto, twelve for	0	1	0
The best pickled Herrings, twenty for	0	1	0
The best fresh Herrings, before Michaelmas, six for	0	1	0
Ditto, after Ditto, twelve for	0	1	0
The best Thames or Severn Lamprey, at	0	4	0
The best Buge Stock-fish, at	0	1	0
The best Mulvil Stock-fish, at	0	0	1
The best Croplings, three at	0	1	0
The best fresh Oysters, a Gallon for	0	2	0
The best fresh Salmon, from Christmas to Easter,	5	0	0
Ditto, after Ditto, at	3	0	0
A piece of Rumb, gross and fat	0	4	0
The best new pickled Balenes, the pound	0	2	0
Ditto of the preceding year, the pound at	0	1	0
The best Sea Hog, at	6	8	0
The best Eels, a strike, or a quarter of a hundred	0	2	0
The best Lampreys, in winter, the hundred, at	0	8	0
Ditto, at other times, the hundred, at	0	6	0
The best Smelts, the hundred at	0	1	0
The best Roche, in summer at	0	1	0

	s.	d.	q.
The best Roche, at other times - -	0	0	2
The best Luer, at - - - -	6	8	0
The best Lamprey of Nauntes, at first - -	1	4	0
Ditto, a month after, at - - -	0	8	2
The Thames or Severn Ditto, towards Easter, at -	0	2	2*

In 1275, the king intending to employ the mayor in an embassy beyond the seas, directed a writ to the magistrates, and chief men of the city, to send him four of the discreetest citizens, whom he might appoint to preserve peace and tranquillity, and distribute justice in the absence of their mayor.†

The year 1278 proved very fatal to the Jews; who, being convicted of clipping and diminishing the king's coin, were all throughout England seized and imprisoned in one day; and out of those seized in this city, two hundred and eighty of both sexes were executed.‡

In 1282, the citizens obtained of the king for a certain sum of money, a pardon for whatever they had done to that time contrary to their charters; which letters patent were directed to the mayor, aldermen, citizens, and commonalty of London. And in the following year he granted them certain customs for the reparation and inclosure of the city, by letters patents, dated at Nettleham, 4 Feb. An. Reg. undecimo, directed to the mayor and his fellow-citizens.

This year will ever be memorable for the death of Llewellyn, the last prince of the Britons that reigned in Wales; who, having lost the victory in the field of battle, fled to Bluith castle for safety; but was betrayed by the men of that place into the hands of Roger le Strange, who taking him off his guard, ran upon him and cut off his head with his broad-sword, while he was reviling the English. The head was sent to king Edward, who ordered it to be carried to London. The citizens in cavalcade met the messenger that brought it and conducted him to the city in triumph, with the sound of trumpets and horns, and carried the same through Cheapside upon a lance, crowned with a silver chaplet or circle; by which (according to some authors, with an ill-natured sneer) was fulfilled the prediction of a Welsh fortune-teller, who foretold him, that his head should ride down Cheapside with a silver crown. But what was most blameable, they were not content only to glut their eyes with this moving and melancholy spectacle, the head of this great, though unfortunate prince, but ignominiously set it upon the pillory in Cheapside for the remaining part of the day, and then fixed it upon the Tower of London, crowned with an ivory diadem.§

In 1284, Laurence Ducket, a goldsmith, having dangerously

* Statutes in the Chamber of London.
† Lib. de Ant. Leg. fol. 121.
‡ Matt. West. Flor. Hist.
§ Maitland, i. 105.

wounded Ralph Crepin, in Westcheap, or Cheapside, took sanctuary in Bow church-steeple. Divers friends of the said Crepin surprized Ducket there by night, and hanged him in one of the windows, in such a manner, as even to deceive the coroner's jury; who, having sat upon the body, brought in their verdict, self-murder: whereby Ducket's corpse was drawn thence by the feet, and buried in a ditch without the city. But a boy, who lay with him that night, and during that barbarous action concealed himself, having ventured to give information against the murderers, many persons were apprehended; sixteen were hanged, and a woman, the contriver of the said murder, was burnt alive; others, persons of distinction, concerned therein, were amerced in pecuniary mulcts. And the disgraced body was dug up, and buried in a decent manner.*

A. D. 1285, it was ordained, that the millers should take no more than one halfpenny for grinding a quarter of wheat. The great conduit in Cheapside was first built. And John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, commanded the bishop of London to destroy all the Jews' synagogues in London.

It appears from the *Liber Albus*,† that the city was now divided into twenty-four wards, viz.

Names of Wards.	*Their Aldermen.*
1 Warp Fori, or Foris,	Stephen Aswy.
2 Lodgate and Newgate,	William de Farndon.
3 Castle Baynard,	Richard Aswey.
4 Aldersgate,	William de Maiener.
5 Bredstrete,	Ducan de Botevile.
6 Queenhythe,	Simon de Jadestock.
7 Vintry,	John de Gisors.
8 Dougate,	Gregory de Rokesley.
9 Walbrook,	Thomas Box.
10 Coleman Strete,	John Fitz-Peter.
11 Bassishaw,	Radus le Blound.
12 Cripplegate,	Henry Frowick.
13 Candlewyc Strete,	Robert de Basing.
14 Langeford,	Nicholas de Winton.
15 Cordewan Strete,	Henry de Walleys.
16 Cornhill,	Martin Box.
17 Lime Strete,	Robert de Brockesley.
18 Bishopsgate.	Philip le Taylour.
19 Alegate,	John de Northampton.
20 Tower Ward,	William de Thadestock.
21 Billingsgate,	Wolman de Essex.
22 Bridg Ward,	Joseph de Achatur.
23 Lodingeber,	Robert de Arras.
24 Portsoky,	Prior of Holy Trinity at Algate

* Fab. Chron. p. 7.

† Folio 116.

Each ward chose certain of their inhabitants to be of council to the alderman; which council were to be consulted by him, and their advice to be followed in all affairs of public concern relating to the city of London. And these council-men were sworn into their office.

The lord treasurer summoned the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London to attend him in the Tower, to render an account how the peace of the city had been kept; but Gregory de Rokesley, the mayor, for the honor of the city, refusing to attend in that quality, laid aside his ensigns of mayoralty at Barking church, delivered the city seal to Stephen Aswy (others write it Asly), and then repaired to the Tower as a private gentleman. The treasurer so highly resented this behaviour, that he committed Rokesley and divers of the principal citizens to prison, at the feast of St. Peter, in summer; which the king not only approved of, but he also seized upon the city liberties, discharged the mayor, and appointed Stephen Sandwich *custos* of London, (unto Candlemas following, when John Beyton, or Briton, was appointed *custos* till St. Margaret's day, in the year 1289, according to Arnold), under pretence that the mayor had taken bribes of the bakers, to connive at their cheating the public, by making their penny loaves six or seven ounces too light; or for some crime of a higher nature. But, be that as it will, this is certain that London had no mayor for twelve years after.

These innovations produced many disorders and robbery; and murder became so frequent in the city, that it was ordered that 'none be found in the street, either with spear or buckler, after the curfew-bell of the parson of St. Martin's-le-Grand rings out, except they be great lords, and other persons of note; also, that no tavern, either for wine or ale, be kept open after that bell rings out, on forfeiture of forty pence; nor any fencing-school be kept in the city, or non-freemen be resident therein.'

Edward being returned from France, was received by the citizens into London with great state and solemnity, and applied himself immediately to redress the grievous complaints made by his subjects against the usuries of the Jews; who, as our historians express it, had eaten his people to the bones: and against his justiciaries, who, like another kind of Jews, had ruined them with delays in their law-suits, and enriched themselves with wicked corruptions. The Jews he punished by a confiscation of all their goods, and banishment out of the realm; and he dismissed from their office all the justiciaries who were found guilty, and fined them according to their particular offences; and also banished sir Thomas Weyland, the chief-justice, being first in open parliament convicted. Sir Ralph Hengham, chief-justice of the higher bench, was fined seven thousand marks: sir John Lovetot, justice of the lower bench, three thousand marks; sir William Brompton, justice, six thousand marks; sir Solomon Roches-

ter, chief justice of assize, four thousand marks; sir Richard Boyland four thousand marks; sir Thomas Sodentone, two thousand marks; sir Walter de Hopton two thousand marks; sir William Saham, justice, three thousand marks; Robert Littleburie, clerk, one thousand marks; R. de Leicester, clerk, one thousand marks: Adam de Stratton (besides other riches incredible, amongst which was found a king's crown, supposed to be king John's, many vessels of silver, and variety of jewels) thirty-two thousand marks. Sir Thomas Weyland was entirely stripped of all his goods, chattels, jewels, money, and lands. The number of Jews now banished were fifteen thousand and sixty; and the parliament voted his majesty a fifteenth of all their goods, besides the immense sums raised by the sale of their houses, for concurring with them in this act of expulsion.*

"The citizens of London hearing of the great victorie obtained by the king against the Scottes, made great and solemne triumph in their citie, every one according to their crafte; especially the fishmongers, which, with solemne procession, passed through the citie, having, among other pageants and shows, four sturgeons, gilded, carryed on foure horses: then foure salmons of silver on foure horses: and after, six and fortie knights armed, riding on horses, made like luces of the sea: and then St. Magnus, with a thousand horsemen: this they did on St. Magnus's day, in honour of the king's great victorie and safe returne."†

This was so pleasing to the king, that he commanded the aldermen and principal citizens to repair to Westminster on Easter Wednesday; where, by the advice of his council, his majesty restored to them the power of electing their chief magistrate the mayor; they having previously paid a fine of 23,000 marks into the king's exchequer. On the Friday after, they chose Henry Walleys into that high office; who, on the Wednesday following, was presented and accepted by the king at Fulham; and the day after he was sworn before the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. But his private affairs calling him into the country, he constituted William de Breton and Galfred de Norton, his representatives, to officiate during his absence; and set out the next day for Lincoln.

This act of the royal favour was immediately followed by a charter of confirmation of all the city's ancient privileges, dated the eighteenth day of April, in the six-and-twentieth year of his reign; in which charter, the following additional privileges are granted: 1. In the absence of the king and the barons of the exchequer from Westminster, the mayor elect is to be presented and admitted by the constable of the Tower of London. 2. To be quit and free from Pannage.‡ 3. Pontage, a duty paid for

* Tho. Walsingham, &c.
† Stow's Ann. p. 311.
‡ Bohun thinks it should be printed Pavage, i. e. a certain duty payable to the king for the liberty of sending swine, or cattle, to feed in any of his forests.

passing over bridges with horses, carts, or other carriages; or under them with boats, ships, &c. towards the repairing of the said bridges. And lastly, to be quit and free from murage, which was a duty paid towards building or repairing of the walls of cities and towns throughout the kingdom.

A. D. 1305, sir William Wallace, a Scottish knight, was brought a prisoner to London, and lodged in the house of William Delect, in Fenchurch-street; from whence, on the 23rd of August, he was conducted through the city by John Seagrave and Geoffrey ——, knights, accompanied by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, and a prodigious concourse of people, both of horse and foot, to Westminster; where, being arrived in the hall, he was, by way of derision, set upon a bench, with a laurel upon his head, tried as one of the king's enemies, condemned for high treason against king Edward, and suffered a cruel and ignominious death in Smithfield, being there hanged, drawn, and quartered. His head was fixed upon a pole on London-bridge, and his quarters sent into Scotland to be placed over the gates of as many of the principal cities.*

'In the feast of Pentecost, 1306, king Edward honored his eldest sonne, Edward of Carnarvon, with the degree of knighthood, and with him also moe than a hundred noble yong men at Westminster.'† The mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London paid to his majesty two thousand pounds towards the same.

Sir John Blount, lord mayor, being ordered to accompany the prince in his expedition against the Scots, there were appointed four guardians or *custodes*, by the citizens themselves, to execute the supreme magistracy of this city. And this same year, sea-coals being very much used in the suburbs of London by brewers, dyers, and others requiring great fires, the nobility and gentry resorting thither complained thereof to the king, as a public nuisance, whereby, they said, the air was infected with a noisome smell, and a thick cloud, to the great endangering of the health of the inhabitants; wherefore, a proclamation was issued, strictly forbidding the use of that fuel. But little regard being paid thereunto, the king appointed a commission of Oyer and Terminer, to enquire after those who had contumaciously acted in open defiance to his proclamation, strictly commanding all such to be punished by pecuniary mulcts, and for the second offence to have their kilns and furnaces destroyed.

The last transaction between the corporation and the crown we meet with in this reign, was an agreement in the exchequer, by sir John Blount, the mayor, and all the aldermen of London, for themselves and the whole community of the city, to pay the king two thousand marks for the *vintisme*, or twentieth of the goods

* Stow's Ann. Eng. † Ibid.

of the said community: the greatest part whereof they paid in tallies.

CHAPTER VI

History of London from the reign of Edward the Second to the reign of Richard the Second

The reign of Edward the Second began with an act which prognosticated no favour from the crown to the citizens; for there being left unpaid of the two thousand marks for the *vintisme*, the sum of 83*l.* 11*s.* a writ of *fieri facias* was issued by the court of exchequer, and directed to the sheriffs of London, commanding them to distrain the goods and chattels of the mayor, aldermen, and whole community of the city for the same. And this was followed by another writ of the court, returnable in Michaelmas term, directed to the said sheriffs, commanding them to summon Nicholas de Farndon, alderman of Farringdon ward, and several others of the aldermen, collectors of the tallage, lately assessed in London by Roger de Hagham, &c. to appear in the exchequer, and pass their accounts of the said tallage; and, if any of the said aldermen were dead, then to summon the executors of such persons deceased, in order to finish their accounts.

The king being indebted to sundry persons in London, to the amount of about seven hundred pounds, and likewise to several foreign merchants, and others, the sum of one thousand pounds, for necessaries for the royal household and wardrobe, the mayor and citizens undertook to pay the same; in consideration whereof the king assigned to them the farm and other issues of the city, arising by aids, tallages, &c. to the amount thereof.*

A resolution was soon after taken by the king and his council, to tax his several demesnes: under which appellation the city of London was included, of which John Gysours, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the city were made acquainted, and at the same time interrogated by the privy council, sitting at the White Friars, in Fleet-street, if they would fine for their tallage, or, like others, by a poll-tax, and a general assessment on their estates, both real and personal, raise the sum required. They desired time to consult the commonalty upon that subject, and then returned for answer, that the king might tax his demesnes at pleasure; but, as such, the city of London could not be taxed, for, by their an-

* Mad. Hist. Exchec. A. D. 1311.

cient rights and liberties, confirmed by divers charters, especially that of Magna Charta, they were free, and consequently not liable to any such tallage; and that, in lieu of all services, they paid the king a certain annual sum for the fee-farm of their city; therefore, humbly desired that the intended tallage might be deferred till the meeting of the approaching parliament, when they should have an opportunity of conferring upon that affair with divers of the nobility, who were proprietors of sundry lands and tenements in the city. To which it was replied that if they would lend the king two thousand marks, the assessment should be deferred according to their request. But the citizens not readily agreeing to this proposal, commissioners were sent to Guildhall to assess the said tallage. However, their commission being read, and the Friday following being appointed for the citizens to begin the said assessment, the mayor, &c. were so intimidated, that they proposed a loan of one thousand pounds, on condition that the king would, by his letters patent, take care that no tallage singly by poll, or in common upon their goods, chattels, rents, or tenements, might be assessed before the next parliament: to which his majesty assented, desiring it to be paid to Ingelwarde de Warlee, keeper of the wardrobe

Before we close the history of the present year, it may be matter of entertainment to our readers to add the following account; in which is shown the ancient and costly manner of housekeeping of the English nobility, being the debit side of the account of H. Leicester, cofferer to Thomas, earl of Lancaster, containing the amount of all the disbursements of that noble family, relating to domestic expenses in the present year:—

The Account of H. Leicester, Cofferer, to Thomas, earl of Lancaster.

	£	s.	d
To the amount of the charge of the pantry, buttery, and kitchen - - - - -	3405	0	0
To three hundred and sixty-nine pipes of red wine, and two pipes of white - - -	104	17	6
To all sorts of grocery wares - -	180	17	0
To six barrels of sturgeon - -	19	0	0
To six thousand dried fishes of all sorts - -	41	6	7
To seventeen hundred and fourteen pounds of wax, vermillion, and turpentine - - -	314	7	4
To the charge of the earl's great horses, and servants' wages - - - -	436	4	3
To linen for the earl, his chaplains, and table	43	17	0
To one hundred and twenty-nine dozen of skins of parchment, and ink - - -	4	8	3
To two scarlet cloths for the earl's use, one of russet for the bishop of Angew, seventy of blue for			

	£	s.	d.
the knights, twenty-eight for the squires, fifteen for the clerks, fifteen for the officers, nineteen for the grooms, five for the archers, four for the minstrels and carpenters, with the sharing and carriage for the earl's liveries at Christmas - -	460	15	0
To seven furs of powdered ermine, seven hoods of purple, three hundred and ninety-five furs of budge for the liveries of barons, knights, and clerks, and one hundred and twenty-eight furs of lamb, bought at Christmas, for the esquires - -	147	17	8
To one hundred and sixty-eight yards of russet cloth and twenty-four coats for poor men, with money given to the poor on Maunday Thursday	8	16	7
To sixty-five saffron-coloured cloths for the barons and knights in summer, twelve red cloths for the clerks, twenty-six cloths for the squires, one for the officers, and four ray cloths for carpets in the hall - - - - - -	345	13	8
To one hundred pieces of green silk for the knights, fourteen budge furs for surcoats, thirteen hoods of budge for clerks, and seventy-five furs of lambs, for liveries in summer, with canvas and cords to tie them - - - -	72	19	0
To saddles for the summer liveries - -	51	6	8
To one saddle for the earl - - -	2	0	0
To several items, the particulars in the account defaced - - - -	241	14	1
To horses lost in service - - -	8	6	8
To fees paid to earls, barons, knights, and squires,	623	15	5
To gifts to French knights, countess of Warren, queen's nurses, squires, minstrels, messengers, and riders - - - - -	92	14	0
To twenty-four silver dishes, twenty-four saucers, twenty-four cups, one pair of Pater-nosters, and one silver coffin, all bought this year, when silver was at 1*s.* 8*d.* per ounce - - -	103	5	6
To several messengers - - - -	34	19	8
To sundry things in the earl's bedchamber -	5	0	0
To several old debts paid this year - -	88	16	$0\frac{3}{4}$
To the countess's disbursements at Pickering -	440	0	5
To two thousand three hundred and nineteen pounds of tallow candles, and eighteen hundred and seventy pounds of lights, called Paris candles, or white wax candles - -	31	14	3
Sum Total	7309	12	$6\frac{3}{4}$

In the above account, Mr. Maitland says, it is to be observed that silver was then at one shilling and eight-pence per ounce; so that twelve ounces went to a pound sterling; by which it does appear that the sum total expended in that year amounts, in our money, to two and twenty thousand and seventy-eight pounds, seventeen shillings, and eight-pence; whereby is shown that the earl must have had a prodigious estate, especially considering the vast disparity between the prices of provisions then and now. Therefore we may justly conclude, that such an estate at present would bring in at least two hundred thousand pounds per annum.*

Between the years 1314 and 1317, the city, in common with the rest of the kingdom, suffered greatly from a scarcity of provisions, which eventually produced a complete famine, although different ordinances were made by the parliament to limit the consumption and restrain the prices of corn, meat, poultry, &c. 'There followed this famine,' says Stow, 'a grievous mortalitie of people, so that the quicke might vnneath bury the dead. The beasts and cattell also, by the corrupt grasse whereof they fedde, dyed; whereby it came to passe, that the eating of flesh was suspected of all men, for flesh of beasts not corrupted was hard to finde: horse-flesh was counted great delicates; the poore, stale fatte dogges to eate; some (as it was saide) compelled through famine, in hidde places, did eate the flesh of their owne children; and some stale others, which they devoured. Theeves that were in prisons did plucke in peeces those that were newly brought amongst them, and greedily devoured them halfe alive.'†

The favour shown at this time (A. D. 1318) by the court to the magistrates of the city added so much to their power, that they assumed the sole right to appoint officers, and to continue their mayor for divers years successively in that supreme office; and, notwithstanding the frequent presentments of the wards to the judges itinerant in the Tower against their impositions, they ceased not to lay arbitrary taxes upon their fellow-citizens, spared themselves in all assessments and rates, and otherwise oppressed the commonalty, as may be discovered by the tenor of the articles of agreement. But the freemen, no longer able to bear these arbitrary proceedings and impositions, which were entirely inconsistent with, and destructive to their liberties, carried their resentment to such a pitch, that the city must once more have become a prey to the crown, had they not agreed among themselves to various constitutions drawn up by the consent of both parties.

The king this same year sent his writ from Nottingham, directed only to the sheriffs of London (and not to the mayor, aldermen and community, as the return insinuates) commanding them to choose two of their fellow-citizens to represent the

* Maitland, i. 118 † Stow's Ann. 328.

city, in the parliament to be held at York; but, instead of two, they returned three representatives, as by the following return does appear:—

"To the most excellent prince, and their most dear lord, the lord Edward, by the grace of God, the most illustrious king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain: John de Wengrave, mayor of the city of London, the aldermen, sheriffs, and the whole community of the same city, themselves and their heirs: your excellency may know we have assigned our beloved fellow-citizens, John de Cherleton, William de Flete, and Roger de Palmere, or two of them, and have given to them, or two of them, full and sufficient power, by these presents, to do in this your instant parliament, to be holden at York three weeks after Michaelmas, what shall be ordained in the foresaid parliament, by common advice, according to the form of your writ lately to us directed. In witness whereof we have made these our letters patents, to be sealed with the seal of our community, or commonalty aforesaid. Dated at London, the sixteenth day of October, in the twelfth year of your reign."

By this parliament (the exigency of the nation requiring it) it was ordained, that every city and town in England, according to its ability, should raise and maintain a certain number of soldiers against the Scots, who, at that time, by their great depredations, had laid waste all the north of England, as far as York and Lancaster. The quota of London to that expedition was two hundred men, being five times the number that was sent by any other city or town in the kingdom.

Complaints being made to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer of divers murders, robberies, and other outrages lately committed in the city of London, and in particular by the pope's nuncio, that on the preceding Midsummer-day, during vespers, or evening prayers, four or five hundred of the populace armed, repaired to St. Paul's church, and there insulted a certain Lombard, and others in his company; the mayor and aldermen were ordered to attend the treasurer, barons, and council upon that affair. In obedience to which order, John de Wengrave, the mayor, attended by divers of the aldermen and sheriffs, appeared before the treasurer, in presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Exeter, and Humphrey, earl of Hereford, who examined the mayor, touching the grievances complained of; for which, and other neglects of duty on the like occasion, being severely reprimanded, and strictly enjoined to enquire into that riot, and to bring to exemplary punishment the ringleaders thereof, he was dismissed with orders so to deport himself in his office, that the king might not have occasion to set a custos over the city, and to get the inquisitions he should take in the said affair ready against such a time, upon pain of forfeiting the city liberties. The mayor, &c. having taken the said inquisitions, returned and acquainted the

council, that they had thoroughly scrutinized into that affair, and would take care for the future, that their deportment should be such in respect to the good government and peace of the city that thenceforth there should be no cause of complaint.

The mayor and aldermen again assumed illegal authority, and imposed taxes, &c. in an arbitrary manner. For this, a presentment was made against them before the lord treasurer, and other judges, then sitting at the Tower, by the jury of Aldermanbury; but whether any further proceedings were instituted, does not appear.

In 1320, when the insolence of the Spencers, Edward the Second's favourites, had incensed the barons to confederate against them, the parliament of the White Bands* met at Westminster; and the barons, to secure their purpose, marched their army to London, and encamped in the suburbs of the city. The mayor, from motives of precaution, and to restrain the license of these troops, appointed a guard of a thousand citizens, completely armed, to keep watch at the city gates, and other places, from four in the morning till six in the evening: after which they were to be relieved by a night guard, consisting of the same number of men, attended by two aldermen and other officers, who patroled the streets, to keep the guard to their duty.† Soon afterwards, however, the baron's army was admitted into the city, by the orders of the king,‡ who found himself compelled to ratify the sentence of banishment against the Spencers, though it was soon after reversed; and they were no sooner restored to favour, than they petitioned the king against the barons, setting forth the great damages they had sustained by them: by which petition it appears, that the father's estates were vastly great: his real estate consisted of sixty-three manors, and his personal of two crops of corn, one in barns, and the other upon the ground; in cash, jewels, silver and golden utensils, &c., ten thousand pounds; armour for two hundred men, warlike engines, and the destruction of his houses, thirty thousand pounds; the furnitures of his chapel and wardrobe, five thousand pounds; eight and twenty thousand sheep; one thousand oxen and heifers; twelve hundred cows, with their calves for two years; forty mares, with their foals for two years; five hundred and sixty cart-horses; two thousand hogs; four hundred kids; forty tuns of wine; six hundred bacons; eighty carcases of beef; six hundred muttons in larder; ten tuns of cyder, and six and thirty sacks of wool: with a library of books.

About the feast of St. Michael, the queen, Isabella, being on pilgrimage to Canterbury, was refused admittance into Leeds

* "So called," says Rapin, "on account of certain white marks by which be adherents of the barons were to know one another." Hist. vol. i, p. 395.

† Fab. Chron. p. 7.

‡ Wal. Hist. Angl.

castle, of which Bartholomew de Badlesmere, one of the associated barons was then owner; and though he was not present when this indignity was offered, he afterwards justified it in a very insolent letter written by himself to the queen.* Edward, incensed at the affront, and stimulated to vengeance by Isabella, assembled an army, principally composed of Londoners, and besieged the castle; and having forced it to surrender, he caused sir Thomas Culpeper, the governor, and some other inferior officers, to be immediately hanged. Flushed with this success, he turned his arms against the barons; who, not being prepared for such an unexpected change, were either obliged to fly the kingdom, or throw themselves upon his mercy. In reward for the eminent services rendered by the Londoners on this occasion, Edward, by his letters patent, dated in December, in the fifteenth of his reign, granted as follows:—'Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain; to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas the mayor and the good men of the city of London have of late thankfully done us aid of armed footmen at our castle of Leeds, in our county of Kent, and also aid of like armed men now going with us through divers parts of our realm for divers causes; we, willing to provide for the indemnity of the said mayor, and men of our city of London in this behalf, have granted to them, for us and our heirs, that the said aids to us so thankfully done, shall not be prejudicial to the said mayor and good men, their heirs and successors; nor shall they be drawn into consequent for time to come. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness myself at Aldermaston, the twelfth day of December, in the fifteenth year of our reign.'†

It is probable that this favour prevailed upon the citizens to give Edward the sum of two thousand marks, towards his war in Scotland.‡

Notwithstanding this charter, the king's favour proved but of short duration; for, availing himself of the dissentions which still prevailed on account of the last presentment, Edward seized on the city liberties, but was afterwards persuaded to grant permission to the aldermen and commonalty, by a mandate from Gloucester, anno 1322, to elect their own custos or mayor.

The ascendancy which Edward had obtained over the refractory barons was but short-lived, though it had been cemented with blood. He recalled the Spencers, who quickly assumed their wonted arrogance, and were the means of bringing many of the old nobility to the scaffold. At length, the popular discontents grew too strong to be controlled; and the queen herself,

* Rapin's Hist. i. 395, 396. † Maitland's London, i. 118.
‡ Madox Hist. Excheq. 1322.

after enduring many affronts, resolved to engage in the overthrow of the favourites. With this intent, after intriguing for some months in France, she procured assistance, in troops and vessels, from the earl of Hainault, and landed in England, in September, 1322.

Edward immediately demanded a supply of men and money from the citizens of London; but, instead of complying, they made answer, that 'they would with due obedience honour the king and queen, and their son, who was lawful heir to the realm, and that they would shut their gates against all foreign traitors; yet they would not go out of their city to fight, except they might, according to their liberties, return home the same day before sun-set.'* This answer was dictated through the incensed opposition which had been excited by some recent conduct of the king, who, in violation of his late charter, had compelled the citizens to furnish him with one hundred men at arms, to be 'maintained at their own expense, and to march wherever commanded.'†

Edward being greatly provoked by this reply, gave immediate orders for storing the Tower of London with all military provisions, leaving his son, John of Eltham, therein, under the government of sir John de Weston, and committed the custody of the city to Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter. He then left London, and hastened into the western parts, to raise an army. Meanwhile, the mayor and citizens received two letters from the queen, exhorting them, in a strenuous manner, to unite in defence of the common cause, and free their oppressed country from the bondage of favoritism. The second letter was stuck upon the cross in West-cheap, or Cheapside, and many copies of it put up in other places; this led the bishop of Exeter, by virtue of his commission, to demand the keys of the city from the mayor; upon which, the populace assembling in a riotous manner, seized upon that magistrate, and obliged him to swear to obey only their orders. 'Afterwards,' says Stow, 'without respect of any, they beheaded such as they tooke to be the queen's enemies, among which they beheaded one of their owne citizens, named John Marshall, because hee was familiar with Hugh Spencer the yonger.' They next proceeded in search of the bishop of Exeter, and having burnt the gates of his palace, they entered but not finding him they carried off his jewels, plate and furniture.' In the interim, the unfortunate prelate, returning on horseback from the fields, endeavoured to take sanctuary in St. Paul's cathedral, but was seized by the rabble at the north door, and beaten in a very inhuman manner. They then dragged him to the standard in West-Cheap; where, having proclaimed him a traitor, they cut off his head, together with those of two of his domestics, and afterwards

* Stow's Chron. p. 338. † Maitland's London, first ed. p. 76.

buried their bodies under the rubbish of a fortress which the bishop was erecting near the river Thames. They were the more revengeful towards this prelate, because, being high treasurer, he had persuaded the council that the itinerant judges might sit in the city; by whose inquisition, the citizens had been found guilty of various mal-practices, for which their liberties were seized, and many of the principals fined in pecuniary mulcts, whilst many others suffered imprisonment.

On the following day, the keys of the Tower were taken by force from the constable, sir John de Weston, and the prisoners being all set at liberty, the citizens dismissed the king's officers, and appointed others under John of Eltham, whom they constituted guardian of the city and kingdom. Soon afterwards, Robert de Baldock, the chancellor, to whom most of the miseries of the kingdom were imputed, having been brought from Hereford to London, and committed to the bishop's prison, was taken thence by the mob, and dragged to Newgate, as a place of more security; but the unmerciful treatment he met with on the way, occasioned him to die there within a few days, in great torment, from the blows which had been inflicted.

At length, the queen's party were completely successful; the king was taken prisoner, and both the Spencers were hung. The head of the younger one was sent up to London, and received there with brutal insult, and set up on a pole upon the bridge. Shortly after, Isabella entered the metropolis in triumph, with prince Edward, and many of the clergy and nobility; and a parliament being summoned for the purpose, the captive monarch was solemnly deposed, and the crown given to his eldest son, who ascended the throne as Edward the Third.

The services rendered by the citizens had been so grateful to the court and ministers of the young king, that in the March following his accession, they procured his signature to two new charters. In the first is contained not only a confirmation of all the ancient and valuable liberties and immunities of the citizens, but likewise the following additional and advantageous privileges: viz. 'That the mayor shall, at all times thereafter, be one of the judges of Oyer and Terminer, for the trial of criminals confined in Newgate. The citizens to have the right of *Infangthefe* and *Outfangthefe*; the former being a privilege of trying a thief or robber taken within the jurisdiction of the city; and the latter a right of reclaiming a citizen apprehended elsewhere for felony, in order to try him within the city. A right to the goods and chattels of all felons convicted within the jurisdiction of the city. A remission of one hundred pounds per annum, heretofore unjustly extorted from the citizens, for the fee-farm of their city and county of Middlesex, contrary to their charters. A privilege of devising in mortmain, which is an alienation of lands and tenements to any guild, corporation, or fraternity, and their successors, without the king's

leave, according to ancient custom. The sheriffs of London and Middlesex to be amerced no otherwise than their brethren south of the river Trent. All foreign merchants to dispose of their merchandizes within forty days, thereby to prevent enhancing the prices of their several commodities. The citizens not chargeable with the custody of those that take sanctuary in churches. The king's marshall, steward, nor clerk of the household, to exercise any authority in the city. The office of escheator conferred upon, and given in perpetuity to the mayor. For the greater convenience of the citizens resorting to country fairs, they have granted to them the valuable privilege of holding a court of *Pie-powder* in such place, for the determination of all contests that happen in each of the said fairs. That the citizens shall be free from all tallages, other than being assessed in common with their fellow-subjects, towards general subsidies, grants, and contributions. A great and just privilege, that the city liberties shall not hereafter be seized for a personal offence, or iniquitous judgment of any of its magistrates. That none of the king's purveyors, &c. presume to rate any sort of goods belonging to the citizens, nor to deal in any sort of merchandize within the city. And that no market be kept within seven miles of the city of London. And by the second charter, Southwark is granted for the good and benefit of the citizens.

Yet, in this same, there passed an iniquitous grant from the crown to one Simon, a merchant of London, to exempt him not only from serving the offices of mayor, alderman, sheriff, and coroner of London, but likewise from the charge of all taxes and duties whatsoever, in all parts of the kingdom.

During ten or twelve years after the commencement of the new reign, the peace of the city was frequently disturbed by bodies of ruffians, composed principally of the lower classes of the populace, who rambled about the streets in desperate gangs, armed with swords and other weapons, and committed many outrages, as assaults, robberies, and mutilations; and sometimes they even proceeded to the guilt of murder. The measures pursued by the king and the magistracy were, for some time, ineffectual in preventing these villanies; yet, at length, an instance of well-timed severity had its due effect. This was the instant execution of two daring wretches, named Haunsart and Le Brewere, who, with others, had resisted the mayor and sheriffs in their endeavours to quell a tumult that had arisen between the companies of Fishmongers and Skinners; being overpowered, they were immediately carried to Guildhall, where, having pleaded guilty, they were condemned to die, and were forthwith carried into Westcheap, and beheaded.

On the arrival of Edward's queen, Philippa of Hainault, in London, in 1328, she was received with great pomp, and magnificently entertained by the mayor and citizens. It is not impro-

bable that the remembrance of this reception disposed her the more to clemency, when, in the following year, the king's anger was excited by an accident that happened at a solemn '*Justing*,' or tournament, in Cheapside. The lists were appointed 'betwixt the great crosse,' says Stow (which stood opposite to the end of Wood-street), 'and the great conduite nigh Soper-lane,' (now Queen-street); and across the road, near the cross, was erected a stately scaffold, resembling a tower, in which the queen and principal ladies of the court were seated, to behold the spectacle. The justings continued three days, on one of which the scaffold brake down, and the queen and many ladies were precipitated to the ground, but fortunately escaped unhurt. Edward threatened the builders with exemplary punishment; but, through the intercession of Philippa, made 'on her knees,' the king and council were pacified; 'whereby,' says Stow, 'shee purchased greate love of the people.'*

In the spring of 1335, corn was so much injured by excessive rains, that a general dearth ensued; and provisions of all kinds becoming very scarce in the metropolis, through the arts of regrators, and the abuses committed with bad weights and measures, the king gave a severe reprimand to the mayor and sheriffs, for not taking better measures against a time of scarcity. 'He also upbraided them for the little regard they had had to their oaths, by suffering bread, wine, beer, and other kinds of victuals, to be sold in the city, at such excessive rates;' and strictly commanded the mayor, upon the penalty of his all, forthwith to convene the aldermen and commonalty, to regulate the prices of provisions according to the prime cost, so that the citizens might be no more imposed on. The measures pursued, in consequence of this command, combined with the want of specie, which had been drained by the sums levied throughout the kingdom to support the Scottish war, were so effectual in reducing the high prices, that soon afterwards, as appears from Fabian's Chronicle, the best wheat was sold at two shillings per quarter; the best ox for six shillings and eight-pence, the best sheep for eight-pence, the best goose for two-pence, the best pig for one penny, and six of the best pigeons for a like sum.†

In 1338 an extraordinary affair happened in the city, as appears by the following petition:—

The Petition of Richard de Bettoyne, of London, to the Parliament, as rendered from the French into English.

"To our lord the king, and his council, Richard de Bettoyne of London, sheweth,

"That whereas at the coronation of our lord the king, that now is, he [Richard de Bettoyne] being then mayor of London, performed the office of butler, with three hundred and sixty valets

* Stow's Chron. p. 351.

† Maitland, i. 124.

clothed in one livery, each carrying a white silver cup in his hand, as other mayors of London, time out of mind, used to do at the coronation of the kings, your progenitors; and the fee appendant to that service, that is to say, a gold cup with a cover, and with an ewer of gold enamelled, was delivered to him by assent of council, by the hands of sir Robert Woodhouse: and now there comes an estreat out of the exchequer to the sheriffs of London, for levying of eighty-nine pounds, twelve shillings, and six-pence for the said fee, upon the goods and chattels of the said Richard; wherein he prays that remedy may be ordained him.

"And the mayor and citizens of Oxford are bound by charter to come to London at the coronation, to assist the mayor of London in serving at the feast, and so have always used to do. Or, if it please our lord the king and his council, we will willingly pay the fee, so that we may be discharged from that service."*

As by this petition it appears, that the state anciently used at coronations by the chief magistrate of this city was very great, so does the royal return at this time show itself to have been as mean and pitiful, by endeavouring to recover the said fee.

In the next year, the parliament granted the king a great subsidy for the support of his war, and conquest of France; but present money being wanted, the city of London, at the king's desire, advanced him twenty thousand marks, upon the credit of that part of the aid to be raised upon the citizens. This being the first general assessment upon the city that I can find published, it cannot be unacceptable to the reader, to show him the proportions the several wards were charged with; by which we perceive which of the said wards were then esteemed the most opulent.

The Assessment.

	£	s.	d.
Tower Ward	365	0	0
Billingsgate Ward	763	0	0
Bridge Ward	765	6	8
Dowgate Ward	660	10	0
Langburn Ward	352	6	8
Wallbroke Ward	911	0	0
Bishopsgate Ward	559	6	8
Lymestreet Ward	110	0	0
Cornhill Ward	315	0	0
Cheap Ward	517	10	0
Broadstreet Ward	588	0	0
Vintry Ward	634	16	8
Breadstreet Ward	461	16	8
Queenhithe Ward	435	13	4
Cordwayuerstreet Ward	2195	3	4

* Blount Anc. Tenures

	£	s.	d.
Farringdon Ward Within	730	16	8
Farringdon Ward Without	114	13	4
Cripplegate Ward	462	10	0
Colemanstreet Ward	1051	16	8
Candlewickstreet Ward	133	6	8
Aldgate Ward	30	0	0
Portsoken Ward	27	10	0
Castle Baynard's Ward	63	6	8
Bassishaw Ward	79	13	4
Aldersgate Ward	57	10	0
	12,385	13	4

Fabian, in adding up the several sums above mentioned, has over-reckoned one thousand pounds, whereby he has given a balance of fifty-one pounds six shillings and eight-pence to the king; whereas, by the sum total of the above, there appears to have been due to the city fourteen hundred and twenty-one marks, six shillings and eight-pence, to make up the sum of twenty thousand marks.*

And it may be a matter of enquiry how the city was, by this assessment, found divided into twenty-five wards, when we are certain there were no more than twenty-four in the year 1285: and that the division of Farringdon Ward, into Farringdon Within and Farringdon Without the walls was not made till the seventeenth of Richard II. A. D. 1393, by order of parliament.

The king, having taken a resolution of going beyond sea, granted a commission to the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of London (dated in the preceding year) for the conservation of the peace in the city, till his return: commanding them at their peril to exert themselves to the utmost of their power, for the good and quiet of the city, during his absence; and that if they should apprehend any malefactors and disturbers of the said city, they should cause due and speedy punishment to be done upon them.

About the year 1350, a dreadful pestilence spread itself westward through every country on the globe, reached England, "and so wasted and spoyled the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts were left alive."† Its ravages in London were so great, that the common cemeteries were not sufficiently capacious to receive the dead; and various pieces of ground, without the walls of the city, were therefore assigned for burial places. Among them was the waste land now forming the precinct of the Charter House, which was purchased and appropriated for the purpose by sir Walter Manny, and in which upwards of 50,000 bodies of those who died of the pestilence were then interred.

* Chron. folio, 207.

† Stow's Ann. 578.

This destructive disorder did not entirely subside till the year 1357.*

The following singular enactment, 'made at the instance of the Londoners,' is recorded in Stow's Annals,† under the year 1353. 'After the Epiphanie, a parliament was holden at Westminster, wherein an ordinance was made that no knowen whore should weare from thenceforth any hoode, except reyed, or striped of divers colours, nor furre, but garments reversed, or turned the wrong side outward, upon paine to forfeit the same.' In the same year, the staple or mart for wool was removed from Bruges, in Flanders, to the principal cities in England and Ireland; one of the places appointed was Westminster, which, from this period and circumstance, began to attain an enlarged degree of that consequence which it now possesses.‡

In 1354, Edward granted to the mayor, sheriffs, &c. that the serjeants belonging to the city should have liberty to bear maces either 'of gold, or silver, or silvered, or garnished,' any where within the city and its liberties, and the county of Middlesex, or in the presence of the king, his 'mother, consort, and children.' All other serjeants were at that time restricted to carry maces of copper only. In the following year, the citizens, to testify their affection for the king, raised, at their own expense, for the army then preparing for the conquest of France, twenty-five men at arms, and five hundred archers, all arrayed in one livery.

Edward, prince of Wales, or the Black Prince, having routed the French army at Poictiers, and taken John their king prisoner, he and his royal captive, upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of this city, were met in Southwark by above a thousand of the citizens on horseback, richly accoutred; and were received at the foot of London-bridge by the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and the several companies of citizens in their formalities, with stately pageant. Every street or lugh which the cavalcade passed, exhibited a display of all the riches, beauty, and splendour of an opulent metropolis, emulously engaged to confer every token of respect on a beloved prince, and the captive French monarch. Hangings of tapestry and streamers of silk decorated every mansion, whilst vessels of gold and silver ostentatiously announced the wealth of its inhabitants. The implements and ornaments of war were displayed with peculiar pride and exultation. The beauty and gentility of the whole kingdom had flocked to the capital to enjoy this rare spectacle. The captive John, arrayed in royal robes, was mounted on a beautiful white steed, whilst the victorious prince of Wales, as modest as brave, in a plain dress rode by his side on a little black palfrey, with the air of an attendant rather than of a conqueror. The concourse of people on this occasion was so prodigiously great, that the cavalcade held from three in the morning till noon; so

* Stow's Ann. 880. † Ibid, 390. ‡ Hollinshed Chron.

that it may be justly affirmed that such a pompous entry, or stately procession had never been seen in London before. This zenith of splendour was soon eclipsed—the life of this excellent prince terminated in 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and universally deplored.

When a controversy happened, wherein a citizen of London was concerned, and the matter in dispute to be tried before the steward of the royal household, he used frequently to draw them out of the city to plead, contrary to the known liberties of the citizens; for the preventing of such pernicious practices for the future, the city after this joyful occasion, petitioned the king for redress, and received the following most gracious answer:—

"To the petition of the citizens of London asking remedy, in that the steward and marshal of the king's household drew them into plea, without the said city, against the form of the liberty, and against the tenor of the charters made to them upon this by the king and his progenitors; it was thus answered, That the king willeth, that if a transgression be made to any of the king's household, within the liberty of the city of London, and within the verge of the king, the plea of such transgression be held before the steward and marshal of the king's household; and if inquisition must be made, let that inquisition be taken within the said city; and it is enrolled in the rolls of John de Kirkeby, of the parliament of the king, held in the Quinden of St. John Baptist, in the thirteenth year of his reign. And further,

"Be it remembered, that at the parliament of our lord king Edward, in the thirtieth year of his reign, by the said king it was granted and commanded that this concession be firmly observed; namely, that whereas before the steward of the same lord the king and his marshal, the king at London, or at Westminster, or elsewhere near the aforesaid city, certain inquisitions ought to be made upon transgressions, or other facts, within the said city, between any of the said city, or between them and other foreigners, or between some of the king's household and another of the city, or any foreigner whatsoever, and of which transgression the cognizance belongs to the same steward and marshal by right:

"That all those inquisitions be taken within the city, and not elsewhere, although the parties of those inquisitions have pleaded without the city before the steward and marshal, and have put themselves in the former inquisition, whilst some jurors of that inquisition were of the said city and remained within the same.

"And this the lord the king granted in favour of the poor workmen of the said city, who lived of the work of their own hands; that they want not their food, or be more impoverished; and it was enrolled in the rolls of lord Gilbert Fitz-Robert, the king's justice."

A. D. 1359, corn became so very scarce, that wheat was sold

at one pound six shillings and eight-pence the quarter at London. And in the next year the French landed in Sussex, with an army of twenty thousand men, where they committed the most unheard-of cruelties, by sacking and burning of towns, killing the men, and ravishing the women. These terrible depredations and barbarities enraged the nation to such a degree, that in a short time the city of London, and other ports of the kingdom, fitted out a potent fleet of one hundred and sixty sail, wherein were embarked fourteen thousand men; who sailing to the coast of France, without opposition from the French fleet, they landed where they pleased, and ravaged, burned, and spoiled the country at pleasure.*

In 1361, the plague having made its re-appearance in France, measures of precaution were taken to prevent its spreading in England; and Edward sent a letter to the mayor and sheriffs of London, commanding that 'all bulls, oxen, hogs, and other gross creatures, to be slain for the sustenation of the said city,' should not be killed at a less distance than Stratford (le Bow) on the one side, and Knightsbridge on the other. This was done that the air of the city might no longer be rendered corrupt and infectious, by means of the putrid blood and entrails which the butchers had been accustomed to throw into the streets, or cast into the Thames. Every precaution, however, proved ineffectual; the pestilence reached London, and its ravages were so destructive, that upwards of 1200 persons are recorded to have fallen victims in the course of two days.†

A. D. 1363, the kings of Scotland, France, and Cyprus came into England to visit king Edward, who, together with the said kings, the prince of Wales, his son, and most of the nobility, were sumptuously entertained at dinner by Henry Picard, late mayor of London; and lady Margaret, his wife, kept her chamber, says our authon, for the same intent; which ought not only to be commemorated to the praise of that public-spirited citizen, but also to the honour of the city, in having had so generous and worthy a chief magistrate.

Notwithstanding the great advantages accruing to the nation by the use of archery, it was at this time so much in disuse, that the king, to enforce the practice thereof, sent the following letter to the sheriffs of London:—

'The king to the sheriffs of London, greeting. Because the people of our realm, as well of good quality as mean, have commonly in their sports before these times exercised the skill of shooting arrows; whence, it is well known that honor and profit have accrued to our whole realm, and to us, by the help of God, no small assistance in our warlike acts; and now the said skill being

* Chron. Preci

† Maitland's London, i. 230.

as it were, wholly laid aside, the same people please themselves in hurling of stones, and wood, and iron; and some in hand-ball, foot-ball, bandy-ball, and in cambuck, or cock-fighting: and some also apply themselves to other dishonest games, and less profitable or useful, whereby the said realm is likely, in a short time, to become destitute of archers:

'We, willing to apply a seasonable remedy to this, command you, that in places in the foresaid city, as well within the liberties as without, where you shall see expedient, you cause public proclamation to be made, that every one of the said city, strong in body, at leisure times on holidays, use in their recreations bows and arrows, or pellets, or bolts, and learn and exercise the art of shooting, forbidding all and singular on our behalf, that they do not, after any manner, apply themselves to the throwing of stones, wood, iron, hand-ball, foot-ball, bandy-ball, cambuck, or cock-fighting, nor such other like vain plays which have no profit in them, or concern themselves therein, under pain of imprisonment. Witness the king at Westminster, the twelfth day of June.'*

About the same time arrived in London above a hundred and twenty Dutch enthusiasts, wearing hats with red crosses before and behind; the upper parts of their bodies were naked, and the lower covered with a linen garment, with a whip of three knotted cords in each of their hands. Thus accoutred, they walked in procession through the streets of the city, with four of their company singing before them; and being answered by the rest, they unanimously fell a lashing and cutting their bodies with their whips in a cruel and most surprising manner, insomuch that the blood issued from their wounds very plentifully. This wholesome discipline they practised twice a day, sometimes in St. Paul's church, and at other times in the streets.†

The plague broke out again in the year 1369, and swept away abundance of people; yet, through the great scarcity of corn, a dearth prevailed to that degree, that wheat was sold at one pound four shillings the quarter; and corn continuing to rise, by reason of a wet harvest, wheat, the succeeding year, was sold at the excessive price of one pound six shillings and eight-pence the quarter.

The citizens having ran too much into the abominable practice of usury, to the great hurt of trade in general, and the oppression of their fellow-subjects, Mr. John Not, the mayor, devised and published such ordinances for the putting of the laws in execution against the extortioners, that an effectual stop was put to the growing evil. And this proceeding was so highly approved of by the king and parliament, that all the rest of the nation were strictly enjoined to follow the example.

In the same year, a grand tournament was held in Smithfield to

* Rot. Clause, 39 Edw. III.

† Stow's Ann

gratify the pride of Alice Pierce, or Perrers, whom Edward, in his dotage, had chosen for his mistress; and on that occasion had dignified with the appellation of *Lady of the Sun*. She appeared by the king's side in a triumphal chariot, clothed in gorgeous apparel, and accompanied by a great number of ladies of high rank, each of whom led a knight on horseback by the bridle. The procession set out from the Tower, and was attended by the principal nobility, richly accoutred; and many gallant feats of arms were performed by the knights who entered the lists, which were kept open during seven successive days. Alice is represented by our historians as a woman of high ambition, but little principle. 'By her overmuch familiarity with the king,' says Stowe, 'she was cause of much mischiefe in the realme; for, exceeding the manner of women, shee sate by the king's justices, and sometimes by the doctors in the Commons, perswading and disswading in defence of matters, and requesting things contrary to lawe and honestie.'*

About this period, various complaints and remonstrances were made to the parliament by the citizens, against the privileges that the king's policy had occasioned him to bestow on foreign merchants, some of whom had even obtained grants of liberties wholly abrogatory of certain parts of the city charters. Redress was, after a considerable length of time, awarded by the king's letters patent in the year 1376; and under this grant, two merchants, who had procured licenses to act contrary to the ancient franchises of the citizens, were severely punished by imprisonment and confiscation of property. Still the city had at that time but little interest with the king's council, and various grievances that had been complained against were passed over either in a slight or contemptuous manner.

In 1377, a remarkable mummery was made by the citizens of London, for disport of the young prince Richard, son to the Black Prince:—

'On the Sunday before Candlemas, in the night, one hundred and thirty citizens, disguised and well horsed, in a mummery, with sound of trumpets, sackbuts, cornets, shalmes, and other minstrels, and innumerable torch-lights of wax, rode from Newgate, through Cheap, over the bridge, through Southwark, and so to Kennington, besides Lambeth, where the young prince remained with his mother and the duke of Lancaster, his uncle, the earls of Cambridge, Hertford, Warwicke, and Suffolke; with divers other lords.

'In the first rank did ride 48 in likeness and habit of esquires, two and two together, clothed in red coats, and gowns of say, or sendal, with comely vizors on their faces.

'These maskers, after they had entered the manor of Kennington, alighted from the horses, and entered the hall on foot; which

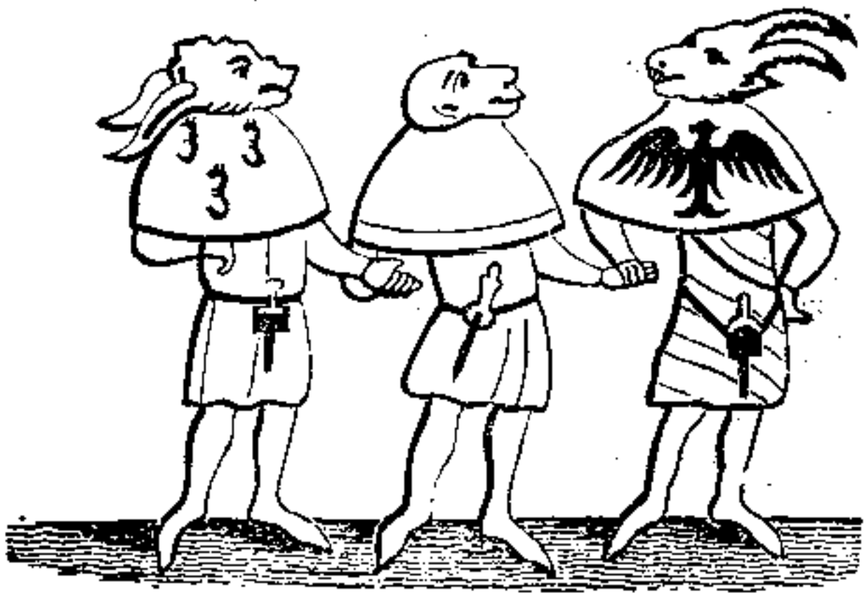
* Stowe.

done, the prince, his mother, and the lords came out of the hall, whom the mummers did salute; shewing by a paire of dice on the table their desire to play with the prince, which they so handled that the prince did alwais winne, when he came to cast at them. Then the mummers set to the prince three jewels, one after another, which were a boule of gold, a cup of gold, and a ring of gold, which the prince wonne at three casts. Then they set to the prince's mother, the duke, the earls, and other lords, to every one a ring of gold, which they also did win. After which they were feasted, and the music sounded, the prince and lords danced on the one part, with the mummers, who did also dance; which jollity being ended, they were again made to drink, and then departed in order as they came.'

The young prince was at this time only ten years old, and succeeded to the throne of his grandfather in the same year, viz. 1377.

It may not be amiss to introduce some account of this sport. It was derived from the Saturnalia, and so called from the Danish mumme, or Dutch momme, disguise in a mask. Christmas was the grand scene of mumming, and some mummers were disguised like bears, others like unicorns, bringing presents. They who could not procure masks, rubbed their faces with soot, or painted them. In the Christmas mummeries, the chief aim was to surprise, by the oddity of the masks, and singularity and splendour of the dresses. Every thing was out of nature and propriety. They were often attended with an exhibition of gorgeous machinery. It was an old custom also to have mummeries on twelfth night. They were the common holiday amusements of young people of both sexes; but 6 Edward III., the mummers and masqueraders were ordered to be whipped out of London. Sometimes they were very splendid, with grand processions, music, &c.*

The annexed engraving is taken from a beautiful manuscript, written and illuminated in the reign of Edward III. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.†



* From that valuable and curious work, Rev. T. D. Fosbroke's Encyclopedia of Antiquities, vol. ii, p. 56?

† History of Lambeth, p. 352.

About this time, John Wickliff, doctor of divinity in the university of Oxford, began to publish his belief upon several articles of religion, wherein he differed from the common doctrine. Pope Gregory XI. being informed of it, condemned some of his tenets, and commanded the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation, and, in case of refusal, to summon him to Rome. It was not easy to execute this commission. Wickliff had now many followers in the kingdom, and for protector the duke of Lancaster, whose authority was very little inferior to the king's. Nevertheless, to obey the pope's orders, the archbishop held a synod at St. Paul's at London, and cited Wickliff to appear. Accordingly he appeared, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster and the lord Percy, marshal of England, who believed their presence necessary to protect him. After he had taken his place according to his rank, and been interrogated by the bishop of London [Courteney], he would have answered sitting, and thereby gave occasion for a great dispute. The bishop insisted upon his standing and being uncovered; but the duke of Lancaster pretended that Wickliff was there only as doctor to give his vote and opinion, and not as a party accused. The contest grew so high, that the duke of Lancaster proceeded to threats, and gave the bishop very hard words; whereupon, the people that were present, thinking the bishop in danger, took his part with such heat and noise, that the duke and the earl marshal thought fit to withdraw, and take Wickliff with them. Their withdrawing appeased not the tumult. Some incendiaries spread a report that, at the instance of the duke of Lancaster, it was moved that day to the king in council, to put down the office of lord mayor, take away the city privileges, and reduce London under the jurisdiction of the earl marshal. This was sufficient to enrage the people: they ran immediately to the Marshalsea; and freed all the prisoners; but they did not stop here. The rioters, whose numbers continually increased, posted to the duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy, and missing his person, plundered the house, and dragged his arms along the streets. The duke was so provoked at this affront, that he could not be pacified, but by the removal of the mayor and [several] aldermen, whom he accused of not using their authority to restrain the seditious.*

The dissentions between the duke and the citizens were not wholly subsided, when the king, worn out by a lingering disease, died at his palace at Shene, near Richmond, in Surrey, on the 21st of June, 1377.

On the day of Edward's decease, a deputation of citizens, with the mayor of London at their head, waited upon prince Richard, his grandson, at Kennington, and acknowledged him for their

* Rapin, vol. i. p. 444

lawful sovereign, requesting him to favor the city with his presence, and future residence. Soon afterwards, they submitted all differences between themselves and the duke of Lancaster to his decision; and a final accommodation being effected in consequence within a few days, the new king came from Shene to London, accompanied by his chief officers of state and principal nobility. On his entry into the capital, he was met by the mayor and citizens in splendid procession; and, during his course through the city, a stately pageant, resembling a castle, that had been erected in Cheapside, continued to flow with wine. The mantling liquor was served out from golden cups to the youthful monarch, and his nobility, by four beautiful damsels, about the king's own age; and they also bestrewed his head with gilt leaves, and distributed 'florins resembling gold' among the populace. The general festivity was heightened by the affability of the duke of Lancaster, who, on this occasion, strove to obtain the good will of the citizens. On the sixteenth of the following month, Richard was solemnly crowned at Westminster Hall; the mayor, with his attendants, as customary, performing the office of chief butler.

The year 1378 is memorable in the city annals, for the expedition fitted out by John Philpot, lord mayor, against Mercer, the Scottish pirate; who, taking advantage of the little attention that had been lately given to naval affairs by the government, carried off all the shipping from the port of Scarborough: and continuing to infest the northern coast, was frequently making considerable prizes. The complaints made by the suffering merchants were but little regarded by the council, when Philpot, with an ardent desire to revenge the insults offered to his country, and protect the commerce of his native city, fitted out a fleet at his own expense; and manning it with a thousand men, completely armed, went himself on board as commander-in-chief, and sailed in pursuit of the piratical Scot. In a short time he came up with Mercer, and a long and desperate engagement ensued; but at length Philpot obtained the victory, and obliged the pirate to surrender, with most of his ships, among which were fifteen Spanish vessels, richly laden. The conqueror returning in triumph to London, was received with great exultation by his fellow-citizens; yet the lordlings of the court were so much offended at 'his presumption and contempt, in undertaking an affair of so high a nature without the king's permission,' that he was summoned to answer for it before the king and council: but 'he made so good a defence,' says Rapin, 'and with so much modesty, that he was dismissed without further trouble.'

In 1380, at a parliament held in St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton, in November,* was passed an act for levying a poll-tax

* Cott. Rec. p. 188

on 'every person in the kingdom, being man or woman, passing the age of fifteen year, and being no beggar; twelve-pence to be levied of every person of every parish, according to their estate so as the rich doth bear with the poor; and the richest, for him and his wife, be not set above twenty shillings; and the most poor, for him and his wife, no lesse than one groat.'* This was the occasion of producing, in the following year, one of the most dangerous insurrections that ever threatened to overthrow the monarchy of this kingdom, and in which the metropolis particularly suffered.

The tax was exacted with great rigour from the people, it having been farmed out to a set of rapacious courtiers, who were desirous, as Stowe remarks, to 'enrich themselves with other mennes goods;' and the clause enjoining the rich to assist the poor, was so extremely vague, that it was evaded in most instances, and rendered the people more sensible of the weight of the imposition. The insolence of the collectors, and the many acts of base indecency which they committed, to ascertain the age of the females whom they set down as liable to the charge, were additional causes of irritation, and at length kindled the spark of that sedition which soon after burst into an open flame.

The insurrection began in Essex, but very quickly spread through the neighbouring counties, and particularly in Kent, where the daughter of Wat Tyler, so called from his trade, which was that of a tyler and slater of Dartford, having been most indecently treated by a collector, the father 'smote him with his lathing staffe, that the brains flew out of his head, where through great noyse arose in the streetes, and the poore people being glad, every one prepared to support the said Tyler.'

Thus, the 'commons being drawne together,' says Howe, from whose edition of Stowe's Annals the ensuing extracts are made, 'went to Maidstone, and from thence to Blackheath, and so in short time they stirred all the country, in a manner, to the like commotion, and forthwith besetting the waies that lead to Canterbury, arrest all passengers, compelling them to sweare, first, that they should keep their allegiance unto king Richard, and to the commons; and that they should have no king that was named John, for envy they bare unto John, duke of Lancaster, who named himselfe king of Castile; and that they shoulde be ready whenso ever they were called, and that they shoulde agree to no taxe to be levied from thenceforth in the kingdome, nor consent to any, except it were a fifteene.

'The fame of these doings spread into Sussex, Hertford, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, Norfolke, Suffolke, &c. and when such assembling of y^e^ common people daily took increase, and y^t^ their number was now almost infinite, so that they feared no man to

* Cott. Rec. p. 189

resist them, they beganne to shew some such actes as they had considered in their minds, and tooke in hand to behead all men of lawe, as well apprentises, as utter barristers, and olde justices, with all the jurers of the countrey, whom they might get into their hands; they spared none whom they thought to be learned; especially, if they found any to have pen and inke, they pulled off his hoode, and all with one voice of 'Hale him out,' and cut off his head.'

'They also determined to burne all court-rolles and olde monuments, that the memory of antiquities being taken away, their lordes should not be able to challenge any right on them from that time forth. These commons had to their chapleine, or preacher, a wicked priest, called sir John Ball, who counsailed them to destroy all the nobility and cleargy, so that there should bee no bishop in Engiand, but one archbishoppe, which should bee himselfe; and that there should not bee aboue two religious persons in one house; and their possessions should be deuided among the laye men; for the which doctrine they held him as a prophet. They going towardes London, met diuers lawyers, and twelue knights of that countrey, whom they forced to swere to maintaine them, or else to be beheaded. This being knowne to the king, on Wednesday following hee sent messengers to demaund the cause of their rising; who aunswered, yt they were gathered together for his safety, to destroy those that were traytors to him and his kingdome. The king by messengers replied, that they shoulde cease their assemblies vntill hee mought speake with them, and all matters should be amended. Whereupon the commons requested the king to come and see them on the Blacke heath; and the king, the third time, sent word that he would willingly come to them the next day. At what time the king being at Windsore, remooued in all haste to London; whom the maior mett, and safely brought to the Tower, whither the archbyshop of Canterburie, chancellor; the byshop of London; the pryor of St. John, treasurer; the earls of Buckingham, Kent, Arundale, Warwicke, Suffolke, Oxford, and Salesburie; and other of the nobility and gentlemen, to the number of sixe hundred, did come: and on Corpus Christi eeve, the commons of Kent came to Blackeheath, three miles from London, to meete with the king, hauing displayed before them two banners of Saint George, and threescore penons. The commons of Essex came on the other parte of the riuer Thames, to haue also aunswere from the king; at what time, the king being in the Tower, commaunded barges to bee made ready, and taking with him his counsell, and foure barges for his retinue, was rowed to Greenewich, where the chancellor and treasurer perswaded the king that it were great follie to goe to a number of menne without reason: and thereupon hee stayed. The commons, therefore, sent to him, requiring to haue the heades of John, duke of Lancaster, and fifteene other

lordes, whereof fourteene were present with him in the Tower; to wit, Simon Sudbury, chancellor; sir Robert Hales, treasurer; the bishoppe of London; Iohn Fordham, clearke of the privie seale; Robert Belknape, chiefe justice; sir Ralph Ferers: sir Robert Plessington, chiefe baron of the exchequer; John Legge, sergeant at armes; Thomas Bampton, and others; whereunto the king would not assent, but willed them to come to him to Windsore on Monday next, where they should have sufficient answere to all their demaunds. The commons had a watch-word, which was this 'With whom hold you?' and the answere was 'With king Richard and the true commons;' and who could not that watch-word, off went his head. The king being warned that if hee came to the commons, hee should be carried about by them, and forced to grant them their requests whatsoeuer, he returned toward London, and entred the Tower about three of the clock.

'The commons being certified that the king was gone, they on the same day, toward euening, came to Southwarke, where they brake down the houses of Marshalsey, and loosed the prisoners; amongst other, they brake down the house of Iohn Inworth, then marshall of the Marshalsey, the King's Bench, and all the houses of the jurers and quest-mongers; continuing that outrage all the night. At what time the commons of Essex went to Lambeth, a mannor of the archbishoppe of Canterbury, entred the house, spoyled and burnt all the goods, with the bookes, registers and remembrances of the chancery. The next day being Thursday, and the feast of Corpus Christi, or the thirteenth of June, the commons of Essex, in the morning, went to the mannor of Highbery, two miles from London, north; this mannor, belonging to the pryor of St. John of Jerusalem, they wholy consumed with fire. On which day, also, in the morning, the commons of Kent brake down the stew-houses, near London-bridge, at that time in ye hands of the frowes of Flaunders, who had farmed them of the maior of London. After which, they went to London-bridge, in hope to have entered the city; but the maior coming thither before, fortified the place, caused the bridge to be drawne up, and fastened a great chain of yron acrosse to restraine their entrie. Then the commons of Surrey, who were risen with each other, cried to the wardens of the bridge to let it downe, whereby they mought passe, or else they would destroy them all; whereby they were constrained for feare to let it downe, and give them entry: at which time ye religious persons were earnest in procession and prayer for peace. The commons passed through the city and did no hurt; they take nothing from any man, but bought all things at a just price; and if they found any man with theft, they beheaded him.

'Now talking with the simple commons of procuring them libertie, and apprehending traytors (as they termed them, es-

pecially the duke of Lancaster), they shortly got all the poore citizens to conspire with them: and the same day, after the sunne was got on some height that it waxed warme, and that they had tasted at their pleasures of diuers wines, whereby they were become as madde as drunken (for the rich citizens had set open the sellers to enter at their pleasure), they beganne to talke of many things; amongst the which, they exhorted each other that going to the Sauoy, the duke of Lancaster's house, to the which there was none in the realme to be compared in beauty and statelinesse, they mought set fire on it and burne it: this talke pleasing the commons of the citie, they straight ranne thither, and setting fire on it round about, applied their trauaile to destroy that place; and, that it mought appeare to the communalty of the realme, that they did not any thing for covetousness, they caused proclamation to be made, that none, on paine to lose his head, shoulde presume to conuert to his own use, any thing that there was, or mought be found: but that they should breake such plate and vessells of gold and siiver, as were in that house in great plenty, into small peeces, and throw the same into the Thames, or in to some priuies: clothes of gold, silver, silke, and veluet, they should teare; rings and jewels set with precious stones they shoulde bruse in mortars, that the same mought bee to no vse, &c. and so it was done. Henry Knighton writeth, that when the rebelles burnt the Sauoy, one of them (contrary to the proclamation), tooke a goodly silver peece, and hid it in his bosome, but an other that espied him told his fellowes, who forthwith hurled him and the peece of plate into the fire, saying, we bee zealous of truth and iustice, and not theeves or robbers. After this, they getting a rich garment of the duke's (commonly called a jack, or jackquit), setting it on a speare's point for a marke they shoote at it with their bowes and arrowes; but when they could that way doe it little hurte, they tooke it downe, and laying it on the ground, with their swordes and axes they all to broke it. To the number of two and thirtie of those rebels entred a seller of the Sauoy, where they dranke so much of sweete wines, that they were not able to come out in time, but were shut in with wood and stones y^t^ mured up the doore, where they were heard crying and calling seuen days after, but none came to helpe them out till they were dead.

'In this meane time, the commons of Kent brake up the Fleet, and let the prisoners goe where they would. They destroyed and burnt many houses, defaced the beautie of Fleete-streete; from thence they went to the Temple to destroy it; and plucked downe the houses, took off the tyles of the other buildinges left, went to the church, tooke out all the bookes and remembrances, that were in the hutches of the prentises of the lawe, carried them into the high streete, and there burnt them. This house they spoyled for wrath they bare to the pryor of Sainte Iohns,

unto whome it belonged. After a number of them hadde sacked this Temple, what with labour, and what with wine, being overcome, they lay downe under the walles and housing, and were slaine like swine, one of them killing an other for an old grudge and hatred; and others also made quicke dispatch of them. A number of them that burnt the Temple went from thence towards the Sauoy, destroying all the houses y^t^ belonged to the hospitall of Saint Iohn: and after they went to the place of the bishop of Chester, by the Strand, where Iohn Fordham remained, elect of Durham; they entred his seller, rouling out the tunnes of wine, drinking excessively, not doeing any more harme. Then they went towards the Sauoy, burning many houses of quest-mongers. At the last they came to the Sauoy, brake the gates, entred the house, came to the wardrobe, tooke out all the torches they could finde, which they sate a fire, and with them burnt all y^e^ feather beddes, couerlet, (whereof one with armes was esteemed worth 1000 marks,) and all other goods that they might finde, with the houses and buildings belonging thereunto, which were left by the commons of the citie of London. And (as it was saide) they founde three barrels of gunne powder, which they thought had beene golde or silver; those they cast into the fire, which more sodainely than they thought blew up the hall, destroyed the houses, and almost themselues. From thence they went to Westminster, burning diuers houses; and amongst other, the house of Iohn Buterwike, under shriue of Midlesex. They brake y^e^ prison at Westminster, and returned to London by Holborne; and, before the church of Saint Sepulchre, burnt the house of Simon, the hostiler, and others; they brake the prison of Newgate, let forth the prisoners, &c.

'The same Thursday, the saide commons went to Saint Martin's le Grand, in London, and tooke from the high altar in that church one Roger Legat, chiefe sisar (or questmonger), led *him* into Cheape, and cut off his head. At that time, also, they beheaded xviii in diuers places of the citie. During which time, diuers of the commons went vnto the Tower, there to haue spoken with y^e^ king, but could not be heard; wherefore they besieged the Tower on that side towards Saint Katherins. The other commons that were in the citie went to the hospitall of Saint Iohn, and by the way burnt the house of Roger Legat, lately beheaded; they burnt all the houses belonging to Saint Iohns, and then burnt the fayre priory of the hospitall of Saint Iohn, causing the same to burne the space of seven days after. At what time, the king being in a turret of the Tower, and seeing the mannours of Sauoy, the priory of St. Johns Hospitall, and other houses, on fire, hee demaunded of his council what was best to do in that extremitie; but none of them coude counsaile in that case. The king there, in a tower towards Saint Katherines, made proclamation, that all people should depart to their houses

peaceably, and hee would pardon them all their trespasses; but they, with one voice, cried, they would not go before they had the traitors within the Tower, and charters to free them from all seruice; and of other matter which they would demand. This the king granted, and caused a clearke to write in their presence as followeth:—

'Richard, king of England and of France, doth greatly thanke his good commons, because they so greatly desire to see and holde him for their king, and doth pardon to them all manner of trespasses, misprisons, and felonies, done before this time; and willeth and commandeth from henceforth, that euery one hasten to his owne dwelling, and set downe all his greeuances in writing, and send it vnto him; and he will, by aduice of his lawfull lords, and good counsell, prouide such remedy as shall bee profitable to him, to them, and to the whole realme.' Whereunto he set his signet in their presence, and sent it vnto them by two knights; one of them standing up in a chaire above the rest, that euery one might heare. During which time, the king remained in the Tower to his great griefe; for when the commons heard the writing, they said it was but a mockery; and therefore returned to London, proclaiming through the citie, that all the men of lawe, all they of the chancery, and of the exchequer, and all that could make any writ, or letter, should bee beheaded wheresoeuer they might be found. The whole number of the common people were at that time divided into three parts; of the which, one part was attending to destroy the mannor of Highbery, and other places belonging to the prior of Saint Iohn. Another company lay at the Miles end, east of the citie. The third kept at the Tower hill, there to spoyle the king of such victuals as were brought towards him. The company assembled on the Miles end, sent to command the king that hee should come to them without delay, vnarmed, or without any force; which if he refused to doe, they would surely pull downe the Tower, neither should hee escape aliue; who, taking counsell of a few, by seuen of the clocke, the king rode to the Miles end, w^h^ his mother, in a whirlicote, (or chariot, as we now terme it) and the earles of Buckingham, Kent, Warwicke, and Oxford, sir Thomas Percie, sir Robert Knowles, and the maior of London, w^h^ divers others knights and esquires. Sir Aubrey de Vere bare the king's sword. Thus, with a few vnarmed, the king went towards the rebels in great feare; and so the gates of the Tower being set open, a great multitude of them entred the same. There was the same time in the Tower 600 warlike men, furnished with armour and weapons, expert men in arms, and 600 archers, all of which did quaile in stomacke. For the basest of the rusticks, not many together, but euery one by himselfe durst presume to enter into the king's chamber, or his mother's, with their weapons, to put in feare each of the men of warre, knights, or other. Many of them came

into the king's priuy chamber, and plaid the wantons in sitting, lying and sporting them on the king's bed; and that more is, inuited the king's mother to kisse with them; yet durst none of those menne of warre (strange to be said) one withstand them; they came in and out like masters that, in times past, were slaves of most vile condition. Whilest, therefore, these rustickes sought the archbishop, with terrible noyse and fury, running up and downe, at length, finding one of his seruants, they charge him to bring them where his master was, whom they named traytor; which seruant, daring doe none other, brought them to the chappell where, after masse hadde beene said, and having receiued the communion, the archbishoppe was busie in his praiers; for, not vnknowing of their coming and purpose, hee hadde passed the last night in confessing of his sinnes, and in deuout praiers. When, therefore, hee heard they were come, with great constancie hee said to his men, 'Let us now goe; surely it is best to die, when it is no pleasure to liue;' and with that, ye tormentors entring, cried, 'Where is the traitor?' The archbishop answered, 'Behold, I am the archbishoppe whom you seek, not a traitor.' They therefore laid handes on him, and drew him out of the chappell; they drew him out of the Tower gates to the Tower hill, where, being encompassed about with many thousands, and seeing swords about his head drawne in excessive number, threatning to him death, he said unto them thus: 'What is it, deere brethren, you purpose to doe; what is mine offence committed against you, for which ye will kill me? you were best to take heed, that if I be killed, who am your pastor, there come not on you the indignation of the iust reuenger, or at the least, for such a fact, all England be put vnder interdiction.' He could unneath pronounce these words, before they cryed out with a horrible noyse, that they neither feared the interdiction nor the pope to be above them. The archbishop seeing death at hand, spake with cōfortable words, as he was an eloquent man, and wise beyond all wise men of the realme: lastly, after forgiueness granted to the executioner, that should behead him, he kneeling downe, offered his necke to him that should strike it off; being stricken in the neck, but not deadly, he, putting his hand to his necke, saide thus: 'A ha, it is ye hand of God:' he had not remoued his hand from the place where the payne was, by that being sodainly striken, his fingers ends being cut off, and part of the arteries, he fell downe; but yet he died not, till, being mangled with 8 strockes in the necke and in the head, he fulfilled most worthy martyrdome. There lay his body unburied all that Friday, and the morrow till afternoon, none daring to deliuer his body to the sepulture; his head these wicked tooke, and nayling thereon his hoode, they fixe it on a pole, and set it on London-bridge, in place where before stood the head of sir John Minstarworth. This archbishoppe Simon Tibald, alias Sudbury, sonne to Nicholas Tibald, gentleman,

borne in the towne of Sudbury, in Suffolke, doctour of both lawes, was 18 yeeres byshoppe of London; in the which time he builded a goodly colledge, in place where his father's house stoode, and indued it with great possessions; and furnished the same with secular clerkes and other ministers, valued at the suppression, 122 pound, 18 shillings, in lands, by yeere. He builded the upper ende of Saint Gregories church at Sudbury. After being translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in an. 1375, he re-edified the walles of that cittie from the west gate (which hee builded) to the north gate, which had beene destroyed by the Danes before the conquest of William the Bastard. He was slaine as ye haue heard, and afterwards buried in the cathedrall church of Canterbury. There died with him sir Robert Hales, a most valiant knight, lord of Iohns, and treasurer of England; and Iohn Legg, one of the king's serients at armes; and a Franciscan frier, named William Apledore, the king's confessor. Richard Lions, also, a famous lapidary, or goldsmith, late one of the sheriffes of London, was drawne out of his house, and beheaded in Cheape. There were that day beheaded manie, as well Flemings as Englishmen, for no cause but to fulfill the crueltie of the rude commons; for it was a solemne pastime to them, if they coulde take any that was not sworne to them, to take from such a one his hoode with thair acustomed clamour, and forthwith to behead him. Neyther did they shew any reuerence vnto sacred places, for in the uery churches did they kill whome they had in hatred; they fetcht 13 Flemings out of the Augustine Fryar's church in London, and 17 out of another church, and 32 out of the Vintree, and so forth in other places of the citie and in Southwarke; all which they beheaded, except they could plainly pronounce bread and cheese; for if their speech sounded any thing on brot or cawse, off went their heads as a sure marke they were Flemings.

'The king comming to the Mile's-ende, the place before recited, was sore afraid, beholding the wood commons, who, with froward countenance, required many thinges which they before had put in writings, to be confirmed by the king's letters patent.

'The first, that all men should bee free from seruitude and bondage, so as from thenceforth there should be no bondmen.

'The second, that he should pardon all men of what estate soeuer, all manner actions and insurrections committed, and all manner treasons, fellonies. transgressions, and extortions, by any of them done, and to graunt them peace.

'The third, that all men from thence foorth might be infranchised to buy and sell in euerie countie, citie, borough-towne, fayre, market, and other place, within the realme of England.

'The fourth, that no acre of land holden in bondage or seruice, hould be holden but for 4 pence; and if it had been holden for esse aforetime, it should not hereafter be inhaunsed.

'These, and many other things, they required Moreouer they

tolde him, he hadde beene euilly governed till that day, but from that tyme hee must be gouerned otherwise.

'The king perceiuing he could not escape, except he granted to their request, yeelded to the same; and because the chancellor was beheaded, the king made the earle of Arundale, for the time, chancellor and keeper of the great seale, and also made diuers clarkes to write charters, patents, and protections, graunted to the commons, for the foresayde matters, without taking fine for the seale or writing thereof; and so toward even, the king, crauing licence, departed from them. The next day, being Saturday, and the 15 of June, a great number of the commons came to the abbey of Westminster, and there found Iohn Inworth, marshall of the Marshalsey, and maister of the prisoners there, imbracing a marble pillar of Saint Edward's shrine, for his defence against his enemies they plucked his arms from the pillar, and led him into Cheape, where they cut off his head. In which time they tooke out of Bredstreete one Iohn Greenfield, led him into Cheape, and cut off his head, notwithstanding that the king had at this time made proclamation through the citie, that euery one should peaceably goe into his country, without doing further euil; whereunto they would not assent.

'The same day, after dinner, about two of the clocke, the king went from the wardrobe, called ye royall, in London, toward Westminster, attended on by the number of 200 persons, to visit Saint Edwards shrine, and to see if the commons had done any mischiefe there. The abbot and convent of that abby, with the chanons and vicars of Saint Stephens chappell, met him in rich copes, with procession, and led him by the charnell-house into the abbey, then to the church, and so to the high altar, where he deuoutly prayed and offered. After which he spake with the anchore, to whom he confessed himself. Then he went to the chappell, called our Lady in the Pewe, where he made his prayers; which being done, the king made proclamation, that all the commons of the countrey that were in London, should meete him in Smithfield, which was done accordingly; and when the king was come with his people, hee stoode towardes the east, neere to S. Bartlemewes priory, and the commons towards the west, in forme of battaile. The king therefore sent to them, to shewe them that their fellowes, the Essex men, were gone from thenceforth to live in peace, and that he would grant to them the like forme of peace, if it would please them to accept thereof. Their chiefe captaine, named Wat Tyler, of Maidstone, hee, I say, being a crafty fellow, of an excellent wit, but lacking grace, answered, that 'peace he desired, but with conditions to his liking;' minding to feede the king with fayre words till the next day, that he might in the night have compassed his perverse purpose; for they thought the same night to spoyle the citie, the king first being slaine, and the great lordes that cleaved to him,

and to have burnt the city, by setting fire in foure parts thereof; but God did sodainely disappoynt him. For when the forme of peace was in three several charters written, and thrice sent to him, none of them could please him; wherefore at length the king sent to him one of his knights, called sir John Newton, not so much to command as to intreate him (for his pride was well enough known) to come and talk with him about his own demandes, to have them put in his charter; of the which demandes I will put one in this chronicle, that it may the more plainely appeare, the other to be contrary to reason. 'First, he would have a commission for him and his, to behead all lawyers escheters, and other whatsoever that were learned in the law, or communicated in the law, by reason of their office;' for hee hadde conceived in his mind, that this being brought to passe, all things afterward should bee ordered according to the fancy of the common people; and, indeede, it was sayde, that with great pride he had but the day before sayd, putting his hand to his lips, that before 4 days came to an ende, all the lawes of Englande shoulde proceede from his mouth. When sir Jo. Newton was in hand with him for dispatch, he answered with indignation, 'If thou art so hastie, thou mayest get thee backe againe to thy maister: I will come when it pleaseth mee.' Notwithstanding, hee followed on horseback a slow pace, and by the way there came to him a dublet-maker of London, named John Ticle, who had brought to the commons 60 dublets, which they bought and ware, for the which dublets he demanded 30 markes, but could have no payment. Wat Tyler answered him, 'Friend, appease thyself, thou shalt bee well payd or this day be ended; keepe thee neere me; I will bee thy creditor.' And therewith he spurred his horse, departed from his company; and came so neere the king, that his horse head touched the crope of the king's horse; and the first word he sayd was this: 'Sir king, seest thou all yonder people?' 'Yea, truely,' quoth the king, 'wherefore saist thou so?' 'Because,' said he, 'they be all at my commandement, and have sworne to mee faith and truth, to do all yt I will have them.' 'In good time,' said the king, 'I will well it be so.' Then said Wat Tyler, 'Beleevest thou, king, that these people, and as many moe as bee in London at my commandement, will depart from thee thus, without having thy letters?' 'No,' said the king, 'ye shall have them; they be ordered for you, and shall be delivered to euery each of them;' with which words, Wat Tyler seeing the knight, sir John Newton, neere to him on horsebacke, bearing the king's worde, was offended, and said, 'It had become him better to be on feete in his presence.' The knight (not having forgot his old accustomed manhoode) answered, that 'it was no harme, seeing himselfe was also on horsebacke.' Which wordes so offended Wat, that he drew his dagger, and offered to strike at the knight, calling him 'traytor.' The knight answered that he lyed; and drew his dagger likewise. Wat Tyler, not suffering such a contumely done

to him before his rustickes, made as if he would have run on the knight. The king, therefore, seeing the knight in danger, to assuage the rigor of Wat, for the time commanded the knight to light on foote, and to deliver his dagger unto the said Walter; and when his proude minde could not be so pacified, but he would also have his sword, the knight answered, it was the king's sword, and quoth he 'Thou art not worthy to have it; nor durst thou aske it of me, if here were no more but thou and I.' 'By my faith,' said Wat Tyler, 'I shall never eate till I have thy head;' and would have runne on the knight: and with that came to the king William Walworth, maior of London, and manie knights and esquires on the king's side, affirming that it were a great shame, such as had not beene heard of, if, in their presence, they should permit a noble knight so shamefully to be murdered before his face; wherefore, he ought to be rescued speedily, and Tyler to bee arrested. Which thing being heard, the king, although he were but tender of yeares, taking boldnesse unto him, commanded the maior of London to set hand on him The maior being of an incomparable boldness and manhoode, without any doubting, straight arrested him on the head Wat Tyler furiously strake the maior with his dagger, but hurt him not, by meane he was armed. Then the maior drew his baselard, and grievously wounded Wat in the necke, and gave him a great blowe on the head, in which conflicte, an esquier of the king's house, called John Cavendish, drew his sword, and wounded him twise or thrise, even unto death; and Wat, spurring his horse, cried to the commons to revenge him. His horse bare him about fourscore foote from thence, where he fell down half dead; and by and by they which attended on the king invironed him all about, whereby he was not seene of his company: and other thrust him with their weapons in divers places of his body, & then they drew him from amongst the peoples feete into the hospitall of St. Bartilmewe, which when the commons perceived, they cried out that their captaine was trayterously slaine; and hartening one another to revenge his death, bending their bowes, the king shewing both wisdome and courage, pricking his horse with the spurres, rode to them and sayd, 'What a work is this, my men; what meane you to do; will you shoot at your king? Be not quarrelous, nor sorry for the death of a traytor and ribald: I will be your king, your captayne, and leader; followe mee into the fielde, there to have whatsoever your will require.'

'This the king did, least the commons, being set in a bitternesse of minde, should set fire on the houses in Smithfield, where their captaine was slaine. They therefore followed him into the open field; and the souldiers that were with him, as yet not knowing whether they should kill the king, or bee in rest, and departe home with the king's charter.

In the meane time, the maior of London, onely with one servant, riding speedily into the cittie, beganne to cry, 'Ye good

citizens, help your king that is to be murdered, and succour me your maior, that am in the like danger; or, if you will not succour me, yet leave not your king destitute. When the citizens hadde heard this, in whose hearts the love of the king was ingrafted, sodainely, seemely arrayed, to the number of a thousand men, tarryed in the streets for some one of the knights to leade them to the king; and by fortune sir Robert Knowles came in that instant, whome they all requested to be their leader, least, comming out of order, and not in good array, they mought easely be broken; who gladly brought part of them. Sir Parducase Dalbert, and other knights, brought the rest to the king's presence. When the maior came to Smithfield, and did not find Wat Tyler, as he left him wounded, hee greatly marvayled, demaunding where the traytor was, and it was told him that he was carried into the hospitall of St. Bartlemew, and laid in the master's chamber. The maior went straight thither, and made him to bee carried into Smithfield, and there caused him to be beheaded, his head to be set on a pole, and borne before him to the king, then remayning in the field; and the king caused it to be borne neere unto him, therewith to abash the commons, greatly thanking the maior for that acte.

'The king, and those that were with him, knights and esquires, rejoycing at the unhoped-for comming of the maior, and those armed men, sodainly compassed all the multitude of the commons.

'There might a man have seen a wonderful change of God's right hand, how the commons did now throw downe their weapons, and fall to the ground, besecching pardon, which lately before did glory that they had the king's life in their power; now they hid themselves in caves, ditches, corne-fields, &c. The knights, therefore, coveting to be revenged, besought the king to permit them to take off the heads of an hundred or two of them; but the king, not condescending to their request, commaunded the charter which they had demaunded, written and sealed, to be delivered unto them for the time, to avoyde more mischiefe, knowing that Essex was not yet pacified, nor Kent stayde, the commons and rustickes of which countreyes were readie to rise againe, if hee satisfied not their pleasure the sooner. The commons having got this charter, departed home, but ceased not from their former euill doings.

'The rude people being thus dispersed and gone, the king commanded William Walworth to put a basenet on his head for feare of that which might follow; and the maior requested to know for what cause he should so doe, sith all was quieted. The king answered, that he was much bound to him, and therefore he should be made knight. The maior againe answered, that hee was not worthy, neither able to take such estate upon him, for he was but a merchant, and to live by his merchandize. Notwithstanding, at

the last, the king made him put on his basenet, and then tooke a sworde with both his hands, and strongly with a good will strake him on the necke; and the same day hee made three other citizens knights for his sake, in the same place; which were John Philpot, Nicolas Brembre, and Robert Laund, aldermen; and sir John Candish [Cavendish], in Smithfield was knighted. The king gave to sir William Walworth 100*l.* land, and to the other 40*l.* land to them and their heires for ever. Upon the sand-hill towards Iseldome were created the earles marshall and Pembroke; and shortly after, Nicholas Twiford and Adam Francis, aldermen, were also made knights. Sir Robert Knowles, for his good service in the citie, was, by the king's commandement, made a free man of the citie.

'The king, with his lordes, and all his company, orderly entred into the city of London with great joy. The king went to the lady princesse, his mother, who was then lodged in the Towre Royall, called the queene's wardrobe, and there shee had remayned two daies and two nights, right sore abashed; but when she saw the king, her sonne, she was greatly rejoyced, and said, 'Ah, fayre sonne, what great sorrow have I suffered for you this day!' The king answered and said, 'Certainely, madame, I know it well; but now rejoyce and thanke God, for I have this day recovered mine heritage and the realme of England, which I had neere hand lost.'

'The archbishoppe's head was taken downe off the bridge, and Wat Tyler's head was set in that place.'*

Whilst these things were transacting in the metropolis, similar, and even greater excesses, were committed in Essex and Norfolk; but the 'commons' were at length overcome by the conduct and intrepidity of the bishop of Norwich; and a dyer, named Latistar, their chief, 'brought unto drawing, hanging, and heading.'

Had the insurgents acted from any determinate plan, or had their leaders been men of good abilities, it is extremely probable that, at this eventful period, the government would have received a more popular form, even if it had escaped an entire overthrow. But the want of concert in the measures pursued in the different counties, and the senseless extravagance of the low-born ribalds who attained ascendancy in command, gave to the king's party a preponderating strength, which it would otherwise have wanted. The 'confession' of Jack Straw, who was next in command to Wat Tyler, if really made by him, will give an idea of the daring lengths to which some of the insurgents carried their schemes; yet its authenticity has never been fully established; and conjecture has sometimes assumed, that it was purely invented with the insidious intention of bringing the cause of the people into discredit.†

*Howe's C

† Brayley's Lond. i. 179.

'This man being taken,' says Stow, speaking of Jack Straw 'when at London he should, by judgement given by the maior, lose his head, the maior spake openly to him thus: 'John (quoth hee), behold thy death is at hand without al doubt, and there is no way through which thou mayst hope to escape; wherefore, for thy soules health, without making any lye, tell us what you purposed amongst you to have done; to what end did you assemble the commons?' And when he had stayd a while, as doubtfull what to say, deferring his answer, the maior added, 'Thou knowest surely, O John, that the things which I demaund of thee, if thou doe it, the same shall redound to thy soules health,' &c. He, therefore, animated with fayre promises, beganne as followeth:—

'Now (saith hee) it booteth not to lye, neither is it lawfull to utter any untruth, especially understanding that my soule is to suffer more strayter torments if I should so doe, and because I hope of two commodities by speaking the truth: first, that these things that I shall speake may profite the common wealth; and secondly, after my death, I trust by your suffrages to be succoured according to your promises, (which is to pray for me,) I will speake faithfully without deceipt.

'The same time (sayeth he) that we came to Blacke Heath, when wee sent for the king, we purposed to have murdered all the knights, esquires, and gentlemen that should have come with him, and to have ledde the king royally up and downe, that with ye sight of him, all men (especially the common people) might have come unto us the more boldely; and when we had got together an innumerable multitude, we should have sodainely put to death in every country, the lords and masters of the common people, in whom might appeare to be either counsell or resistance against us; and specially wee would have destroyed the knights of St. Johns. Lastly, wee would have killed the king himselfe, and all men that had been of any possession, bishops, monkes, chanons, parsons, to be briefe, we would have dispatched: only begging friers should have lived, that might have sufficed for ministering ye sacraments in the realme; for we would have made kings, Wat Tyler in Kent, and in every other shire one. But because this our purpose was hindered by the archbishop, wee studied how to bring him shortly to his ende.

'Against the same day that Wat Tiler was killed, we purposed that euening (because that the poore people of London seemed to favour us) to set fire in foure corners of the cittie, and so to haue burnt it, and to haue deuided the riches at our pleasures amongst us.' He added, that these things they purposed to haue done, as God should helpe him at the ende of his life.

'After this confession made, he was beheaded, and his head set on London-bridge, by Wat Tiler's and many other.'*

* Stow's Ann. p. 455.

Thus terminated one of the most extraordinary and formidable insurrections that London ever witnessed. Like most other popular commotions, it presented instances of private revenge, more striking than those of public feeling, and that too, in two of the most prominent characters who figured in it, Wat Tyler, and sir William Walworth. The former had been in the service of Richard Lions, an eminent wine merchant, and sheriff of London, who had inflicted personal chastisement upon him. When the rebel chief reached London, he caused his old master to be beheaded, and his head carried before him on the point of a spear, though it is perhaps too much to charge this act on Wat Tyler's resentment, since to be rich was a sufficient crime to insure the punishment. As for sir William Walworth, whose name is perpetuated in a populous suburb, his loyalty is perhaps as questionable as Wat Tyler's patriotism. He was a principal sufferer by the insurrection, which had levelled to the ground a number of tenements which this citizen possessed on the bank-side, and which were let out for the worst of purposes. It is not too much, therefore, to suspect, that private feeling may have prompted his activity to put down the rebellion and to punish its leader.

About the close of the same year, Anne of Luxembourg, sister to the emperor Winceslaus, and bride elect of the young king, arrived in England. On her progress to London, she was met at Blackheath, by the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens, on horseback, arrayed in splendid habiliments, and was thence conducted in the greatest pomp through the streets of the city to Westminster, where the nuptial ceremony was performed on the 14th of January, 1382. On her coronation, which followed shortly after, justs were held 'certaine dayes together, in which both the Englishmen showed their force, and the queen's countrymen their prowesse.'*

In the same year, various regulations were made on the authority of John Northampton, the mayor; who, observing that lewdness and debauchery were connived at by the bishops and their subordinates, set about reforming the licentiousness and immoralities of the citizens, severely punishing those found guilty of whoredom, by causing the women to be carried through the streets with their heads shaven, with pipes and trumpets sounding before them. However, these proceedings of the mayor drew upon him the hatred of the bishops and inferior clergy, for usurping their authority, as they pretended, and breaking in upon their

* Stow's Ann. p. 461. "In this queen's dayes beganne the detestable use of piked shooes, tyed to their knees with chaines of silver and gilt. Also noble women used high attire on their heads, piked like horns, with long trained gowns, and rode on side-saddles after the example of the queen, who first brought that fashion into this land; for before, women were used to ride astride like men."

jurisdiction; wherefore they strictly enjoined him to desist from such practices in future. But Northampton, without regarding this order, or the threats attending it, proceeded in the work of reformation, in opposition to the practices of the mendicant friars, who, instead of discouraging vice (according to some), were the chief promoters of it; and in order to enrich themselves, though contrary both to their institution and oaths, they approved of the vices of the nobility and gentry, and encouraged the commonalty in all manner of wickedness, calling good evil, and evil good, by which they became gainers by the vices of both; and whose practice was to seduce princes by flattery, and the populace with lies, precipitately hurrying both to destruction by corrupting their manners and debauching their morals.*

Among other local arrangements for the general benefit, this magistrate caused the market for fish, which had previously been confined to the company of Fishmongers, to be thrown open. These proceedings were the means of procuring him many enemies, as well as much popular commendation, yet the former eventually prevailed; and within eighteen months after the expiration of his mayoralty, being accused by his own chaplain, he was condemned before a convention of the nobility held at Reading, for having raised a great sedition in the city, 'by frequently walking the streets in a riotous manner, attended by a vast concourse of people,' and sentenced to have 'all his effects seized to the king's use, and himself consigned to perpetual imprisonment.' This sentence was rigorously executed; most probably with a view to deter the citizens from making any violent opposition to the various attempts that the king and his minions were now practising against the city liberties. A few of the more intimate associates of Northampton afterwards suffered: but 'divers eminent citizens,' who had been concerned in his 'seditious practices,' were pardoned at the intercession of the house of commons, they 'having confessed themselves guilty of high treason.'

Among the infringements now made, or rather enforced, were the claims of the constable of the Tower, to certain 'customs, pence, and profits,' which had previously been exacted by these officers; and which Richard, by the following instrument, directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, commanded should be taken agreeably to prior 'usages.'

'Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to the mayor and sheriffs of London, sendeth greeting. Forasmuch as we have understood that the constables of our Tower of London, time out of mind, even to the time now last past; and in particular John Darcy, John de Beauchamp, Robert le Morle, Richard la Vache, and Alan de Buxhill, heretofore constables of the said Tower, have had the customs, pence, and

* Maitland. i. 142.

profits underwritten, by right belonging to the foresaid Tower, and in quiet manner taking them by themselves or their servants; to wit, of every boat laden with rushes brought to the foresaid city, such a quantity of rushes to be laid upon Tower Wharf, as may be contained within a man's arms; of every boat accustomed to bring oysters, muscles, and cockles to the foresaid city, one maund thence to be brought and laid upon the said wharf; from every ship laden with wines coming from Bourdeaux, or elsewhere, one flagon before the mast, and another behind the mast; whatsoever ship, barge, or boat, or other vessel, which shall go loose by reason of storm or wind, or the ropes and cordage being broke, shall float from London-bridge to Gravesend, or from thence to the said bridge, to be taken by the constable of the said Tower, or his servants, and to be applied to the use of the said constable. What swans soever coming under the said bridge towards the sea, or from the sea towards the said bridge; all manner of horses, oxen, cows, hogs, and sheep, which have fallen from the said bridge into the water of Thames, which the foresaid constable or his servants may take: any such like creature swimming through the middle of the said bridge to the foresaid Tower, which the same constable or his servants aforesaid have taken; of every foot of such like creature, feeding within the ditch of the said Tower, one penny. Every cart, empty or laden, which shall fall into the foresaid ditches, as forfeiture or fee of the constable; and that the foresaid constables, as well those before-named as others, have used and enjoyed the usages under-written, from the time beforesaid; to wit, that no cart, empty or laden, ought to come from the end of the street called Petty Wales, upon the said Tower-hill, nor near the foresaid ditch, to the high street, called Tower-street, unless it be taken and brought within the said Tower. And that no cart shall pass beyond the bridge, between the ditch of the said castle and the ditch of the hospital of Saint Catherines, without the license of the constable of the said Tower; and if it do, and break the bar, that cart ought to be brought within the said Tower: and to make satisfaction for the transgression, according to the said constable's will. We, willing to maintain all and singular the rights and liberties of our Tower aforesaid, that they perish not, or be unlawfully taken away, command you, that you permit our beloved and loyal sir Thomas Murrieux, our constable of the Tower, to take and have the customs, pence, and profits by himself and his servants, in form aforesaid, and to use and enjoy the foresaid usages freely, without any impediment, as he ought to take and have such customs, pence, and profits, and to use and enjoy the foresaid usages; as he, and all other constables of the said Tower, have reasonably accustomed to take and have those customs, pence, and profits, and to use and enjoy the foresaid usages, from the time beforesaid; and that by no means ye neg-

lect this. Witness myself, at Eltham, the sixteenth day of November, in the sixth year of our reign.

'By the KING.'*

These claims were soon afterwards confirmed to the constables by parliament, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances and petitions of the citizens against them; nor did the contention finally cease, till James the First annulled the grants that had been made to the chief officers of the Tower, and restored the city to its ancient franchises.

In the seventh year of king Richard II. at a great meeting of the commons, or common hall, petitions were presented to the mayor, setting forth that, for want of sufficient persons chosen, divers things were passed in common council more by clamour than reason; for prevention whereof, several articles were proposed to be experimented, and, if found good and useful, to be confirmed; amongst which, one is, that the common council might consist of sufficient people. And it was ordained, that the aldermen of each ward should cause to be chosen four of each ward for common councilmen. Which choice of common-councilmen appears by the *Liber Albus* to have been aforetime in certain mysteries or crafts; some of which chose six, others four, and others only two.

By the means of Nicholas Brembre, then (8th of March) mayor, most, if not all, the aldermen of the city, were turned out by the common council, and new ones chosen in their room for the respective wards. The first return whereof begins thus:—

Bread-street—*Dominus Nicholas Brembre, miles, electus est in Alderman. Wardæ prædictæ per probos homines ejusdem Wardæ.* i. e. '*Bread-street.*—Sir Nicholas Brembre, knight, was chosen alderman of the said ward, by the discreet men of the said ward.' Which proceedings and elections were confirmed by a warrant from the king, dated the 8th of March, at Westminster, an. reg. 7mo.

The citizens of London lent the king four thousand marks; for the security and repayment of which, he granted the mayor and commonalty of the city an obligation in French, under the broad seal, dated this same year.†

On the last day of July, in the eighth year of Richard II. in a common council held before the mayor and aldermen, it was ordained, that the common council should be chosen by the wards fifteen days after St. Gregory; and that they should chuse those who had served the year before, or others; and that once a quar-

* Ex Rot. Claus. de ann. 6 reg. Ric. II.

† In Rym. Fœd. Vol. vii. p. 359, is a receipt given by king Richard for his crown and jewels, now delivered up which he had formerly pawned to the city of London, for 2,000l.

ter, at least, the common council should be assembled to consult and take care of the affairs of the city.

In the 9th year of the said king, there was a confirmation and settlement of the choice of common-councilmen by the wards, by four, six, and eight, according to the size of each ward.

In 1385, immense preparations having been made to invade England, by Charles VI. of France, of whose mighty armament Froissart says, 'since God created the world, there never had been so many great ships together,' the king sent the following writ to the city:—

'The king, to his beloved the mayor and aldermen, and the rest of the citizens of London, sendeth health. Know ye, that as well the walls and other [*Afforciamenta*] forts of the said city be old and weak, and, for want of repair, are falling down in some places, as also the ditches of the same city are exceedingly filled with dirt, dunghills, and other filth, and with grass growing in the same, not only to the evident danger of the said city and inhabitants thereof (and chiefly at this present time of war), but also to the manifest disgrace and scandal of us and the whole city,' &c.*

And for the more effectual repairing the same, the king empowered the mayor and citizens to take, not only of merchandize, but also of all sorts of victuals brought to the city, a certain toll (as king Edward I. had done before, A. D. 1276), for the term of ten years. The necessary reparations were then immediately commenced; yet, on the French expedition being soon afterwards laid aside, they were as precipitately abandoned, and the citizens, 'with a joy inexpressible, began to regale themselves and friends in a most sumptuous manner.'

The mal-administration and haughty conduct of Richard's favourites, Robert de Vere and Michael de la Pole, and their partizans, so incensed the other nobility, that the latter, with Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester (the king's uncle), and the earl of Arundel at their head, associated, with intent to drive them from the government, and otherwise punish them for their respective malversions. After an imprudent attempt to save his favourites, and overawe the parliament, then sitting at Westminster, anno 1386, Richard was constrained to give way to the torrent. De Vere, who had been recently made duke of Ireland, was sent thither with a pension of three thousand marks only, his great estates being confiscated; and the chancellor was imprisoned at Windsor, and obliged to restore all the grants he had received from the king, the value of which, when now computed together, appeared so excessive, that Richard himself was surprised, and upbraided his minion for abusing his good will.† On the breaking

* De Murag. pro Civit. Lond. Pat. 10, Ric. II. in Turr. Lond

† Rapin's Eng. i, 463.

up of the parliament, however, the king recalled his favorites, restored them to their posts, and loaded them with new honours, as if in atonement for their late disgrace. Exulting in this triumph, and with hearts thirsting for revenge, these worthless parasites immediately plotted against the life of the duke, and endeavoured to prevail on Nicholas or Richard de Exton, then mayor of London, to join in the conspiracy, and to invite the duke to a feast to be held in the city at the house of sir Nicholas de Brembre, where they purposed to have had him assassinated, with others of his friends. Exton, instead of complying, is supposed to have informed the duke of Gloucester of the intended villany; and this prince, in retaliation, as appears from Froissart, who mentions many particulars of these events that are not noticed by our own historians, joined in the circulation of a report throughout the kingdom, that the king's ministers intended to levy a poll-tax so excessive, as to amount to a noble a head. In the ferment which this occasioned, the citizens of London sent a deputation to the duke of Gloucester, requesting him to 'assume the government of the realm, and to execute justice on all those that were concerned in the bad management of public affairs, and had ruined the country by intolerable and grievous taxations, in order to enrich themselves.' The duke declined compliance, but advised the citizens to engage the other cities and towns severally to address the king on account of their grievances. This was accordingly done at Windsor, on the ensuing St. George's day; and their united remonstrances having been properly seconded by the dukes of Gloucester and York, a parliament was ordered to assemble at Westminster on the 3rd of May.

But the king, to screen his favorites from parliamentary enquiry, retired, in the mean time, to Bristol, taking with him the duke of Ireland, whom he secretly commissioned to raise troops in Wales, in order to reduce the refractory to obedience. Before this could be executed, however, the duke of Gloucester, with the earls of Warwick and Arundel, assembled 'with a great power of men' in Hornsey wood; and Richard, through the mediation of the bishop of Ely, and others, agreed to meet the lords in Westminster-hall; the mediators taking oath on the king's part, that 'no fraude, deceit, or perill, should be prepared.' The necessity of this precaution was made apparent by the result; for, 'when the lords,' says Stow, 'had prepared themselves according to the covenant, the foresaid mediators for peace sent them word, that treason was devised by an ambush layd for them in a place called the Mewes, neere to Charing Crosse, and therefore willed them not to come, but with sure hand. The king demaunding why the lords kept not covenant, the bishop of Ely answered, 'because there is an ambush layed of a thousand armed men, or more, in such a place; and therefore, they neither come, nor repute you to be faithfull' The king, mooved forthwith

ware he knew of no such thing, and therefore commaunded the sheriffs of London, that going to the Mewes, they shoulde kill if they found any assembled there for that cause; but Thomas Trivet and Nicholas Brembre, knights, had secretly sent away the armed men to London.'* At the meeting which followed, the nobles justified their proceedings, on the ground that it 'was done for the king's profit and the realme's, and to plucke from him the traitors which he kept about him,' of whom they accused De Vere, and De la Pole, Nevil, archbishop of York, judge Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Brembre. Richard promised redress in the ensuing parliament, and 'all was pacified,' says Stow, 'for that time.'†

Richard's intention was only to temporize till the duke of Ireland had assembled a sufficient force to enable him to re-assume coercive measures; but his favorite having been defeated at Radcot-bridge, in Oxfordshire, he found himself compelled to take refuge in the Tower; yet, in order to distress the confederate army, he caused proclamation to be made in London that no person 'should dare to supply it either with arms, ammunition, or provision, under pain of death and confiscation of effects.' Matters being thus carried to extremity, the lords issued a counter-proclamation, and 'having assembled an army of neere hand fortie thousand, hasted to London the morrowe after Christmas-day (anno 1388), and mustered in the fieldes, where they might be seene of them in the Tower. The Londoners were then in great feare, weying divers perilles; as the king's displeasure if they opened their gates to the lords, and if they shut them foorth, the indignation of the indiscreete multitude'‡ Ultimately, the keys of the city were delivered to the duke of Gloucester and the confederate nobles, who, in a forced conference with the king, obtained his promise to attend them on the next day at Westminster, there to treat 'at large of reformation of all matters.' Yet they had scarcely quitted the Tower, before he sent them word that he 'would not meet them.' Incensed at this fickleness, they immediately let him know, that if he came not to Westminster according to his engagement, they would go thither by themselves, and proceed to the election of a new king.§ This precise declaration so alarmed the imprudent monarch, that he punctually kept his appointment; and not only consented to banish his favorites, but also to every other measure that the lords proposed. Tresilian, sir Nicholas Brembre (late mayor of London), with some other knights, &c. were afterwards hanged for high treason, at Tyburn; several eminent prelates and nobles were committed to prison; and many others removed from their offices at court, and about the king's person. The ascendancy which

* Stow's Ann. p. 473.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.

the lords had now obtained, was for a time submitted to by Richard with seeming content, and he diverted his chagrin by a recurrence to those amusements in which magnificence and pageantry were equally blended.*

A. D. 1389, the streets of London were so abused with common lay-stalls, to the great annoyance of the citizens, that a proclamation was made throughout the city, by authority of parliament, that no person whatsoever should presume to lay any dung, guts, garbage, offals, or any other ordure, in any street, ditch, river, &c. upon penalty of twenty pounds, to be recovered by an information in Chancery.†

In 1390, the king appointed a great tournament to be held in London, and sent heralds to proclaim his intention to all the principal courts of Europe. Many princes and nobility from France, Germany, the Netherlands, &c. attended the spectacle, which commenced on the Sunday after Michaelmas, and was begun by a splendid cavalcade from the Tower. Sixty ladies appeared first in the procession, magnificently habited, mounted on fine horses, richly caparisoned, each leading an armed knight by a chain of silver, attended by their esquires. The justs were held in Smithfield, in the presence of the king, (who himself justed on the second day,) and all his court; and the concourse of spectators was very great. Various entertainments accompanied the tilting; and open house was kept, at the king's expence, during the whole time, four days, at the bishop of London's palace, for all persons of distinction; and every night the diversions were concluded by a ball.

Soon after, 'the king sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them one thousand pound, which they stoutly denied; and also evill entreated, beete, and neer hand slew, a certaine Lumbard that would have lent the king the said summe; which, when the king heard, he was marvellously angried, and calling together almost all the nobles of the land to Stamford, on the five and twentieth day of May; hee opened to them the malitiousnes of the Londoners, and complayned of their presumption; the which noble men gave counsell, that their insolencie shoulde with speede bee repressed, and their pride abated. By the king's iudgment, therefore, was the maior of London, and the sheriffes, with other the best citizens, arrested to appear at Nottingham, where, on the eleventh of June, John Hinde, maior, was deposed, and sent to Windsor castle. The sheriffes were also deposed, and sent the one to the castle of Wallingforde, the other to the castle of Odiham, and the other citizens to other prisons; till the king, with his councell, hadde determined what should bee done with them: and there it was determined, that from thencefoorth the

* Rapin's Eng. Vol. I. p. 465. † Brayley's London, i. 187.

Londoners should not choose nor have any maior; but that the king should appoint one of his knights to be ruler of the citie; their privileges were revoked, their liberties disannulled, and their lawes abrogated.

'In the meane time, through suite of certaine knights, but specially of the duke of Gloucester, the king is somewhat pacified, and by little and little abateth the rigour of his purpose, calling to mind your divers honours, and the great gifts he hadde received of the Londoners, whereupon he determineth to deale more mildly with them; and to call them to some hope of grace and pardon, hee sendeth commandment to them to come to Windsore, there to shewe their priviledges, liberties, and lawes, which being there shewed, some of them were ratified, and some condemned: but they could not obtaine the king's full favour, till they had satisfied the king for the injuries which was said they hadde done. The king, at this assembly at Windsore, had got together almost all the lords, and so great an armie, that the Londoners had cause to be afraid thereof; about the which preparation he was at great charges, for the which it was sure that the Londoners must pay. They, therefore, not ignorant that the ende of these things was a money matter, submitted themselves to the king's pleasure, offering ten thousand pound. They were yet dismissed home to returne again, uncertaine what satisfaction and sum they should pay.

'When the citizens were returned and that the nobles and other were gone home, the king hearing that the Londoners were in heavinesse, and dismayed, hee sayd to his men, 'I will go (saith he) to London, and comfort the citizens, and will not that they any longer despaire of my favour;' which sentence was no sooner knowne in the citie, but all men were filled with incredible joy, so that every of them generally determined to meete him, and to be as liberall in giftes as they were at his coronation. The king, therefore, as he came from Shene, in Surrey, to London, with queen Anne his wife, on the 29th of August, the principall citizens all in one livery, to the number of 400 horsemen, rode to meet them at Wandsworth, where, in most lowly wise, they submitted themselves unto his grace; beseeching him of his speciall pardon in all such thinges as they before had offended him. and the recorder of the citie, in the name of the whole citizens, instantly required him, that he would of his great bounty, take such paine upon him as to ride through his chamber of London, to the which request he graciously consented; so hee held on his journey till he came to St. George's church, in Southwarke, where they were received with procession of Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, and all the cleargie of the citie, who conveyed them through London; the citizens of London, men, women, and children, in order, meeting the king at London-bridge, where he was by them presented with 2 fayre white steedes, trapped in cloth of golde,

parted of red and white, hanged full of silver belles; the which present he thankfully received, and after he held on his way through the citie toward Westminster.

'And as they passed the citie, the streets were hanged with cloth of golde, silver, and silk. The conduite in Cheape ran with red and white wine; and by a childe, angel-like, he was presented with a very costly crowne of golde, and the queene with another. A table of the Trinitie, in golde, was given to the king, valued worth eight hundred pound, and another to the queen of Saint Anne, because her name was Anne; with divers other gifts, as horses, trappers, plate of golde and silver, clothes of golde, silke, velvets, basons, and ewers of golde; also gold in coyne, precious stones, and jewels so rich, excellent, and beautiful, that the value and price might not well be esteemed: and so the citizens recovered their ancient customes and liberties; and then the King's Bench from Yorke, and the Chancery from Nottingham, was returned to London. And it was granted to them that they might choose them a maior, as before time they had done. The Londoners beleeved that, by these gifts, they had escaped all daunger, and that from thenceforth they should be quiet, but they were deceived; for they were compelled to give the king after this 10,000 pound, collected of the commons in great bitterness of minde; for the which summe, the king became benevolent to the citizens, and forgave them all trespasses, by his patents dated at Westminster, the 28 of February; and so the troubles of the citizens came to quietnesse.'*

When Richard suspended the magistrates of London from their offices, he fined them 3,000 marks, and ordered the city to pay the vast sum of 100,000*l.* yet both these mulcts were afterwards commuted for the 10,000*l.* mentioned above, and which the king received in 'lieu of all demands.' These, and many other extortions, which wholly deprived Richard of the affections of the citizens, were not enough to support the enormous profusion in which he lived, and which eventually led to his deposition and death. He is stated to have maintained from 6,000 to 10,000 persons daily in his palace; in his kitchen alone 300, and a proportionate number in the queen's apartments. Even his inferior servants were richly clad; and all historians agree that he kept the most splendid court of any English monarch since the conquest.†

In 1393, the courts of judicature, which during the king's displeasure had been held at York, were removed back to London, as mentioned above; and about the same time it was enacted, among other things, by the parliament which was now held at Winchester, that all the filth of a certain lay-stall upon the bank of the river Thames, be forthwith removed; and for preventing the like for the future,

* Stow. † Brayley's Lond. i. 191.

the butchers of London were before the ensuing Easter, to erect a house, or houses, in a proper place, fit for the reception of all their ordure, whence it was to be carried in boats into the middle of the said river, and there to be thrown in at the turn of the tide at high water; and that no person whatsoever should presume to throw any muck, rubbish, laystage, or other ordure, in at the sides of the Thames, or lay any filth or nastiness on the banks of the same, between the palace of Westminster and the Tower of London, upon the penalty of ten pounds. Whence it is observable that, at that time, a greater regard was had to the cleanness of the river at the sides, than to its navigation.

On Christmas day following, a great dolphin of 10 feet in length was taken at London-bridge. His coming so far up the river was looked upon as a presage of that stormy and tempestuous weather, which soon after happened.

The parliament soon after enacted, that from henceforth the aldermen of the city shall not be annually elected, but shall remain in their offices during their good behaviour. And that the great ward of Farringdon should be divided into the out and in wards, with a right for each to chuse its aldermen. By this division a five and twentieth ward was constituted.

It was also enacted in this parliament, that the said twenty-five wards should be rated or assessed in the following proportions:—

The charge of every Ward in London at XV.

The Wards in the west of Wallbrook.

The ward of Cheap, taxed in London at 72*l.* 16*s.* and in the exchequer accounted for 72*l.*

The ward of the Vintry, in London at 36*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 35*l.* 5*s.*

The ward of Queenhithe, in London taxed at 20*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 20*l.*

The ward of Baynard Castle, taxed in London at 12*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 12*l.*

The ward of Cordwainers-street, in London at 72*l.* 16*s.* and in the exchequer accounted for 72*l.*

The ward of Bread-street, taxed in London at 37*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 36*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of Farringdon Without, in London taxed at 35*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 34*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of Farringdon Within, in London taxed at 54*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

The ward of Aldrychgate, taxed in London at 7*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 7*l.*

The ward of Cripplegate, taxed in London at 40*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 39*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of Cripplegate Without, in London taxed at 10*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 10*l.* N. B.—This was not a sepa-

rate ward, but only a liberty, or part of the former, under one alderman, as at present.

The ward of Bassyngshawe, taxed in London at 7*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 7*l.*

The ward of Coleman-street, taxed in London at 19*l.* and in the exchequer accounted at 16*l.*

The Wards on the east side of Wallbrook.

The ward of Wallbrook, taxed in London at 40*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 39*l.*

The ward of Dowgate, taxed in London at 36*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 34*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of Brydge, taxed in London at 50*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 49*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of Byllingsgate, taxed in London at 32*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 31*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of the Tower, taxed in London at 46*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 45*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of Portsoken, taxed in London at 9*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 9*l.*

The ward of Aldgate, taxed in London at 9*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 9*l.*

The ward of Lyme-street, taxed in London at 40*s.* and in the exchequer accounted for 40*s.*

The ward of Byshopsgate, taxed in London at 22*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 21*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of Broad-street, taxed in London at 27*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 25*l.*

The ward of Cornhill, taxed in London at 16*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 16*l.*

The ward of Langborne, taxed in London at 21*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 20*l.* 10*s.*

The ward of Candlewick-street, taxed in London at 16*l.* and in the exchequer accounted for 16*l.*

It was also enacted, that all malt, coming from the several counties of England to London, for the domestic uses of the king, nobility, and citizens, should be thoroughly cleansed from all dust and filth, so that the buyer might have eight bushels of clean malt to the quarter. And for the more effectual execution of this act, the mayor of London was empowered to search all the malt brought to the city, to prevent the great frauds of the country maltsters.

In 1394, the earl of Mar, who, with 'certain other lords of Scotland, came to England, to get worship by force of arms,' was overthrown by the earl of Nottingham, at a tilting match, or justing, in Smithfield; and two of his ribs having been broken by the fall, he died on his return homewards.

The country graziers frequenting Smithfield-market, petitioned the parliament, complaining of the grievous and intolerable exactions of the city officers belonging to the said market, by their unjustly extorting from many persons carrying cattle thither the third beast: for which scandalous imposition, the mayor and sheriffs were ordered to answer before the council.

In the ninth, twelfth, and fifteenth years of king Richard, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London presented their sheriffs to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer for admittance, with their reasons, as mentioned in the year 1385, for the said sheriffs not taking an oath in the exchequer, nor any where else but in the city; wherefore they were refused to be admitted, and at the said times were severally cautioned by the barons not to act as sheriffs at their perils, without qualifying themselves as is necessary and customary on such occasions.

It seems the mayor and citizens had better considered of this affair; for in this year, Nicholas de Farendon, the mayor, &c. presented Adam de Saresbury and John Oxford for their sheriffs, who were admitted and sworn to behave themselves well and truly; for, if a sheriff of London being chosen, did not go to the exchequer, in obedience to the king's command, to take upon him the office of sheriff, he was to be amerced for the contempt, as is manifest in the case of Philip de Taylur, who was fined in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of Edward the first, in the sum of fifty pounds, for his contempt in not appearing at the exchequer to qualify himself as aforesaid.

The mayor of this city having received advice of the king's arrival at Dover, with his young consort Isabella, a daughter of France; he, with his brethren the aldermen, accompanied by a select body of citizens well mounted and dressed in one sort of apparel, with a symbol of their respective mysteries richly embroidered on each of their sleeves, met them on Blackheath, where the recorder, on behalf of the city, in a congratulatory oration, joyfully welcomed and conducted them to Kennington, from whence, soon after, the young (then but eight years of age, therefore called the *little*) queen, was brought to the Tower of London with the utmost pomp and state. On which occasion, the crowds of spectators were so exceedingly great, that nine persons were crowded to death on London-bridge, among whom were the prior of Tiptree in Essex, and a worthy lady of Cornhill. And the day following, the queen passed through the city, with the greatest magnificence, to Westminster.

Richard, being apprehensive of new broils, was desirous to know what power the city of London could bring into the field, upon an emergency; to which end, he caused the citizens to be mustered upon Blackheath; where, having reviewed them, he was exceedingly delighted with their fine and numerous appearance.*

Adam Bamme, the mayor, dying soon after, and before the completion of his mayoralty, the king, by his own authority, and in an arbitrary manner, without consulting the citizens, put into that office for the remaining part of the year, Richard Whittington, who was afterwards chosen by the citizens to that office for that time.

The king's accustomed extravagance, with the charges of his late marriage, having entirely exhausted his exchequer, though the parliament which met at Westminster, in January, 1397, had granted him a very considerable aid, he had again recourse to his usual methods of extortion. There 'was not a lord, a bishop, a gentleman, or rich burgess,' says Walsingham, 'but what was obliged to lend him money; though it was well known that he never designed to repay it;' and, among other new and base expedients, he compelled the richest of his subjects to set their seals to blank grants, or charters, which were afterwards filled up with whatever sums he thought proper to exact. Some idea of the profuse expenditure of this monarch may be formed from the ensuing extract:—

'This yeere the king kept a most royall Christmas, with every day justings and running at the tilt; whereunto resorted such a number of people, that there was every day spent xxviii or xxvi oxen, and three hundred sheep, besides fowle without number. Also the king caused a garment for him to be made of golde, silver, and precious stones, to the value of 3000 marks.'*

According to Froissart, the citizens of London, at the instigation of the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, petitioned the king, that seeing the war with France was happily ended, they might have all grievous taxations annulled; and also that his majesty would not enter into any treaty with the king of France about the delivering up of Calais.

Which proceedings of the citizens were in a proper time highly resented by the king, who intended to punish them severely for their insolence: but, by the mediation of their good friends, Roger Walden, archbishop of Canterbury, and their own worthy bishop, Robert Braybroke, they were again taken into favour.

Richard became at last so odious to his subjects, that the principal of the nobility, gentry, and people, invited Henry, duke of Hereford, son to John of Gaunt, late duke of Lancaster, and grandson to Edward III. then an exile in France (who some time before was unjustly banished the kingdom) to come and head them, in order to extricate an oppressed nation from the abyss of slavery they were sunk into. Henry accepted of their invitation, and landing at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, was quickly joined by the nobility and gentry of those parts, and by persons of all ranks on his march southward; so that his army in a few days increased

* Stow's Ann. p. 505.

to sixty thousand men. With these he hastened to London, wisely concluding, if the capital should declare for him, he would have nothing to fear from the king or his adherents. The citizens received their deliverer with open gates, hearts, and hands, (supplying his army with a superfluity of all sorts of provisions,) expressing their joy with magnificent shows, solemn processions of the clergy, and loud acclamations of the people.

The duke, having his interest greatly strengthened by the accession of this potent and opulent city, thought he might safely march thence to secure the western parts of the kingdom, where Richard soon after arrived with his army from the reduction of Ireland. But the king, being soon deserted by most of the great men about him, thought proper to accept of the terms offered him by the earl of Northumberland, on behalf of the duke of Lancaster, which the earl solemnly swore to see performed; nevertheless he perfidiously seized upon the king's person, carried him prisoner to Rothland castle, and thence to that of Flint, and there delivered him to the duke, who brought the king to London. At some distance from which, he was met by the recorder of the city, accompanied by a great number of knights and esquires, who, in a most inhuman and barbarous manner, desired the duke, in the name of the whole community of London, to behead the king and all those that were taken with him. But the duke would, by no means, oblige them in the perpetration of such an unparallelled and horrid act of cruelty; telling them, that if he should agree to their unreasonable request, it would be an eternal reproach to him and all his adherents; wherefore, he would leave him and them to the disposal of the ensuing parliament. But other authors only write, that the London rabble intended to have assassinated Richard on his approach to the city, had they not been prevented by the mayor and aldermen.

At the duke's approach to London with his prisoners, he was received in great pomp by the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and all the several companies in their formalities, with the people incessantly crying, 'Long live the good duke of Lancaster, our deliverer!' And the duke, having secured the king in the Tower of London, went to St. Paul's church to return thanks to God for his great success.

In the parliament which met in Westminster-hall, on the 30th of September, 1399, the duke of Lancaster was declared king in place of the deposed Richard, who was cruelly murdered in Pomfret castle, on the 14th of the ensuing February.

CHAPTER VII.

History of London from the reign of Henry the Fourth to the reign of Edward the Fourth.

In the first year of Henry the Fourth, on the 13th of October, 1399, being the day appointed for his coronation, the mayor and aldermen of the city, dressed in scarlet, and mounted upon stately horses, rode to the Tower of London, where they received and attended the king to Westminster; where the mayor, assisted by his brethren, the aldermen, officiated as chief butler to the kingdom; and Henry, to declare his affection to the citizens, caused all the blank charters that had been extorted from them in the late reign, to be burnt at the standard in Cheapside.*

By an act of parliament made in the 27th of Edward the Third, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, in default of good government in the city, were to be tried as delinquents by a foreign inquest, to be taken out of the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex, Herts, Bucks, and Berks; and who, upon their being found guilty, for the first default were to pay 1,000 marks; for the second, 2,000 marks; and for the third, the franchises of the city to be forfeited to the king: he also caused these several forfeitures to be repealed by parliament. As a further encouragement to them, it was by the same parliament enacted, that the merchants of London should have the same liberty of packing their cloths, as foreign merchants have within the city; and that all foreign fishermen in amity with the king, as well as domestic, shall have the privilege of retailing their fish in the city, either whole, or in pieces, to all persons whatsoever, exclusive of fishmongers.†

These favors were partly awarded in return for the ready assistance furnished to the king by the mayor and citizens, on the discovery of the conspiracy projected against him by the dukes of Aumerle, Surrey, and Exeter, and others, friends of the deposed sovereign.

Towards the end of the year 1400, the Grecian emperor, John Emanuel Palæologus, arrived in England, to solicit succour against the Turks. The king and principal nobility met him in great state at Blackheath, and conducted him to London, where he was received with great pomp by the corporate officers and citizens.

In 1401, the parliament, through the influence of the clergy, and the policy of the king, who, having but a dubious title, felt the necessity of paying court to ecclesiastical power, passed the detestable act for 'burning of obstinate heretics:' a statute entirely aimed against the Lollards, or followers of the doctrines of Wick-

* Stow's Ann.

† Stat. Larg. 27 Edw. III.

liffe. The first victim was William Sautree, who had been parish priest of St. Osyth, in Syth-lane, London; and was condemned by the ecclesiastical court as soon as the act was made. Being immediately delivered over to the secular arm, he was burnt alive, by virtue of the king's writ, directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, and bearing date on February the 26th.*

In the same year, the prison called the Tun, in Cornhill, was converted into a cistern or conduit for Tyburn water; on one side of which was erected a cage, with a pair of stocks over it, for the punishment of night walkers; together with a pillory, for punishing of cheating bakers and thievish millers.

The merchants of Genoa, upon their petitioning the parliament, had the privilege granted them of importing their merchandize into London, without paying to the city the duty called *scavage*, provided they landed their goods first at Southampton. And in the same year, we read, that the citizens petitioned against the liberty of St. Martin's-le-Grand, as a receptacle of murderers, thieves, bankrupts, &c., humbly praying that their privileges might be annulled. To which it was answered, that upon sight of their liber ties, order should be taken therein by the king's council.

The year 1407 became memorable for a dreadful and destructive plague which raged in this city, and carried off thirty thousand of its inhabitants; whereby corn became so cheap that wheat was sold at three shillings and four-pence the quarter. But this affliction did not prevent the public diversions; for we read, that the company of parish clerks of this city acted, with great applause, for eight days successively, at Skinner's-well, near Clerkenwell, a play, concerning the creation of the world, at which were present most of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom; who from thence went to Smithfield, where solemn justs were holden between the marshal of Henault, and divers of his countrymen, challengers, and the earl of Somerset, and the like number of English gentlemen, defendants; in which engagement the last gained abundance of honour, being all victors, save one. Two of each side, after a long and sharp engagement, were parted by the king, without a decision in favour of either party. However, Henry was so well satisfied of the gallantry of those foreign gentlemen, that he not only entertained them in a sumptuous manner, but likewise made them divers presents of great value, whilst he rewarded his own subjects' bravery with the honour of knighthood, which, on such occasions, was more acceptable to the magnanimous than loads of treasure.

The princes Thomas and John, two of the king's sons, being at an entertainment in Eastcheap, a difference happened between their servants and some belonging to the court; which at last got to such a head, that the mayor, sheriffs, and other citizens, found

* Rym Fœd. vol. viii. p. 178.

it necessary to repair thither to appease the tumult; and it may be presumed that, during the confusion, some indignity was offered to the said princes, because the king appointed commissioners to enquire into their conduct in that affair. When the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, in obedience to a summons, attended the said commissioners, they were advised by the chief justice Gascoyne to submit themselves, in behalf of the citizens, to the king's mercy; but, being conscious of no guilt, they strenuously asserted their innocence, by alleging they had done no more than their duty, by exerting themselves to the utmost of their power to preserve peace. With which answer the king being fully satisfied, they joyfully returned to the city.* The king granted to his son, the prince of Wales, by a writ of privy seal, a magnificent building in Thames-street, in the ward of Dowgate, called Cold Herbergh, (that is, Cold Inn) probably so denominated from its vicinity to the river. The place where this stately fabric anciently stood, is at present called Cold Harbour-lane in Thames-street.

In the month of March, John Bradby, alias Badby, a tailor, a follower of Wickliffe's doctrine, was convicted before Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, of heresy (so called at that time,) which he resolutely persisting in, was carried to Smithfield, and there, in a pipe or cask, burnt to ashes; at whose execution was present Henry, prince of Wales, who, sincerely compassionating the sufferings of this pious man, was very desirous of saving him, and to that end offered him a pardon if he would recant before the fire was kindled; which he refusing, he was then tied to the stake, and fire put to his funeral pile; the flames whereof soon reaching him, occasioned his making a most lamentable outcry: with which the prince was so greatly affected, that he immediately commanded him to be taken out of the fire, and earnestly exhorted him to renounce his errors, and he should be saved; and in regard the fire had made him impotent, Henry graciously promised to allow him a pension of three-pence per day, (a very handsome allowance at that time) during life. But this generous offer of the prince's being rejected by the resolute martyr, he was re-conducted to the flames, and with an admirable constancy sealed the doctrine he had so resolutely defended with his blood.†

On the 12th day of October, within the space of twenty-four hours, three tides of flood happened in the river Thames; the like of which had never been seen before.

Henry the Fourth died in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster, on the 20th of March, 1413, and was succeeded by Henry, his eldest son, the renowned hero of Agincourt; soon after whose accession, several persons were arrested by the mayor of London,

* Stow's Survey Lond.

† Maitland, i. 185.

and 'a strong power,' on suspicion of being concerned in a projected rising of the Lollards, the main object of which was to overthrow the ill-used power of the clergy.

Soon afterwards, 'on the morrowe after twelfth day, the king removed privily to Westminster: and because he had hard tell that the rude people's intent was, if they did prevaile, first to destroy the monasteries at Westminster, St. Alban's, and St. Paul's, and al the houses of Frier's in London: he, minding to prevent such a mischiefe, contrary to the mindes of all that were about him, went into the field, when it was little past midnight, with a great armie; and the same night were taken more than fourescore men in armor of the same faction [that is, sir John Oldcastle's, or the Lollard's] for many that came frō far, not knowing the king's camp to be in the field, were taken by the same, and sent to prison.—Also the king being told of an ambushment gathered in Harengay-parke, sent thither certain lords, who tooke many.—The xii of January, 69 of them were condemned of treason at Westminster; and on the morrow after, 37 of them were drawn from the Tower of London to Newgate, and so to St. Giles, and there, in a place called Ficket's field, were all hanged; and seaven of them brent, gallowes and all.'* Several others were afterwards executed in different parts of the town.

In 1415, as Nicholas Wotton was riding to Westminster to qualify himself for the office of mayor, he received from one of the king's messengers a letter, acquainting him of the great victory obtained by the king at Agincourt, in France; and returning from Westminster, accompanied by the bishop of Winchester, lord high chancellor, &c. they repaired to St. Paul's cathedral, where Te Deum was sung with great solemnity; and on the day following, a very pompous and solemn procession was performed by the queen, nobility, clergy, mayor, aldermen, and the several corporations of the city, with the utmost devotion, from St. Paul's church to Westminster, on foot; where the illustrious company made a great oblation at the shrine of St. Edward, and returned in triumph.†

The king soon after returning from France, with great numbers of the French nobility, his prisoners, was met on Blackheath by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, in scarlet robes, attended by three hundred of the principal citizens mounted on stately horses, richly accoutred; and at St. Thomas-á-Watering, he was met by a solemn and pompous procession of the London clergy, with rich crosses, magnificent copes, and massy censers; and the city, on this joyful occasion, was embellished in a very sumptuous manner, with rich tapestry, containing the glorious actions of his majesty's predecessors, with a beautiful variety of stately pageants, in some of which sat very amiable children,

* Stow's Ann. Engl. p. 551. † Fab. Chron. pt. 7, p. 358.

dressed in imitation of angels, chanting praises to the Eternal King; to whom Henry justly and humbly ascribed all the honour and glory of the late great victory. During this magnificent cavalcade, the city conduits ran with divers sorts of wine, for the entertainment of the populace; and the day following, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens presented the king at Westminster with one thousand pounds in gold, in two rich basins of the same metal and value. The citizens also, for the honour of their king and country, received the emperor Sigismund in the like magnificent manner, who came to England out of a pious design to make peace between England and France. He was met on the road to London on the 7th of May, at Blackheath, by the mayor, aldermen, and many of the principal citizens on horseback, gorgeously apparelled; who, conducting him to London, were met upon the road at St. Thomas-à-Watering, (Fabian says at St. George's, Southwark,) by the king and principal nobility; whence they brought him to the city, where he was received in a very pompous and stately manner.

This year, sir Henry Barton, the mayor, first ordered lanthorns to be hung out for illuminating the streets by night, for the convenience and safety of the citizens; and wheat was sold at sixteen shillings per quarter.*

On the last day of August, 1422, Henry the Fifth expired in France, in the flower of his age; from whence his corpse was brought through London (with a funeral pomp suitable to the honor he enjoyed while living) on an open chariot, drawn by four fine horses, sumptuously accoutred. On the upper part of the chariot lay an effigy, representing his person in royal robes, with an imperial crown of gold, beset with jewels of an inestimable value on its head, with a sceptre in the right hand, and a globe in the left. The coverlet of the bed whereon this figure lay was a silken brocade, and the canopy over it of an immense richness, supported by divers of the principal nobility. This stately funeral was accompanied by James, king of Scotland, as chief mourner, attended by the princes of the blood, all the nobility, and most of the principal gentry of the kingdom, to St. Paul's church; where the obsequies being performed with the greatest solemnity, the procession set out for Westminster, where the royal corpse was deposited among its ancestors.

On the 14th of the following November, the infant son of the deceased monarch was carried in great state from the Tower through the streets of the city, on his mother's lap, in an open chair, to the parliament then sitting at Westminster, who recognised his right to the throne by the title of Henry the Sixth.

The prosperity, both to the city and to the realm, which the infant years of the king appeared to indicate, under the able

* Stow's Survey of London.

government of his uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, was woefully destroyed by the turbulent ambition of Henry's great uncle, the imperious bishop of Winchester, afterwards cardinal Beaufort.

The Protector having received intelligence of the bishop's design to surprise the city of London on the night of the lord mayor's day, when the citizens were engaged in banquetting and rejoicing in honor of their new magistrate, he sent to the mayor, and strictly enjoined him, for the safety of the city, immediately to raise a body of citizens, as would be sufficient to baffle all the attempts that should be made against them.

This information soon appeared to be well grounded; for the next morning, a great number of the bishop's faction endeavoured to enter the city from Southwark, by the bridge; and being denied admittance, were so highly enraged, that they assembled a great number of archers and men at arms, in order to force their way. The citizens immediately shut up their shops, and arming with the greatest expedition, ran to the bridge to oppose the assailants, and would have sallied out upon their enemies, had they not been prevented by the prudent conduct of John Coventry, the mayor, and his brethren the aldermen; which happily prevented the effusion of much blood.

The prince of Portugal being at this time on his travels in England, he, with the archbishop of Canterbury, generously undertook to compose the difference between the protector and bishop: but their endeavours proving unsuccessful, the duke of Bedford, regent of France, and brother to the protector, for the good of the public, judged it necessary to come over to accommodate the affair in controversy. At his landing, he was met by a great number of the nobility, and at Merton, by the mayor, aldermen, and many of the principal citizens of London, on horseback, who conducted him to and through the city in great state to Westminster; where the day after, the mayor and citizens presented him with one thousand marks in gold, in two gilt silver basins. However, they met with a very cold reception; for their inveterate enemy, the bishop of Winchester, had prepossessed the duke with false notions of the citizens.

The king being crowned at Paris, on his return from France was, on the twenty-first day of February, met on Blackheath by the mayor of London, dressed in crimson velvet, with a large furred velvet hat, a girdle of gold about his middle, and a bawdrick of gold about his neck, waving down his back. He was followed by three horsemen on stately horses, cloathed in scarlet, bespangled with silver, and attended by the aldermen in scarlet gowns, with sanguine hoods, and the 'citizens al in white gownes and red hoods, with diverse workes or cognizances broudered upon their sleeves, after the facultie of their misteries or craftes;' the whole well mounted on horseback, sumptuously accoutred,

whence they preceded his majesty to London-bridge, with a display of much pageantry and show. The poet Lydgate has described this entry at some length:—

' Entering the bridge of this noble town,
There was a pillar raised like a tower,
And thereon stood a sturdy Champion,
Of look and cheer stern as a lion,
His sword upreared, proudly began menace
All foreign enemies from the king to enchace;
And in defence of his estate royal
The giant would abide each adventure,
And all assaults that were martial
For his sake he proudly would endure.
In token whereof he had a long scripture
On either side, declaring his intent.—
' Furthermore, so on the king began ride;
Midst of the bridge there was a tower on loft,
The Lord of Lords being all his guide,
As he hath been, and will be full oft.
The tower arrayed with velvet soft
Cloths of gold, silk, and tapestry,
As appertaineth to his regalia;
And at his coming, of excellent beauty
Benign of port, most womanly of cheer,
There issued out empresses three.
They are here displayed; as Phœbus in his sphere,
With coronets of gold, and stones clear,
At whose outcoming they gave such a light,
That the beholders were astonished in their sight.
The first of them was called *Nature*,
As she that hath under her domain
Man, beast, and fowl, and every creature,
Within the bonds of her golden chain;
Eke heaven and earth, and every creature,
This empress of custom doth embrace.
And next her come her sister, called *Grace*,
Passing famous, and of great reverence,
Most desired in all regions;
For where she ever sheweth her presence,
She bringeth gladness to cities and to towns;
Of all welfare she hath the possession;
For I dare say prosperity in no place
No child abideth but if they be grace:
In token that grace shall long continue,
Unto the king she showed her full benign.
And next her come the empress *Fortune*,
To him appearing, with many a noble sign,
And royal token, to shew that he was digne
Of God, disposed as luft ordain:
Upon her head too were crowns twain.
These three ladies, all of one intent,
Three ghostly gifts, heavenly and divine,
Unto the king anon they did present:
And to his highness they did anon incline,
And what they were plainly to determine:
Grace gave him first at her coming,
Two rich gifts, science and cunning:
Nature gave him eke strength and fairness

For to be loved and dread of every wight.
Fortune gave him eke prosperitie and riches.
With this scripture appearing in their sight,
To him applied of every due right;
First understand, and wilfully proceed,
And long reign, the scriptures said, in deed:
'*Intende, perspice, precede, et regna.*'
This is to mean, who so understandeth aright,
You shall by *Fortune* have long prosperity;
And by *Nature* you shall have strength and might,
Forth to proceed in long felicity;
And *Grace* also hath granted unto thee,
Virtuously long in this royal city,
With sceptre and crown to reign in equity
'On the right hand of these empresses
Stood seven maidens very celestial,
Like Phœbus' beams shone their golden tresses
Upon their heads each having a crownall;
Of port and cheer seeming immortal,
In sight transcending all earthly creatures
So angelic they were of their figures,
All clad in white, in token of cleanness,
Like pure virgins as in their intents,
Shewing outward an heavenly fresh brightness,
Streamed with suns were all their garments,
Afore provided for pure innocents.
Most colombyne of cheer and of looking,
Meekly rose up at the coming of the king.
They had on bawdrikes all on saphire
Going outward, began the king salve
Him presently with their gifts new,
Like as they ought, it was to him due.
'These empresses had on their left side
Other seven virgins, pure and clean,
By attendance continually to abide,
All clad in white suits full of stars shine;
And to declare what they would mean
Unto the king with full great reverence,
These were their gifts shortly in sentance:—
'*Induet te Dominus corona gloris, sceptro clemencie*
Gladio institis pallio, prudentis sancta fidei,
Galia salutis, et vinculo paris;'
God thee endue with a crown of glory,
And with a sceptre of cleanness and price.
And with a shield of right and victory,
And with a mantle of prudence clad you be,
A shield of faith for to defend thee,
A helm of health for to give entries,
Girt with a girdle of love and perfect peace.
'These seven virgins of joy most heavenly,
With their bodies and hands rejoicing,
And of their cheer appeared murely,
For the king's gracious homecoming,
And for gladness they began to sing,
Most angelic, with heavenly harmony,
This same roundell which I shall now specify.
'Sovereign lord, welcome to your city,
Welcome our joy, and our heart's pleasance,
Welcome our gladness, welcome our sufficience.

Welcome, welcome, right welcome may you be;
Singing to fore thy royal majesty,
We say of heart, without variance,
Sovereign lord, welcome; welcome our joy,
Mayor, citizens, and all the commonalty,
At your home coming new out of France,
By grace relieved of all their old grievance,
Sing this day with great solemnity.'
" Thus resteynyd an easy pace riding,
The king is entered into his city," &c.

In the year 1434, a great frost began on the 24th of November, and continued till the 10th of February following; the river Thames was so strongly frozen, that merchandize and provisions brought into the mouth of the river were unladen, and brought by land to the city.

By the great rains that fell in the preceding autumn, corn was so greatly damaged, that a very great dearth ensued, wherein wheat was sold at the excessive rate of one pound six shillings a d eightpence per quarter.*

In 1335, many of the Burgundians, Hollanders, and Flemings, resident in London, were barbarously murdered by the citizens, in revenge for the perfidy of the duke of Burgundy, who had broken his alliance with England, and joined his forces to those of France. In the following year, the troops furnished by the city, and 'maintained at its expense,' were of great use in compelling the duke of Burgundy to raise the siege of Calais.

A. D. 1438, sir William Eastfield, knight of the Bath, and mayor of this city, at his own cost, brought water from Tyburn and Highbury barn to London; to various conduits, which he caused to be erected in Fleet-street, Aldermanbury, and at Cripplegate, for the convenience of his fellow citizens.

On the 1st of September, 1439, as an officer was leading a prisoner from Newgate to Guildhall, in order to take his trial, five of his companions rushed out of Pannier-alley, in Newgate street, wrested him from his keeper, and carried him into the college of St. Martin-le-Grand, where they all took sanctuary. But Philip Malpas and Robert Marshal, the sheriffs of London, were no sooner acquainted with the violence offered to their officer, and the rescue of the prisoner, than they, at the head of a great number of citizens, repaired to the said college, and forcibly took from thence the criminal and his rescuers, whom they carried in fetters to the Compter, and thence chained, by the necks, to Newgate.

The dean and chapter, in a great rage, went and complained of this breach of privilege to the king, remonstrating, that their sacred immunities were trampled upon; wherefore they earnestly entreated Henry, as their patron, to maintain them in their ancient rights and privileges, as his royal predecessors had hitherto done.

* Chron. Preci.

In answer to this, the mayor and citizens undertook to prove, that the collegiate church of St. Martin had no peculiar privilege more than any other church in the city. However, after long debates on that head, the king, by the advice of his council, commanded the sheriffs to bring the prisoners before him in his court of chancery, on the vigil of All Hallows, together with the reasons of their being apprehended and detained.

In obedience to this command, the sheriffs, accompanied by the recorder and city council, appeared at the time and place prefixed, and delivered up the delinquents; whom the chancellor, by command of the king, remanded back to St. Martin-le-Grand, there to remain in sanctuary during pleasure.

In 1440, in a general dearth which raged throughout England, and obliged the poor, in many parts, to make bread of fern-roots, and ivy-berries, the wants of the city were greatly mitigated by the praise- y conduct of Stephen Brown, the mayor, who had several ...ips'-load of rye brought from Prussia to supply the inhabitants. On the 25th of November, in the same year, great damage was done in London by a terrible storm of wind, which unroofed many churches and houses, and blew down nearly 'one half of the houses in Old Change, in Cheapside.'

A splendid specimen of the charity of the citizens occurs in the same year, when Philip Ma'pas, one of the sheriffs above-mentioned, gave by his last will and testament 125*l.* to the relief of poor prisoners, and every year, for five years, four hundred shirts and shifts, forty pair of sheets, and an hundred and fifty gowns of frize to the poor; to five hundred poor people in London 6*s.* 8*d.* each; to poor maids in marriage 100 marks; to highways 100 marks; 20 marks a year for a graduate to preach; 20*l.* to preachers at the Spital, on the three Easter holydays. In which charities he was imitated by Robert Large, mayor, in the same year; who gave 200*l.* to his parish church of St. Olave in Surrey: 25*l.* to St. Margaret's, Lothbury; 20*l.* to the poor, and 100 marks to the bridge; 200 marks towards the vaulting over the water-course of Wallbrook; to poor maids in marriage 100 marks; to poor householders 100 marks, &c.

In the same year, Richard Wick, vicar of Hermetsworth, in Essex, was burnt on Tower-hill for religion; and, being by the people reputed a pious and holy man, the vicar of Barking church, a fraudulent and covetous priest, in that neighbourhood, embraced this opportunity to impose upon the credulous multitude, by mixing ashes with the powder of odoriferous spices, which he secretly strewed on the place where the vicar was burnt, and industriously published the pretended miracle of the fragrancy of the ashes: which was no sooner known, than it produced the desired effect: for the people, in great numbers, from all parts, hurried to the place of execution; where finding the ashes answerable to the report, they begu in a

tumultuous manner to arraign the justice of the judges for condemning that holy man : and, by the address and dextrous management of the crafty vicar, the people were inadvertently drawn into idolatry ; for great numbers resorted thither, and not only invoked him as a God, but likewise at his shrine profusely offered considerable sums of money, statues of wax, &c. ; in return for which, they were by the roguish priest supplied with odoriferous ashes, as sacred relics ; which he carefully reinstated before the next morning. This practice continued about a week, when, by an order of the government, it was suppressed by the mayor and aldermen ; who, apprehending the vicar, and many of those he had gulled, committed them to prison: whereby the imposture was detected and punished, and an end put to the fraud ; and the whole scene of villany laid open, by the confession of the said vicar, the iniquitous contriver.*

In 1441, Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Glouces as accused, through the base arts of cardinal Beaufort, in r the more effectually to destroy the credit of the duke her husband, ' of certain articles of negromancie, witchcraft, sorcerie, heresie, and treason.' ' She was indicted,' says Stow, in ' the Guildhall of London,' as accessary to the charge of ' labouring to consume the king's person by way of negromancie,' in conjunction with ' Roger Bolynbroke, a priest, and great astronomer,' and Thomas Southwell, a canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster. Bolinbroke, most probably influenced by the hope of pardon, is stated to have confessed the charge of necromancy, and to have accused the duchess of employing him to ' knowe what shoulde befall of hir, and to what estate shee should come.' This confession, however, availed not ; and on the eighteenth of November he was hanged and quartered at Tyburn; after having abjured all ' articles longing to the craft of negromancie, on a high scaffolde in Paules churchyarde, before the crosse.' On that occasion he was ' arraied in marvellous attire,' and held ' a sword in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left ;' and with him were exhibited ' a chayre paynted, wherein hee was wont to sit, uppon the foure corners of which chayre stoode foure swordes, and upon every sword an image of copper hanging with many other instrumentes.' The unfortunate duchess, whose guilt seems to have been confined to making, in the weakness of affection, ' love potions' for her own husband, was condemned to do public penance, and to be imprisoned for life. The penance was performed in the following manner :—

' On Monday the 13 of November, she came frō Westminster by water, and landed at the Temple Bridge, from whence with a taper of waxe, of two pound, in hir hande, she went through Fleetestreete, hoodlesse, (saue a kerchefe,) to Pauls, where she

* Maitland.

offered her taper at the high altar. On the Wednesday next shee landed at the Swan in Thames-street, and then went through Bridge-street, Gracechurch-street, streight to Leadenhall, and so to Christ Church by Aldegate. On Fryday shee landed at Queene Hive, and so went through Cheape to St. Michael's in Cornhill, in forme aforesaid: at which times the maior, sherifes, and crafts of London, receaved her, and accompanied her.'*

In August, 1442, many persons were killed and wounded in a sudden and dangerous tumult that arose in Fleet-street, between the students of the inns of court, and the neighbouring inhabitants: and in the next year, such great disturbances were excited through the clamours of various unqualified persons in the choice of a mayor, that the king was obliged to interfere to quell them, by an injunctive letter.

On Candlemas-eve, 1445, in a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, the steeple of St. Paul's was set on fire, and partly destroyed. In the same year, the new queen, Margaret, was conducted in great pomp through the city of London, 'then beautified with pageants of divers histories, and other shews of welcome, marvellous costly and sumptuous.'† This woman, says Stow, 'excelled all other, as well in beauty and favour, as in wit and policie, and was of stomacke and courage not inferior to any.'‡

In 1447, the bloody tragedy which had been commenced by the imprisonment of the duchess Eleanor, and the deaths of her associates, was consummated by the murder of the duke of Gloucester, who had been arrested at St. Edmundsbury by the partizans of the queen and cardinal, and 'on the morrow was found dead in his bed.' To give a colour to the falsehood of the accusations of treason that had been made against him, a number of his domestics were also accused, and five of them being condemned to die, 'were al drawn from the Tower of Londō to Tiborn, and there hanged, letten downe quicke, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a charter shewed for their lives by the duke of Suffolk; but the yōmen of the crown had their livelode; and the hangman had their clothes or wearing apparell.'§

The king made the queen a present of ten pounds per annum, out of the profits arising from the *Repæ Reginæ*, or Queenhithe, in Thames-street.

Gross ignorance and want of learning had so far prevailed, that at this time, the ancient schools of public foundation were quite neglected and gone to decay. Wherefore, for the restoring of learning, four clergymen, the parsons of parishes in the city, petitioned the parliament sitting in the twenty-fifth year of the

* Stow's Ann. p. 619. Brayley's London, i. 204.

† Ibid. p. 624.

‡ Ibid

§ Ibid

king's reign, that they and their successors might be allowed to set up schools in the four respective churches, and appoint school-masters in them; viz. in Great Allhallows, St. Andrew's Holborn, St. Peter's in Cornhill, and St. Mary, Colechurch.

The petition is now among the records in the Tower, and ran in these words:—

'To the ful worthie and discrete communes in this present parlement assemblyd, to consider the grete nombre of gramer scholes that sometyme were in divers parties of this realme, beside those that were in London, and how few ben in these dayes, and the grete hurt is caused of this, not oonly in the spiritual partie of the chirche, where oftentyme it apperith to openly in som persones with grete shame, but also in the temporal partie; to whom also it is full expedyent to have competent congruite for manie causes, as to your wisdomes apperith.

'And forasmuche as to the citie of London is the common concourse of this land, som lake of schole mistress in their own contree, for to be infourmed of gramer ther, and som for the grete almess of lordes, merchants, and others, that which is in London more plenteously, sooner than manie other places of this reaume, to such pouere creatures as never should have be brought to so greet vertu and counyng as thei have, ne had hit been by the meane of the almess abovesaid;

'Wherefor it were expedyent, that in London were a sufficient nomber of scholes, and good enfourmers in gramer; and not, for the singular avail of two or three persones, grevously to hurt the moltitude of yong peple of all this land. For wher there is grete nombre of lerners and few techers, and al the lerners be compelled to go to the few te hers, and to noon others, the maistres waxen rich of monie, and the lerners pouerer in counyng, as experyence openlie sheweth ayenst all vertue and ordre of well publik.

'And these premises moven and sturen of grete devocion and pitee maistre William Lyechefeld, person of the parishe chirche of All Hallowen the More in London, maistre Gilbert, person of Sainte Andrewe, Holbourne, in the suburbs of the said citee, maistre John Cote, person of Seinte Petre in Cornhul of London, and John Neel, maistre of the hous or hospital of Seint Thomas of Acres, and person of Colchirche in London; to compleyne unto you, and for remedie besechyn you to pray the kyng our soveraign lord, that he bi the advys and assent of the lords spirituel and temporel in this present parliament assembled, and bi authoritie of the same parliament, will provide, ordeyne, and graunte to the said maistre William and his successors, that they in the seid parish of Al Hallowen to the said maistre Gilbert, and his successors, that they in the seid parish of Seint Andrew to the said maistre John and his successors, that they in the said parish of Seint Petre, and to the seid John maistre, [of

the seid hospital] and his successors; that they within the foreseid parich of our ladie of Colchirche, in the which said house of St. Thomas is sette; may ordeyne, create, establish, and set a person sufficientlie lerned in gramer, to hold and exercise a scholar in the same science of gramer, and is there to teche to al that wile learn.

'And that everiche of the said maistres, maistre William, maistre Gilbert, maistre John, and John Neel, maistre; such schole-maistre, so bi him sett, and everiche of their successors, such scholemaistre bi him, or bi any of his predecessors so established and sett, speciallie as is above rehercid, may in his own parich or place remove, and another in his place substitute, and set, as any of the said persones, or their successors, semith, [and] the cause reasonable so requireth.

'And so to do, ich of the said persons and their successors, as often as it happenyth any of the said scholes to be void of a schole maistre in any manner wyse, to the honour of God and encreasyng of virtue.'

'*Responsio.* The kyng wille that it be done as it is desired, so that it be done bi th' advyse of the ordinary, the relles of the archbishope of Canterbury for the time being.'*

The duke of York, taking advantage of the death of the duke of Suffolk, the king's incapacity to govern, and the mal-administration of the queen, judged it a proper time for him to put in his claim for the crown. To which end he began to sound the inclinations of the people; and for the carrying on his design with the greater security, he pitched upon Jack Cade, an Irishman, who much resembled John Mortimer, a prince of the blood of the family of March, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. Under this fictitious name Cade went into Kent (where the duke had many friends), and, under the specious pretence of reforming abuses in the government, and rescuing the people from he great grievances and hardships they laboured under, he soon prevailed upon the populace to join him, for the attaining so salutary an end. And having faithfully promised to free them from all taxes and impositions, his army soon increased to such a degree, that he found himself in a condition to march towards London. Being arrived at Blackheath, he encamped there for near the space of a month, frequently sending out parties to prey upon those that would not join him. At this time there seems to have been a good understanding between Cade and some of the citizens; for he often sent letters of safe conduct to Thomas Cock, a draper, to repair to him for the transacting of certain affairs; and in some of which he strictly enjoined the said Cock to charge all the Genoa, Venetian, and Florence merchants, to send him horses, arms, and one thousand marks in money; threatening, in case of

* 25 Hen. VI. Rec. Turr. Lond n 19.

refusal, to destroy as many of the said merchants as should fall into his hands. This demand was undoubtedly complied with; for, upon Cade's arrival at, and during his stay in the city, I cannot learn that he offered the least violence or indignity to any of the said merchants.

The king assembled an army of fifteen thousand men, with whom he marched, in order to fight the rebels. But Cade, receiving intelligence of his approach, retreated (as if afraid) into a wood, in the neighbourhood of Sevenoaks, where he formed an ambuscade, expecting the king's army would be emboldened at his retreat, and pursue him in disorder. This stratagem had the desired effect: for the king in reality believed that the rebels fled for fear of his army, and would soon dissolve and return to their respective homes. Wherefore he returned to London, contenting himself with sending a detachment against them, under the conduct of sir Humphrey Stafford, with orders, that whatever part of the rebels he should light of, to disperse them. But Stafford, falling into their ambuscade, had the misfortune to lose his life, together with those of his best officers; and his army was cut to pieces.

The rebel, with recruited strength, again advanced to Blackheath, and 'there pight againe his field, and lay there from the twenty-ninth of June till the first day of July, in which season came unto him the archbishop of Canterburie, and the duke of Buckingham, with whom they had a long communication, and found him right discreet in his answers; howbeit, they could not cause him to submit himselfe, and lay downe his people.'*

Henry, with his queen and council, now retired to Kenilworth castle in much alarm, leaving the Tower under the command of the lord Scales. On the first of July, Cade marched into Southwark, his near approach causing a strong commotion in the city; and quartering his forces in the neighbourhood, took up his own lodgings at the White Hart. About this period, a requisition for '12 harnises complete of the best fashion, 24 brigandines, 12 battaile axes, 12 glaves, 6 horses with saddle and bridle completely harnessed, and 1000 marks of ready money,† was ordered by Cade to be demanded from the Lumbards, and strangers, being merchants within the city.'

On the 2nd of July, 'the maior called a common councell at the Guildhall, to purvey for the withstanding of these rebels; in which assembly were divers men of sundry opinions, so that some thought good that the said rebels should bee received into the city, and some otherwise. Among the which, Robert Horne, stock-fishmonger, then being an alderman, spake sore against them that would have them enter. For the which, the commons were so moved against him, that they ceased not till they had him

* Stow's Ann. p. 634.

† Ibid. p. 631.

committed to warde. And the same afternoone, about five of the clock, the captaine [Cade] with his people entred by the bridge, and cut the ropes of the drawe-bridge asunder with his sword. When he was passed into the city, he made in sundry places thereof proclamations in the king's name, that no man, in paine of death, shoulde rob, or take any thing without paieng therefor. By reason whereof he won the hearts of the commons, but all was done to beguile them. After, as he came by London Stone, he strake it with his sword, and saide, 'Now is Mortimer lord of this city:' and then shewing his minde to the maior for the ordering of his people, he returned into Southwark, and there abode as he before had done, his people comming and going at lawful houres when they would.

'On the morrow, the third of July, the said captaine againe entred the citie, and caused the lord Say to be fet [fetched] from the Tower to Guildhall, where he was arraigned before the maior, and other the king's justices; and Robert Horne, alderman beforenamed, should have beene likewise arraigned, but that his wife, and other friends, for five hundred marks got him restored to his libertie. The lord Say desiring he might be tried by his peeres, was by the rebels forceably taken from the officers, and brought to the standard in Cheape, where they strake off his head, pight it on a pole, and bare it before them; and his body they caused to be drawne naked at a horse taile upon the pavement, from Cheape into Southwarke, to the said captaines inne.

'Also a squire, called Crowmer, that was then sherife of Kent, that had wedded the said lord Saies daughter, by commandement of the captaine was brought out of the Fleete, that was committed thither for certaine extortions that he had done in his office, and led to Mile-end without London [where the Essex insurgents had taken post,] and there, without any iudgement, his head was smit off; and the lord Saies head and his were borne upon two long poles unto London-bridge, and there set up; and the lord Saies body was quartered.

'The same day the captaine went into the house of Philip Malpas, draper and alderman, and robbed and spoiled his house, taking from thence great substance, and returned into Southwarke. On the next morrow he againe entred the citie, and dined that day in the parish of St. Margaret Patins, at one Cherstis house; and when he had dined, like an uncourteous guest he robbed him, as the day before he had Malpas. For which two robberies, although the poore people drew to him, and were partners in the spoile, yet the honest and wealthy commoners cast in their mindes the sequale of this matter, and feared least they should be dealt with in like manner. Then the maior and aldermen, with assistance of the worshipful commoners, in safeguard of themselves and of the citie, tooke their counsell how they might drive the captaine and his adherents from the citie; for the performance whereof, the maior sent

unto the lord Scales and Matthew Gough, then having the Tower in their government, requiring their aide and assistance, which they promised.

'On the fift of July, the captaine being in Southwarke, caused a man to be beheaded there, and that day entred not the city. When night was come, the maior and citizens, with Matthew Gough, kept the passage of the bridge, and opposed the Kentish men, which made great force to re-enter the citie. Then the captaine, seing this bickering, went to harneis, and assembled his people, and set so fiercely upon the citizens, that he drave them backe from the stoupes in Southwarke, or Bridgefoot, unto the drawbridge; in defending whereof many a man was drowned and slaine. Among the which was John Sutton, alderman; Matthew Gough, a squire of Wales; and Roger Hoisand, citizen. This skirmish continued all night, till nine of the clocke on the morrow; so that sometime the citizens had the better, and sometimes the other; but ever they kept them upon the bridge, so that the citizens passed never much the bulwarke of the bridge foot, nor the Kentish men no further than the draw-bridge; thus continuing the cruell fight, to the destruction of much people on both sides. Lastly, after the Kentish men were put to the worst, a truce was agreed for certaine houres; during which truce the archbishop of Caunterbury, then chancellor of England, sent a generall pardon to the captaine for himselfe, and another for his people; by reason whereof, he and his company withdrew them little and little, and their captaine put all his pillage and goods that he had robbed into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water; and himselfe went by land, and would have entred into the castell of Quinborow, with a few men that were left about him, but he was there let of his purpose: wherefore he fled into the wood country beside Lewis, in Sussex.'*

The insurgents heing thus dispersed, Henry returned to Westminster, and issuing a proclamation against Cade, charged him with divers crimes, and offered a thousand marks for his apprehension, either 'quicke or dead.' Shortly after, Cade was discovered in a garden at Hothfield, in Kent, by Alexander Eden, the sheriff of that county, by whom he was slaine in fight, on refusing to surrender. His head was afterwards set up on a pole on London bridge.

The king, informed of this success, marched his army through the city on the 4th of December following. On which occasion, the gallant citizens were under arms, ranged on each side the streets through which the royal army passed. And though Henry had not been able to prevent the rebels' entry into London, he was now resolved to bring their ringleaders to punishment; so continuing his march to Kent, attended by the judges, he caused

* Stow's Ann. p. 635-6.

after a legal conviction) six and twenty of the principal to be executed. But in his return to London, being met on Blackheath by a multitude of Kentish yeomanry in their shirts, who, with pitiful cries and tears humbly implored mercy, he was graciously pleased to pardon them all. And the citizens, as a further proof of their sincere joy, had erected upon poles upon the bridge the heads of ten of the chief rebels, among which was that of Jack Cade, their leader; to congratulate him at his entrance into London.*

Godfrey Bullein, lord mayor of London in 1451, left, by his will, a thousand pounds to the poor householders in this city, besides two hundred pounds to the poor householders in Norfolk, and very handsome legacies to the prisons, hospitals, and lazar-houses.

In the next year, Godfrey Fielding, mayor of this city, was so highly in favour with the king, that he appointed him one of his privy-councillors.

We find, in the year 1453, a bull from pope Nicholas, to confirm the offerings to be paid by the parishioners of every parish in London, at the rate of one farthing for every house, shop, or tenement; and to command the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, citizens, and inhabitants, to pay the curates of their respective parishes, and to oblige every one to do the same, as much as in their power, under pain of the greater excommunication to be *ipso facto* incurred; in conformity to a constitution made by Roger, bishop of London, confirmed and approved by Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and enjoined by a bull from his predecessor, pope Innocent the Seventh. By which said bull, it was further ordained, that heirs should be accountable for what should be left unpaid of those offerings, at the death of any of the said parishioners; and that the ordinaries of the said churches might proceed for the recovery of the said offerings in a summary manner, without citation, and to excommunicate, and otherwise to punish all those who should do any thing contrary to the said bull; which Arnold rehearses at large.

In consequence of this bull, it appears that the clergy in London insisted rigorously on the offerings therein allowed to them by the pope; and the laity, not being able to withstand the power by which they acted, proposed an arbitration and composition for the same, which was concluded and signed on the 17th day of December, 1457.†

In 1454, John Norman, being chosen mayor for the year ensuing, changed the custom of riding to Westminster (to qualify himself for that office,) to that of going by water; to which end, he caused to be built a stately barge at his own expense, and on the usual anniversary, was rowed thither, attended by the several

* Stow's Ann. Engl.

† Arnold's Chron.

companies of the city, who had imitated their chief magistrate's example. The alteration was of such advantage to the watermen, that they made a song in praise of the said mayor, beginning with " Row thy boat, Norman, row to thy lemman," &c.*

In 1455, the first battle between the partizans of the rival houses of York and Lancaster was fought at St. Albans; where, after a dreadful slaughter of the king's friends, the royal army was routed, and Henry himself made prisoner by the duke, who, with the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, carried the king to London, 'and were lodged in the bishop's palace, where they kept their Whitsontide with great joye and solemnitie.' Soon afterwards, the duke of York was appointed, by the Parliament which assembled at Westminster in July, Protector of the realm; the earl of Warwick was made captain of Calais, &c. and the earl of Salisbury was chosen chancellor of England. These nominations were set aside early in the following year, by the returning influence of the queen and her party.

'In the moneth of May, 1456, an Italian's servant walking through Cheape of London, with a dagger hanging at his girdle, a merchaunte's servant, that before time had been in Italie, and there blamed for wearing of the like weapon, challenged the straunger how he durst bee so bolde to beare weapon, considering hee was out of his native countrey, knowing that in his countrey no straunger was suffered to weare the like: to the which question such aunswere was made by the straunger, that the mercer tooke from him his dagger, and brake it uppon his heade; whereupon the straunger complained to the maior, who on the morrowe sent for the yoong man to the Guilde-hall: wherefore, after his aunswere made unto the complaint, by agreement of a full courte of aldermen, hee was sent to warde; and after the courte was finished, the maior and sherifes walking homeward through Cheape, were there met by such a number of mercer's servaunts, and other, that they might not passe, for ought they could speake or do, till they had delivered the yoong man that before was by them sent to prison.

'And the same daie, in the afternoone, sodainely was assembled a multitude of lewde and poore people of the citie, which, without heade or guide, ranne into certaine Italians' houses, and especially to the Florentines, Lukesses, and Venetians, and there tooke and spoyled what they founde, and did great hurt in sundrie places, but moste in fowre houses standing in Bred-streete warde, whereof three stoode in Saint Bartholemew's parish the Little, and one in the parish of Saint Benets Finke.

'The maior, aldermen, and worshipfull commoners of the citie, with all their diligence, resisted them what they coulde, and sent divers of them to Newgate; and finally, not without shedding of

* Fab. Chron. p. 7.

bloude, and mayming of diverse citizens, the rumour was appeased. The yong man, beginner of all this businesse, tooke sanctuarie at Westminster; and not long after, the duke of Buckingham, with other noble men, were sent from the king into the citie, who there charged the maior, by vertue of a commission, that inquirie shoulde bee made of this ryot, and so called an *oyer determiner* at the Guyld-hall, where sat for judges the maior, as the king's lieutenaunte, the duke of Buckingham on his right hande, the chiefe justice on the left hand, and manie other men of name, where, while they were empannelling their inquestes, the other commons of the citie, manie of them secretly put them in armour, and meant to have roong the common bell, so to have raised the whole force of the citie, and so to have delivered such persons as before for the robberie were committed to warde.

'But this matter was discreetly handled by the counsell and labour of some discreete commoners, which appeased their neighbors in such wise, that all this furie was quenched; but when worde was brought to the duke of Buckingham that the commonaltie were in harnesse, hee, with the other lords, tooke leave of the maior, and departed; and so ceased the inquirie for that day.

'Upon the morrow, the maior commanded the common-counsell, with the wardens of fellowships, to appeere at the Guild-hall, where, by the recorder, in the king's name and the maior's, was commanded everie warden, that in the afternoone either of them should assemble his whole fellowship at their common halles, and there to give straight commaandement that every man see the kinges peace kept within the citie. After which time the citizens were brought to such quietnesse, that, after that daie, the enquirie was duly perused, and three persons for the said riot put in execution, and hanged at Tyborne, whereof two were sanctuarie men of St. Martin's le Graunde; the other, a shipman, for robbing of Anthony Mowricine, and other Lumbardes.'*

The queen, suspecting this riot might have been fomented by the adherents of the duke of York, from thence took occasion to convey the king from London to Coventry, under the specious pretext of 'taking the air.'

In the 34th of Henry VI. five new schools were set up in the following churches in London, by the care of the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, confirmed by the king's letters patent; viz. one within the church-yard of St. Paul's, a second at the collegiate church of St. Martin's le Grand, another at St. Mary de Arcubus (that is, Bow church in Cheapside), another at St. Dunstan's in the east, and the fifth at the hospital of St. Anthony.

This was done to suppress other smaller schools set up by

* Stow's Ann. p. 654—5, from Fab. Chron.

illiterate men, who did the youth more harm than good, as is hinted in the said letters patent.*

About the end of the year 1457, there were taken in the river Thames, at Erith, two whales, a sword-fish, and one called *mors marina*, which, by the superstitious, were regarded as prognostics of future troubles.

The prisoners in Newgate having broke out of their several wards, got upon the leads, where they defended themselves with great obstinacy against the sheriffs and their officers, insomuch that these were obliged to call the citizens to their assistance, before they could be reduced to their former state.

The contests between the clergy and laity, which arose in London by the power given to the curates of this city to levy certain offerings or rates, as above, in the year 1453, were now finally adjusted after this manner, according to Arnold:

The Composition of all Offeryng within the City of London, and Suburbs of the same.

'First, that every person, dweller and inhabytant in ony houses in London, or suburbys of the same, hyred and occupied as for the ful rente and pensyon of xs. yerly, shall offer to God, and to the chyrche in whose parysshe suche place standeth, one ferthyng every day in the festis that folowyng: that is to say, in every Sonday in the yere, Christmasse-Day, Circumcision, Epyphanie, Puryficacyon of our Lady, the Assencion of our Lorde, Corpus Christi, Saynt Mathewe, Apostle Symon and Jude, Alhalowen, Andrew Apostle, Concepcion of our Lady, Thomas Apostle, John Baptist, Peter and Pawle, James Apostle, Bartylmew Apostle, Assumcyon and Nativity of our Lady, Dedicacion-Day, whiche from the day forward shall be through all London, and for the parish-chyrches in London that be hallowed the iii day of Octobre; also one day of the princypal festes of the patron of every chirch through London, and the suberbs of the same, yerely, without contradiction. And, if such inhabyted houses be letten for xx*s.* one halfpenny; and if for xxx*s.* three farthings; for xl*s.* 1*d.* for 1*s.* one penny farthing; and so every assendyng and dyssending by x*s.* into what somm that everi it be, shall alwai offer a farthing after the rate of x*s.* in the feasts abovesaid. And yf suche dwellyngs, occupied and inhabyted houses, be not letten, but peradvente the owner that dwelle therein, or frely let, or otherwyse occupyd, as for a dwellyng, that then the offeryng shall be as it was leten before, or else after a comon value: and dowte thereof the rente to be exemptyd by the chirch-wardeins for the tyme beyng. And, yf a man dwell and inhabite dyvers places and houses within the sayd cyte, in one or divers paryshes,

* Maitland i. 197.

he then shal, after the rates and dayes aforesaid, offer every house to the chirch in whoes paryshe they stonde. Provided alway, that when two of the festes aforesayd falle upon one day, than the offeryng shal be for one day. Item, Where ony dwelled in the sayd cyte, inhabyted or occupyd a dwellyng-place an howse under the prys, rent or pensyon of vis. viiid. that than he shal be bounde to offer iiii dayes in the yere, in the iiii princypall festys of the chirch there as he is parishen of. And, yf suche pensyon or rente extend to the full somme of vis. viiid. or above, and not fully to the somme of xs. that than them habytant for every S. shal pay to the church id. ob. onys in the yere. Provyded alway, that, yf the sayd dweller com before his curat, and say upon his fayth and trouthe, that he may not pay his sayd money, accordyng to the ordinance aforesayd, be nether xs. that the sayd curat shal holden hym content with such as he wyll gyve hym aught or naught, and the dweller thereupon shal be quyte. Also, and the pensyon of rent of such inhabytant houses extend above the somme of xs. and not fully to the somme of xxxs. and so to ony somme beyng between x and x, than the inhabytant shall pay onys a yere to the curat for every shelyngie of the sayd somme, beyng betwene x and x, id. ob. yerely. Item, where as a dwellyngis house is hyred of gret, and after leten out by partyes to sondry folkis, that than the hyrer in grete, yf that he dwell in the princypal parte of the same house, shal offer to God and to the chirch, in the days aforsayd, for the rent of all the holy rent, yf the sayd house be inhabyted and occupyed as dwellyng places and ellis, after the rule that followeth: and yf the said hyrer in grete dwelle not in ony parte thereof, but let it out agayne, that than he that dwelleth in the pryncypal parte shall offer all, and the remenant iiiid. by yere. Item, Altho, in the said cyte, or suburbis, or that occupyed houses not inhabyted as shoppys, celars, shadys, warehouses, stables, wharfes, kranes, tymbre-hawes, teynter-places for fullers, or other places, gardeyns, shal onys in the yere, for every pounde that they be leten for, yf they be hyred, or after a common value, yf they be not hyred, gyve unto the curat of the chirch there, as such houses ben, vid. without any other offeryngis for the sayd houses, assendyngis and dessendyngis after the rate of vid. of the pounde, and for xs. iiid. and so after the rate assendyngis and dessendyngis, without more charge of offerynge for it. Item, that all apprenticyes servaunts, and hyred men within the sayd citie, not sharged with suche rent and housyngys, whyche shal be houselder at Ester, or about Ester, shall iiii tymes in the yere, at iiii pryncypal festys, offer to God, and to the chirche. Also, as for personal tythes, the parysshens by this ordynance shal neyther be charged nor discharged; savyng that herafter shal no curat vex, trouble, sue, ordayne sacramentis or servyce for no payment of the same, but leve them to good devocyon and con-

scyence of the paryshens Item, all offring is undone before this day, or any other attempted contrarye, besyde, or agaynst thys present wrytyng, by ony person or persons, shall stonde quyte, and not be remembred as unto ony sute or stryf; but all suche thyngs before thys day done shal clere be remet and forgyven on boothe pertyes.

'Be it in mynde, that thys bonde and arbitrement is made the xvii day of Decembre, the yere of the incarnacyon of our Lord M.IIIICLVII. by master Laurence Bothe, master William Radclyf, master Lucas Lancock, master John Aleyn, master John Lyleford, Geffrey Feldyng, William Taylour, master Robert Kent, arbytrators chosen upon the premisse, as in the tenor of the compremysse thereupon openly made it may appere.' N.B. At this time there were 118 parish-churches in London and its suburbs.

The king and queen, together with the dukes of York, Exeter, and Somerset, the earls of Warwick, Northumberland, and Salisbury, and several lords being arrived in the city, and the smallest of their retinues consisting of four hundred men, as their respective guards; Godfrey Buloine, the mayor, for the better securing the peace of the city during the stay of these potent guests, caused five thousand citizens completely armed to mount guard daily under his own command, and two thousand by night, under the command of three aldermen. By this wise precaution peace was preserved in all parts of the city, during the stay of those personages and their respective troops.

About the same time happened a great tumult in Fleet-street, between the students of the inns of court and the neighbouring inhabitants; wherein was killed the queen's attorney: the consequence was, the principals of Furnival's, Clifford's, and Barnard's inns were committed prisoners to the castle of Hertford; and William Taylor, alderman of Farringdon ward without, and others, were committed to the castle of Windsor. At the same time, all the Genoese merchants in this city were by the king's special command committed close prisoners to the Fleet, by way of reprisal for the capture of an English ship in the Levant, by a ship of war of that nation: and to make good all damages sustained by the master and owners of the said ship, the said merchants were amerced in the sum of six thousand marks.*

Henry VI. receiving advice at Coventry of the landing of the earls of March, Warwick, Salisbury, &c. at Sandwich in Kent, from Calais, immediately commanded the lord Scales to march with a considerable body of troops and possess himself of the city of London, as the most important place of the kingdom; which, if he could secure it, would of itself be sufficient to baffle all the efforts of the rebels. Lord Scales, accompanied by the earl of Kendall and baron Lovell, set out immediately for the city; where being arrived, he in the king's name demanded admission,

* Fab. Chron. part 7, page 417.

assuring the mayor and citizens, that his master, out of his great love to them, had sent him to protect the city from being pillaged by a great body of rebellious traitors, that were now almost at their gates. The mayor, who secretly favoured the designs of the above-named lords, answered, that he wanted no help, either to defend or govern the city; and therefore would not permit an armed power to come within his jurisdiction. This resolute answer highly enraged lord Scales, who perceived the disloyalty of the citizens, and plainly foresaw, that they intended to admit the malcontents at their arrival. For the preventing of which, he possessed himself of the Tower of London, and threatened, that in case they admitted the rebels, he would batter and lay the city in ashes. However, it appears that those menaces had but little weight with the citizens; for upon the arrival of the earl of March with his army, they immediately opened their gates, and received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

This mighty point gained, of having the city declare for him, March set out with an army of twenty-five thousand men in search of the king; having left the earl of Salisbury with a cousiderable power, to defend the city against the attempt of the lord Scales in the Tower, who incessantly from thence plied the city with his ordnance, and beat down and destroyed a number of houses, with their inhabitants. Wherefore Salisbury blocked up that fortress on all sides; and, by erecting a battery on the opposite bank of the Thames, he reduced the garrison to such straits, that Scales was soon obliged to desist from firing upon the city.*

'Then was the Tower,' says Stow, 'besieged both by water and land, that no victuals might come to them: and they that were within the Tower cast wild fire into the citie, and shot many small guns, whereby they brent and slew, men, women, and children, in the streetes: also they of the citie laide great gunnes on the further side of the Thames, against the Tower, and break the walls in divers places.'† Soon afterwards the garrison, 'for lack of victuals, yeelded, and came forth:'‡ but the lord Scales attempting to escape by water, to take sanctuary at Westminster, was 'descried by a woman, and anon the wherry men fell on him, killed him, and cast him a-land by St. Mary Overies.'§

On the 16th of August, the confederate lords came to London with their royal captive, whom they caused to summon a parliament to meet on the seventh October.‖ This delay was wanting to give time for the arrival of the duke of York, who was then in Ireland, and who did not reach London till two days

* Maitland, i. 199.
† Stow's Ann. p. 669.
‡ Ibid. p. 670.
§ Ibid.
‖ Cot. Rec. p. 665.

after the parliament had opened The duke rode immediately to Westminster, and alighting from his horse, went into the painted chamber, where the lords were sitting, and 'stood for some time under the canopy of state, with his hand on the throne; expecting, as it were, to be desired to seat himself thereon.' But the silence of the peers convincing him that his intentions were not generally approved, he withdrew in chagrin to his own house; and within a short time prepared a 'writing,' which 'his councell presented to the lords in full parliament, touching his right and claim to the crown of England, and lordship of Ireland.'* This was immediately taken into consideration; yet, after a debate of several days, it was determined that Henry should continue to enjoy the throne during his life; but that the duke should be declared the 'very heir apparent.'† These, with other resolutions, were subsequently passed into an act; and on the 'day of All Saints,' the king, wearing the crown upon his head, went in procession with the duke of York and parliament to St. Paul's. On the Saturday following, the duke was solemnly proclaimed 'heir apparent to the crown, and protector of the realm,' by sound of trumpet, throughout the city.

When the queen was informed of the compromise between her husband and the duke, which at once excluded herself from power, and her son from the succession, she was incensed to vengeance, and immediately began to raise an army in the north, for the purpose of releasing the king, and overwhelming her enemies. Her first efforts were successful; in the dreadful battle of Wakefield, the duke of York, who had imprudently engaged the queen's forces with far inferior numbers, was defeated and slain; and his head having been encircled with a paper diadem in derision of his claims, was fixed upon one of the gates of York city. The queen next advanced towards London,, and having worsted the earl of Warwick at the second battle of St. Albans, released the king from captivity, and prepared for her entry into the metropolis.

The citizens had in general supported the cause of the Yorkists, and were now under dreadful apprehensions of being plundered by the queen's troops, to whom a promise of all the spoil south of the river Trent is said to have been given, and who had already committed great ravages in the town and neighbourhood of St. Albans.

Stow, speaking of the event of the battle, says, 'The queene having thus got the victorie, sent to the maior of London, commanding him, without delay, to send certaine carts, laden with lenten stuffe, for the refreshing of her armie, which the maior incontinent granted, caused carts to be laden, and would have sent them forward, but the commons of the citie would not suffer

* Cott. Rec. p. 665. † Ibid

them to passe, but staied them at Criplegate; during which controurversie divers of the northern horsemen robbed in the suburbs of the citie, and would have entred at Criplegate, but they were repulsed by the commoners, and three of them slain.'*

To appease the expected resentment of the queen at these transactions, the mayor, and more eminent inhabitants, sent a deputation to Barnet, where the king's council was assembled; and engagements were made, that the queen's army should be admitted into the city, as soon as the common people were quieted. The queen, therefore, contented herself with detaching 'certaine lords and knights, with 400 tall persons, to ride to the citie, and there to view and see the demeanour of the people;'† intending speedily to follow with her whole army. But all her measures were disconcerted by intelligence that the earl of March, son to the late duke of York (who had been engaged in levying forces in Wales at the period of his father's death,) had in conjunction with the earl of Warwick, totally defeated the earls of Pembroke and Ormond, at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and was now rapidly marching towards the metropolis. The queen knowing she could place very little dependence on the Londoners, judged it prudent to retire into the north; and the earl of March immediately hastened with his troops to the capital, where he was received with every demonstration of joy.

Within a day or two afterwards, on the 2nd of March (anno 1461,) the earls' army was mustered in St. John's fields, Clerkenwell, amidst considerable numbers of people, when the lord Fauconbridge seizing the opportunity, read aloud the agreement which had been made between the king and the duke of York, and appealing to the multitude, told them, that Henry had notoriously violated his contract, and asked whether he 'was still worthy to reign?' The people cried, 'Nay, nay;' and he then enquired whether, agreeably to the settlement ratified by the parliament, 'they would have the earl of March to be their king?' they answered, 'Yea, yea;' and this expression of the popular voice being admitted to be legitimate in a great council of prelates, nobility, gentry, and magistrates, held on the ensuing day at Baynard's castle, the earl of March was 'on the morrowe' conducted in great state to St. Paul's and thence to Westminster-hall, where 'being set in the king's seate, with St. Edward's sceptre in his hand,'‡ an appeal was then made to the people, who, with loud acclamations, declared, that they accepted him for their sovereign. He was then conducted with great solemnity to the bishop of London's palace, where Henry used to lodge when within the walls of the city; and on the day

* Stow's Ann. p. 678-9. † Ibid.

‡ Hall's Chron.

following, was proclaimed king in London and the neighbouring places, by the title of Edward the Fourth.*

CHAPTER VIII.

History of London from the reign of Edward the Fourth to the reign of Henry the Eighth.

EDWARD IV. the same day he was proclaimed, dined at Baynard's Castle, near St. Paul's, and continued there till his army was ready to march in pursuit of the late king. One of the first and most arbitrary acts of Edward's reign, was the causing Walter Walker, an eminent grocer in Cheapside, to be apprehended and tried for a few harmless words innocently spoken by him; viz. that he would make his son 'heir to the crown,' inoffensively meaning his own house which had the crown for its sign; for which imaginary crime, he was beheaded in Smithfield, in the eighth day of this reign.

Soon after, Edward marched his army through Bishopsgate towards the north, in quest of king Henry, who by this time had assembled a mighty army of 60,000 men; and, both armies meeting, at Towton, or Shyryborn, in Yorkshire, after a terrible and desperate engagement, which continued fourteen hours, with a prodigious slaughter, victory declared in favour of Edward. After Edward had taken care for preserving the peace in the north, he began his march back southward; and in the beginning of June he arrived at his manor of Shene, now Richmond, in Surrey, till all things were got ready for his coronation. On the 27th of June, his majesty set out from thence to London, and was on the way met at Lambeth by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities, dressed in scarlet, attended by four hundred citizens on horseback, all in green, richly accoutred, by whom he was conducted to the Tower of London; from whence, two days after, he rode through the city to Westminster, and was crowned with very great solemnity at St. Peter's; on which occasion the public rejoicings in the city were exceedingly great; 'and on the next morrowe, hee went crowned in Paul's church of London; and there an angel came downe, and censed him; at which time was so great a multitude of people in Paul's, as ever was scene in any daies.'

Edward, in the second year of his reign, to show his gratitude to the citizens of London for the many great and signal services

* Brayley's London, i. 217.

done to him, granted them a charter, by which all the ancient rights and liberties of the citizens are not only confirmed, but likewise the following additional liberties granted. 1. The mayor, recorder, and aldermen passed the chair, are appointed perpetual justices of the peace of the city, during their continuing aldermen of the same. 2. The mayor, recorder and aldermen passed the chair, are constituted justices of *oyer and terminer*, for the trying of all malefactors within their own jurisdiction. 3. For the better ascertaining the customs of the city, when a plea is brought in any of the superior courts touching the said customs, the mayor and aldermen are hereby empowered, by the mouth of their recorder, to declare whether the point in controversy be a custom of London or not; and if, upon enquiry, it be found to be such, then the same to be recorded, and remain an established custom to all futurity. 4. The mayor and aldermen are for ever exempt from serving in all foreign assizes, juries, or attaints, and also from the offices of assessor, collector of taxes, or overseer, or comptroller of all public duties without the jurisdiction of the city. 5. The concession of the borough of Southwark, with its appurtenances, is confirmed, with the right of waifs, strays, and treasure trove.* 6. The citizens are entitled to the goods and chattels of traitors, felons, &c. with the privilege of holding an annual fair in the said borough, together with a court of *pie-powder*, with the rights and customs thereunto belonging, all at the ancient fee-farm rent of ten pounds per annum.

The year 1469 was distinguished by new commotions and civil broils, principally originating in the imprudence of Edward, who had grievously offended his late firm adherent, the earl of Warwick, as well as most of the ancient nobility, by the lavish manner in which he showered down honors, titles, and estates, on the relations of the queen, in almost total neglect of his former partizans. After various events, Edward was at length constrained to fly to Holland: and his queen having left the Tower, and taken sanctuary at Westminster, in October, 1470, that fortress was delivered up to the mayor (sir Richard Lee) and the aldermen of London, who immediately released the captive Henry from his confinement, which he had now endured for nearly nine years: shortly afterwards he was again proclaimed king, and went in procession 'crowned' to St. Paul's; the earl of Warwick supporting his train, and the earl of Oxford bearing his sword.

* The first purports, all goods dropped by thieves and fugitive felons, when pursued, and goods lost when an owner cannot be found. The second implying all tame beasts strayed into a foreign lordship, which, not being reclaimed by the owner within a year and a day after their being legally cried in the neighbouring market towns, they become the property of the lord of the manor wherein they were found. And the third signifies all hidden money, which, by the civil law, is given to the finder, but by the law of England is annexed to the crown; wherefore, the king disposes of it by grant at pleasure.

During the distractions of this period, London was in great danger of being ravaged by a body of miscreants under the command of sir Geoffrey Gates, who plundered the houses of the foreign merchants in Blanch Appleton, now Mark-lane; and being afterwards strengthened by numerous ruffians from Kent, pillaged Southwark; and recrossing the Thames, carried fire and sword into the eastern skirts of the metropolis. They were afterwards overpowered by some forces under the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, by whom many of the ringleaders were ordered to be immediately hanged.

The ascendancy of the earl of Warwick, who now governed in the king's name, was but of short duration; for Edward having procured aid from his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, and secretly inclined his own brother, the duke of Clarence, to favor his attempt, landed in England in March, 1470, and marching towards the capital with all the expedition which his affairs admitted of, was received into the city with great rejoicings, on the 11th of April, the mayor and aldermen having previously obtained possession of the Tower in his name.

Edward had but just shewn himself to the Londoners, when he was obliged to put himself at the head of his troops, and march forth to meet the earl of Warwick, who was advancing with a large army. The hard-fought battle of Barnet was decisive of the struggle: victory declared for Edward, and the earl was slain.

Edward was now restored to his crown and dignity. He posted to London in person to carry the first news of this great and decisive victory to his loving citizens himself, by whom he was received with a joy inexpressible; being freed from their late anxieties, and the danger they would inevitably have been exposed to, if Warwick had obtained the victory. After Edward had returned thanks in St. Paul's church for his late success, he re-committed for life the most unfortunate king Henry to his old prison in the Tower of London, who was obliged to ride the city in a long blue velvet gown. But this was not the end of the city's troubles; for while Edward was obliged to march after and give battle to another army, commanded by Henry's queen, and son, &c. which he routed; and took prisoners the prince of Wales, the duke of Somerset, and the prior of St. John's; Thomas Nevil, natural son of lord Falconbridge, therefore generally called the Bastard Falconbridge, a person as debauched in his morals as wicked in his practices, who had been a pirate for several years, thought it was then a proper time to enrich himself at once; and, in order thereto, landed a considerable number of seamen in Kent: who, being joined by a body of freebooters from all parts, under the specious pretence of restoring the captive king Henry, (by which stratagem the partizans of the house of Lancaster were artfully cajoled to join the bastard) his army

soon increased to seventeen thousand men, with whom he easily possessed himself of Southwark; and being denied admittance into the city, caused three thousand of his men to cross the Thames at St. Catherine's, in order at once to attack Aldgate and Bishopsgate; whilst he, with the other part of his army, were employed in storming London-bridge. Those three attacks were carried on by that infamous crew of robbers with the utmost desperation; who, storming the bulwark at Aldgate, repulsed the citizens, and entered the gate with them. But the portcullis being let down, those that had entered were soon cut to pieces. Whereupon Robert Basset, an alderman, and the commanding officer there, being reinforced by a great number of citizens, sallied out and repulsed the enemy with great loss. At which time, the earl Rivers sallied out at the postern on Tower-hill, with 500 men of the Tower garrison, and flanked the rebels; who, finding themselves violently attacked on both sides, fled with the utmost precipitation as far as Blackwall and Stratford; but, being closely pursued, numbers were killed and taken prisoners. Those thieves were not only repulsed at Aldgate, but likewise at the bridge, by that gallant citizen Ralph Jocelin, late mayor of the city, who, after having bravely defended his post against the terrible fire and furious assaults of the enemy, compelled them to retreat; and falling upon their rear, pursued them with great slaughter as far as Redriff.*

The king being returned to the city from his late expedition against queen Margaret, he was by the citizens received with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and he knighted the twelve following aldermen for their gallant behaviour in defending the city against the bastard, viz. John Stockton, the mayor, Ralph Verney, John Young, William Taylor, Richard Lee, Matthew Philips, George Ireland, William Stoker, William Hampton, Thomas Stallbroke, John Crosby, and Bartholomew James, aldermen, and Thomas Urswick, recorder. But what chiefly confirmed the peaceable possession of the throne to Edward, was the death of Henry, his competitor; who departed this life, some write naturally, others that he was murdered with a dagger by the hands of the duke of Gloucester, who succeeded to the crown after Edward IV. The royal corpse was exposed to public view on Ascension-day.†

* Hall. Chron.

† In the eleventh volume of the Fœdera, page 712, is a record of the expense of Henry's maintenance in the Tower, with the daily allowance for ten persons waiting on him for fourteen days, amounting in the whole only to 4l. 5s., the expense of his own diet for three days cost but three shillings and ten-pence. In another record, on the same page, are the expences of his funeral, which amounted but to 33l 6s. 8d., in which sum are included the fees of a priest, charges for linen cloth of Holland, and spices; fees to the torch bearers who attended the corpse to St. Paul's, and thence to Chertsey; money paid to two soldiers of Calais, who watched the corpse, and for the hire of barges from London to Chertsey; and 8l. 12s. 3d. distributed in charity to different religious orders.

Upon the Monday following, king Edward marched in pursuit of the bastard above-mentioned, who fled before the royal army, as it advanced to Canterbury; and his rebel accomplices deserting him, his majesty seized upon many of them both in Kent and Essex, who, after a fair trial, were executed, and their heads set on London-bridge; where also the head of their leader, the bastard, at length bore them company, having been discovered and taken near Southampton about three months after.

The year 1472 will ever be memorable in the annals of the metropolis, from the introduction of the art of printing, by William Caxton, citizen and mercer, who first practised it in this country under the patronage of earl Rivers and the abbot of Westminster, and within the walls of Westminster abbey.

There being at this time only one pair of stocks in London, (and those at the market from which it received its name, now the site of the mansion-house,) for the punishing of vagrants; sir William Hampton, the mayor, caused stocks to be erected in every ward, for the more effectual punishment of strollers.

In 1473, it was ordained, that the sheriffs of London and Middlesex should each have sixteen serjeants, and every one his yeoman; and also six clerks, viz. a secondary, a clerk of the papers, and four others, besides the under-sheriff's clerks.

Sir William Hampton, knight of the bath, lord mayor of London, did his endeavours this year to clear the city and liberties of disorderly women; for which purpose he gave the notorious bawds and whores corporal punishment, and ordered them to be led through the chief streets, and exposed in a most shameful manner.*

King Edward having entered into an alliance with the duke of Burgundy for the recovery of his rights in France, he called a parliament to enable him to put the same in execution, by carrying on a vigorous war against that nation. But the parliament two years before having granted a tenth of all the revenues and profits of the kingdom, besides the sum of 51,117*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*; which, together with the great depredations committed in the late civil war, whereby the country was almost entirely ruined; they found themselves not in a condition to grant a new subsidy at that time, other than by making an ordinance for the more effectual and speedy raising of the above-mentioned supply, which Rapin erroneously calls a subsidy granted in this session.

The king, for the above reasons, not judging it proper to urge them to a compliance with his demands, contrived a new method for supplying his necessities (hitherto unknown) under the specious appellation of a benevolence; to which end, he caused lists secretly to be made of all the rich and most opulent of his subjects, whom he prevailed upon, either by public entreaties or private menaces.

* Fabian, p. 455.

largely to contribute. Upon which occasion, he sent to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, whom he, in a very pathetic speech, exhorted to set a good example to others bytheir generously contributing. The mayor, in obedience to his majesty's request, gave thirty pounds, divers of the aldermen twenty marks, and ten pounds each. Then he sent for the principal commons of the city, to whom he addressed himself in the aforesaid manner; which had so good an effect, that the major part gave him the sum of four pounds eleven shillings and four-pence each: which, according to computation, amounted to half the charge of a soldier for one year. By these great contributions, together with those from the country, Edward was enabled to raise an army of 31,000 men, which he transported to Calais; but, by the ill performance of the duke of Burgundy and perfidious dealings of the constable St. Paul, Edward found it necessary, without striking a stroke, to make peace with Lewis, the French king, more to the advantage of his courtiers than to his own honor; though on his return with his army to London, he was met at Blackheath by the lord mayor and aldermen in scarlet robes, attended by five hundred of the most eminent citizens on horseback, clothed in murrey, and richly accoutred, by whom he was conducted through the city to Westminster, in a very pompous manner.

In the above-mentioned sessions of parliament, a great house in the parish of Alhallows the great, in Thames-street, anciently known by the appellation of *Guyhalla Theutonicorum*, (at present the Steelyard) was confirmed to the Hanseatic merchants and their successors for ever, together with the other tenements thereunto belonging, they paying annually for the same to the mayor and citizens of London, seventy pounds, and some petty rents to others.*

By another act of common council made at this time, the masters, wardens, and liveries of city corporations were empowered to assist as electors at all future elections of mayor and sheriffs of London, &c. Since which time, the said magistrates have been chosen by the lord mayor, aldermen, common-councilmen, and liverymen.

In the year 1476, the mayor, sir Ralph Joceline, by the consent of the bench and common-council, came to a resolution to repair the city walls with brick, made of earth, dug, tempered, and burnt in Moorfields; and ordained, that in every parish church, on every Sunday, every parishoner should pay towards the charge of the said repairs six-pence; and, for an example unto other companies, prevailed with his own company of Drapers to build as much of the said wall as reached from the church of Alhallows within the said wall unto Bishopsgate; who were imitated, in some measure, by other companies. And likewise, Richard Rawson, one of the sheriffs in 1477, gave, by his will, large legacies to the prisons, hos-

* Cot. Abrid Rec.

pitals, and lazars to the poor, highways and water conduits, besides 340*l.* to marry poor maids, and money to be applied by his executors in building a large house, in the yard of St. Mary Spital, for the mayor, &c. to sit during the time of sermon. The Tower-ditch was this year cast and cleansed throughout.

In 1478, the citizens purchased two charters of the king, the first for the sum of 1,923*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* (part of 12,923*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* which Edward acknowledged himself indebted to them), by which they received permission to purchase lands in mortmain to the value of 200 marks per annum; and the other for 7000*l.* (being part also of the said sum), by which they obtained the privileges of package, portage, garbling of spices, &c. guaging, wine-drawing, and other privileges.*

In 1479, a very great pestilence raged in London, which begun about the end of September in the preceding year, and lasted to the beginning of November in this year, sweeping away an incredible number of people. During this calamity, sir Bartholomew James, the mayor, being at his devotion before St. Erkenwald's shrine in St. Paul's church, Robert Byfield, one of the sheriffs, kneeled down hard by him, in like manner to perform his devotion to the said saint. But, whether the mayor thought himself thereby affected in his devotion, or in his honour is not certain: however, he highly resented this proceeding of the sheriff, and with some warmth asked him, 'how he could be guilty of such an indignity towards him?' The sheriff, instead of acknowledging himself guilty of a crime, treated the mayor in a very opprobious manner, who complained thereof to the court of aldermen; which court amerced him in the sum of fifty pounds for his rude deportment, to be appropriated towards repairing the city conduits. And in the following year we read an extraordinary sentence by the same court of lord mayor and aldermen: who fined one Robert Deynys, the sum of twenty pounds, to be paid unto the chamber, for presuming to marry an orphan in the city without their licence.

This year also gives a notable example of a punishment inflicted on four robbers of churches, who were hanged on Tower-hill, and their bodies burnt to ashes, with the gibbet, as they hung.†

In the year 1481, England being invaded by the Scots, king Edward raised an army of 22,000 men, for the support of which he applied to the city of London for a loan: where, in a consultation of the citizens, it was resolved to advance him the sum of five thousand marks. For the rating and levying of which, a commission was chosen out of each ward; who, together

* From the second charter, it appears that the office of chief butler of England had been granted to earl Rivers, and that he claimed also the right of nominating a coroner for the city; but this latter office was now confirmed to the mayor and commonalty.

† Fabian.

with two of the inhabitants of each parish, were appointed the assessors.

In 1482, the citizens of London, by their many great and faithful services, had so endeared themselves to the king, that he appointed a great hunting match in Waltham forest, for the entertainment of William Hurcot, alias Haryat, a draper, the mayor, the aldermen, and many of the chief citizens; where, after the chase was over, wherein were killed a great number of deer, (both red and fallow), they were elegantly entertained in a beautiful and stately arbour erected for that purpose. And in the month of August following, his majesty, in great regard to the said mayor, who, by his extensive trade with foreign countries, increased the royal customs very largely, and other things that had given great contentment, sent two harts, six bucks, and a tun of wine, for the entertainment of the lady mayoress, and the wives of the aldermen and principal citizens; wherewith they sumptuously regaled themselves in Drapers' hall.*

The king died at Westminster, April 9th, 1483.

Upon the demise of Edward the fourth, his eldest son Edward, a prince of thirteen years of age, should have succeeded him. But upon his accession to the crown, Richard, duke of Gloucester, his perfidious uncle, seized upon his person at Stoney Stratford, as he was returning from Ludlow, in Shropshire, to London. Upon the news whereof, the whole city was in the greatest commotion; and many of the nobility taking arms, were joined by a vast number of citizens, for their mutual defence, till they knew what Gloucester intended by seizing the king's person. However, the lord Hastings, a man in great favour with the citizens, being sent into the city to assure them that the king was not in the least danger, and that the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, and the knights that were apprehended with him, were arrested for certain conspiracies formed against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, which would soon be made to appear in a legal way; and to represent to the citizens that their taking arms in such a riotous and seditious manner, would prove of dangerous consequence to themselves, if they did not speedily lay them down, and return to their several habitations, and not take upon them to censure the proceedings of their superiors (who intended nothing more than the public good), lest they themselves should be deemed the only enemies of the nation, violators of the public tranquillity, and obstructors of the king's coronation, which the duke and other lords were coming to London to celebrate; this speech had so good an effect upon the citizens, that they immediately dispersed and returned to their respective habitations.†

The king, on his way to London, was on the 4th of May, met at Hornsey park (now Highgate) by Edmund Shaw, the mayor,

* Fabian, p. 461.

† Moore's Life of Edw. V

accompanied by the aldermen, sheriffs, and 500 citizens on horseback, richly accoutred in purple gowns, whence they conducted him to the city, where he was received by the citizens with a joy inexpressible, and lodged in the bishop's palace. In this solemn cavalcade, the duke of Gloucester's deportment was very remarkable: for, riding uncovered before the king, he frequently called to the citizens, with an audible voice, to 'behold their prince and sovereign.'* This behaviour of Gloucester not only gained him the affection of the citizens, but likewise persuaded them that the late misrepresentations of his conduct were purely the effects of malice; and confirmed their good opinion of him in the minds of the Londoners, in not only doing homage to the king himself, but also inviting all the nobility to do the same.

The arts of the duke, 'who bare him in open sight so reverently to the prince, with al semblance of lowliness,' so far prevailed, that at the next council assembled at the episcopal palace, he was appointed protector of the king and realm: yet Edward's queen, who had taken sanctuary at Westminster on the first intelligence of her brother's (the earl Rivers) arrest, was so firmly impressed with the duke of Gloucester's sinister designs, that it was only by the most pressing instances that she could be prevailed upon to deliver up her youngest son, the duke of York, into the care of his uncle Gloucester, who immediately lodged the king and his young brother in the Tower of London, and took up his residence in Crosby place (where now Crosby-square is, in Bishopsgate-street), He now wickedly set about usurping the crown, at the expense of the blood of his innocent nephews, the king and his brother. But dreading the influence and honesty of lord Hastings, one of the king's best friends, and not finding any thing to accuse him of so as to strike at his life in a judicial manner, he had him seized by a parcel of ruffians, upon their outcry of treason in the Tower; who, by the protector's order, dragged the said lord out of his presence to the platform, near the chapel, within the Tower; and, without conviction or trial, or giving his lordship time to prepare for death, cut off his head on the butt-end of a large piece of timber, which lay there accidentally for the repairing of the said Tower. He also arrested the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Stanley. The protector, then, in order to obviate the bad consequences that might be justly apprehended would follow the news of this act of violence in the city, put on a rusty suit of armour, as did also the duke of Buckingham, his accomplice in this tragical scene; and immediately sent for the mayor and aldermen of London to the Tower, where he gave them a specious account of the justly deserved sufferings of Hastings; to whom, at their coming, Gloucester addressed himself in the following words:—

'That the lord Hastings, and several other persons, had conspired

* Moore's Life of Edward V.

and contrived together suddenly to kill him and the duke of Buckingham that day in council, for what cause or what design he could not guess, and had not yet time to search it out, because he had no certain knowledge of the intended treason before ten o'clock of the same day; so that he had enough to do to stand upon his own guard, and provide for his own defence; which, though they had both done in an indecent manner, by putting on such filthy armour, yet, necessity obliging them to it, they were forced to take what was next at hand. That God had wonderfully protected them from the danger, he hoped, now the lord Hastings was dead, against whom, though there might seem to be something of cruelty used in so sudden an execution, without any legal trial and hearing; yet, there appearing to the king and the lords of his council many reasons to believe, that if he had been kept in prison, his accomplices would have made a formidable insurrection in the country to rescue him, and his guilt being very evident, they judged it best to inflict the deserved punishment of his crimes upon him immediately, that the peace of the nation might not be in danger.

'This is the real truth of the business, and we have therefore called you hither to inform you of it, that you may, as you see cause, satisfy the people of the justice of the lord Hastings' sufferings; which, though we are no ways obliged to do, yet, out of our care to please them, we have condescended to it, and we require you thus to report it.'

This speech they seemingly approved of, by declaring their readiness to obey his commands, as if in reality they had believed every word he said to be truth. However, they tacitly concluded that what he had said to extenuate the murder, by unjustly aspersing the deceased, were detestable falsehoods. Gloucester soon after perceiving that the above stratagem had not the desired effect, sent into the city a herald at arms, to make proclamation in all public places of the same, to the following effect:

'That the lord Hastings, with divers other wicked conspirators, had traiterously contrived the same day to have slain the protector and the duke of Buckingham sitting in council, with a purpose and design to take upon him the government of the king and kingdom, and rule all things at his pleasure, hoping that, when they were dead, they should meet no opposition in their designs; and in how miserable a condition this nation had been if God had left them in his hands, appeared from the former actions of the said lord, who, being so ill a man, could not make a good governor; for he it was, that by his ill advice enticed the king's father to many things much redounding to his dishonour, and the universal damage and detriment of the realm, leading him into debauchery by his exemplary wickedness, and procuring lewd and ungracious persons to gratify his lusts, and particularly Shore's wife, who was one of his secret council in this treason; by which lewd living, the said king not only shortened his days, but also was forced to oppress and tax his

people that he might have sufficient to gratify his expenses; and since the death of the said king, he hath lived in a continual incontinency with the said Shore's wife,* and lay nightly with her, and particularly the very night before his death; so that it was no marvel if his ungracious life brought him to as unhappy a death, which he was put to by the special command of the king's highness, and of his honorable and faithful council, both for his own demerits, being so openly taken in his intended treason; and also, lest any delay of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons, who were engaged in the conspiracy with him, to make an insurrection for his deliverance; which, being wisely foreseen, and as effectually prevented, was the only means, under God's providence, to preserve the whole realm in peace and quietness.'

This attempt had no better success than the former; for the citizens, reflecting on the great length of the proclamation, the elegancy of its composition, and the beautiful manner of its being engrossed on parchment, and yet published within two hours after Hastings' execution, concluded that his death was predetermined, and that the proclamation had been prepared before his execution; therefore, were confirmed in opinion that he had not fair play.†

Every engine was now employed to engage the city in the protector's conspiracy; and with this intent, sir Edmund Shaw, the mayor of London, was made a privy councillor; by which means, the exertions of his brother, Dr. Shaw, a celebrated and much followed preacher, were secured in favour of the intended usurpation; and it was determined 'that he should first breake the matter in a sermon at Paule's crosse, in which he should, by the authoritie of his preaching, incline the people to the protector's ghostly purpose.' On the Sunday following, therefore, this prelate taking for his text the words of Solomon, 'Bastard slips shall never take deep root,' attempted to convince his auditory 'that Edward's children were illegitimate, and that the proper heir to the crown was the lord protector,' whom he declared to be the 'very sure undoubted image, and plain expresse likeness of his noble father.'

* As Jane Shore was thus openly accused, the protector, to save appearances, had her examined before the council, on charges of sorcery, &c. brought against her by himself; yet she escaped condemnation, but 'that she was naught of her body; he caused the bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the crosse in procession upon a Sunday, with a taper in hir hand. In which she went in countenance and pace demure so womanly, and albeit she were out of all array, save hir kirtle only, yet went she so faire and lovely, namely, while the wondering of the people cast a comely rud in hir cheekes (of which she before had most misse) that hir great shame was hir much praise among those that were more amorous of hir body than curious of hir soul. And many good folke also that hated her living, and glad were to see sinne corrected, yet pitied they more hir penance, than rejoiced therein, when they considered that the protector procured it more of a corrupt intent than an virtuous purpose.'—*Stow's An. p.* 744.

† Hutland, i. 212.

But lest this should not weigh with the citizens, Shaw received from the abandoned protector the most detestable, wicked and infamous command, that can be shewn in history, which was to accuse his own mother of adultery; whereby it would appear, that neither the late king, nor the late duke of Clarence, brothers to Gloucester, had any right to the crown, and consequently none of their descendants; whereby at one blow were cut off the king, his brother, and the earl of Warwick, son to the duke of Clarance; and, in order to confirm the duchess of York their mother's incontinence, the preacher declared, that it was well known to divers persons acquainted with her intrigues with some persons of her husband's court, whom the two brothers exactly resembled; therefore, they were not to look for true heirs of the duke of York, either in the children of the late king, or in those of the duke of Clarence: and, raising his voice, he said, 'But my lord protector, that noble prince, the pattern of all virtue and heroic actions, carries in his air, in his mien, and in his soul, the perfect image of his illustrious father, the great duke of York.' It was designed, that when Shaw entered upon this panegyric, Gloucester should appear, as if he came by chance; in hopes that the citizens, moved by the preacher's eloquence, would salute him king: but the protector staying longer than he ought, the doctor had gone through that part of his oration. However, upon the duke's approach, he unseasonably reassumed his encomium, by inculcating the aforesaid words, which, instead of being received by the citizens with an huzza of Long live King Richard, he had the mortification to see the audience stand like so many mutes; and, instead of approving of what was said, they conceived it to be a wicked discourse, stuffed with the most fulsome and servile adulation; and which soon after appeared to have been an impious prologue to the horrid murder of the two innocent young princes, the king and his brother, in the Tower of London.*

This attempt proving unsuccessful, and not having had the desired effect, orders were sent to the mayor to convene the aldermen, common-council, and principal citizens in Guildhall; to whom repaired the duke of Buckingham 'of nature marvellously well spoken,' and one of the protector's best friends, accompanied by divers of the nobility of the same faction; and mounting the hustings, he addressed the assembly to this effect:

'Gentlemen,—Out of the zeal and sincere affection we have for your persons and interests, we are come to acquaint you with a matter of high importance, equally pleasing to God and profitable to the commonwealth, and to none more than to you, the citizens of this great and honorable city; for the very thing which we believe you have a long while wanted and wished for, what you would have purchased at any rate, and gone far to fetch, we are come

* Maitland, i. 212.

hither to bring you, without any labour, trouble, cost, or peril to you; and what can this be but your own safety, the peace of your wives and daughters, the security of your goods and estates, which were all in danger till now. Who of you could call what he had his own? There were so many snares laid to deceive you, so many fines and forfeitures, taxes and impositions, of which there was no end, and often no necessity; or, if there was, it was occasioned by riots and unreasonable waste, rather than a just and lawful charge for defence or honour of the state. Your best citizens were plundered, and their wealth squandered by profuse favourites. Fifteenths and the usual subsidies would not do, but under the plausible name of Benevolence, your goods were taken from you by t e commissioners against your will; as if by that name was understood that every man should pay, not what he pleased, but what the king would have him; who never was moderate in his demands, always exorbitant, turning forfeitures into fines, fines into ransoms, small offences into misprision of treason, and misprision into treason itself. We need not give you examples of it; Burdett's case will never be forgot, who, for a word spoken in haste, was cruelly beheaded. Did not judge Markham resign his office, rather than join with his brethren in passing that illegal sentence on that honest man? Were you not all witnesses of the barbarous treatment one of your own body, the worshipful alderman Cook, met with? And your own selves know too well, how many instances of this kind I might name among you.

'King Edward gaining the crown by conquest, all that were any ways related to those that were his enemies, lay under the charge of treason. Thus, half of the kingdom became at once traitors, for half of the kingdom were either friends to king Henry, or relations or friends to some that were so. Though open war with invaders is terrible and destructive to a nation, yet civil dissentions are much more fatal, and to be dreaded; with which his reign was more disturbed than the reigns of all his predecessors. But he is dead and gone, and God forgive his soul! It cost the people more blood and treasure to get the crown for this, than it had done to conquer France twice. Half of the nobility of the realm lost their lives or estates in his quarrel; and when the dispute was over, the peace that followed was not much safer than the war; every rich and landed man was in danger; for whom could he trust that distrusted his own brother? whom spare, that killed his own brother? or who could perfectly love him, whom his own brother could not love? We shall, in honour to the memory of one that was our sovereign, forbear to mention who were the persons on which he was so lavish of his favours; only it is well known, that those that deserved them most had the least of them. Was not Shore's wife his chief minister? Was there not more court made to her than all the

lords of England, except those that were the strumpet's favourites? who, poor woman! was herself chaste and of good reputation, till he deluded her to his lust, and tempted her from her husband, an honest substantial young man, whom you all know. Indeed, I am ashamed to say it, the king's appetite in that point was insatiable and intolerable; no woman could escape him; young or old, rich or poor, wife or virgin, all fell victims to his lust: by which means the most honourable houses were defiled, and the most honest families were corrupted.

'You of this renowned city suffered most; you who deserved most from him for your readiness to serve the house of York with your lives and fortunes; which tho' he ill requited, there is one of that house, who, by God's grace, shall reward you better. I shall not enlarge on this subject. You have heard it from one whom you will hearken to more, as you ought to do; for I am not so vain as to think what I can say will have so great authority with you, as the words of a preacher; a man so wise and so pious, that he would not utter a thing in the pulpit, especially, which he did not firmly believe it was his duty to declare. You remember, I doubt not, how he set forth the last Sunday the right of the most excellent prince Richard, duke of Gloucester, to the crown of this realm; for, as he proved to you the children of king Edward IV. were never lawfully begotten, the king leaving his lawful wife, the lady Lucy, to contract an illegal marriage with the queen. My noble lord the protector's reverence to the duchess his mother, will not permit me to say any thing further concerning what the worthy doctor alleged of her familiarity with others, besides her own husband, for fear of offending the duke of Gloucester, her son; though, for these causes, the crown of England is devolved to the most excellent prince, the lord protector, as the only lawfully begotten son of the right noble duke of York. This, and the consideration of his many high qualities, has prevailed with the lords and commons of England, of the northern counties especially, who have declared that they will not have a bastard reign over them, to petition that high and mighty prince to take on him the sovereign power, for the good of the realm, to which he has so rightful and lawful a title. We have reason to fear he will not grant our request, being a prince whose wisdom foresees the labour, both of mind and body, that attends the supreme dignity, which is not a place for a child, as that wise man observed, who said, *Ve regno cujus rex puer est* (Woe is to that realm that hath a child for their king). Wherefore, we have reason to bless God, that the prince, whose right it is to reign over us, is of so ripe age, so great wisdom and experience, who, though he is unwilling to take the government upon himself, yet the petition of the lords and gentlemen will meet with the more favourable reception, if you, the worshipful citizens of the metropolis of the kingdom, will join with us in our request,

which, for your own welfare, we doubt not but you will. However, I heartily entreat you to do it for the common good of the people of England, whom you will oblige by choosing so good a king, and his majesty, by shewing early your ready dispositions to his election; in which, my most dear friends, I require you, in the name of myself and these lords, to shew us plainly your minds and intentions.'

The oration being finished, the duke expected to have heard the assembly cry out, God save king Richard; but all remaining silent, as if struck with horror at the injustice and absurdity of the proposal, the duke, being greatly amazed, took aside the mayor, with others of the corporation, and whispering, asked them, how it came the citizens were so silent? The mayor replied, perhaps they don't understand you. This occasioned the duke to recite his speech with some variation, yet with such a graceful energy of eloquence, that it was not possible for any man to have said more in behalf of so bad a cause. However, the assembly continued as before. Whereupon the mayor acquainted the duke, that the citizens were not accustomed to hear any other orator but their recorder, and therefore imagined their silence was owing to that. He then ordered Fitz-Williams, the recorder, to speak to the citizens upon the aforesaid subject; which he, with great reluctance did, by repeating the heads of the duke's speech, without the least addition. But this having no greater effect upon the auditory than the two former, it occasioned the duke to whisper to the mayor, that the citizens were amazingly obstinate; and, turning to the audience, he further added:

'Dear friends, we came to acquaint you with a thing which we needed not have done, had it not been for the affection we bear you. The lords and commons would have determined the matter without you, but would gladly have you join with us, which is for your honour and profit, tho' you do not see it, or consider it. We require you therefore to give your answer one way or another, whether you are willing, as the lords are, to have the most excellent prince the lord protector, to be your king, or not?'

Upon this the assembly began to murmur; and at last divers of the protector and duke's servants, together with some apprentices, and the rabble who crowded into the hall, cried out, king Richard, king Richard! and, as a demonstration of their joy, threw up their hats in the air. The duke, perceiving from what quarter the noise came, laid hold of the opportunity, as if the acclamation had been general, and said, ''Tis a goodly and joyful cry, to hear every man with one voice agree to it, and nobody say no. Since therefore, dear friends, we see you are all, as one man, inclined to have this noble prince to be your king, we shall report the matter so effectually to him, that we doubt not it will be much for your advantage. We require you to attend us to-

morrow, with our joint petition to his grace, as has been already greed on between us.'

Then the duke and the lords withdrew, and left the assembly o break up with woeful hearts and weeping eyes; for the concealing of which, they hurried home to vent their grief in private, so prevent the dangerous consequence a public lamentation would have been attended with.

The day after the above-mentioned mock election, the aldermen, and 'maior, with all the chief commoners of the citie, in their best maner apparelled,' repaired to Baynards' castle, 'where the protector lay,' whither the duke of Buckingham, attended by several of the nobility, also resorted; who, by a messenger, acquainted Gloucester, that a great company waited to address his highness about an affair of the greatest importance; therefore desired his grace would be pleased to admit them to an audience. Gloucester, seeming jealous of what they came about, made some difficulty of admitting them; which gave Buckingham an opportunity of letting the mayor and citizens know how ignorant the protector was of their design; and sending another messenger, with an earnest and humble supplication to the protector, he was seemingly with great difficulty, prevailed upon to come forth, yet with such an affected air of diffidence, that he appeared as if unwilling to approach them till he knew their business; and after a great deal of affected carelessness he was persuaded to accede to the petition of the assembly, and accept the crown. On the same day he 'he toke possession of the throne in the great hal,' at Westminster, and 'with as pleasant an oration as he could,' engaged to govern with clemency, and justly to administer the laws. His coronation was solemnized on the sixth of the ensuing month, July; and, as appears from the coronation roll, it was once intended, that the 'lord Edward, son of the late king Edward IV. and his attendants,' should grace the ceremony; yet it is certain that they did not appear there. Fabian says, 'As soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, the prince, or, of right king Edward V. with his brother, the duke of York, were put under surer kepyng in the Towre, in such wyse that they never came abrode after.' Whatever may have been the real fate of these princes, the story of their having been murdered in the Tower, during the progress which Richard made, shortly after his coronation, to Oxford, Gloucester, York, &c. made a great impression on the people, and inclined many to join in the conspiracy against him, headed by the duke of Buckingham, his once firmest partizan, but now most determined enemy. But the duke proved unsuccessful; and being compelled to take shelter in the house of a domestic, was basely betrayed, and soon afterwards beheaded by Richard's command, without any legal process.*

* don, i. 229

'The 30th of December was a great fire in Leadenhall in London, where through was burnt much housing, and all the stocks for guns, and other like provisions belonging the city.'* In the following year (anno 1484), the great intercourse of Italian and other foreign merchants with the metropolis, was restrained by act of parliament, and other regulations were made to maintain the ancient privileges of the citizens. The same year, on the news of the projected invasion of the earl of Richmond, and other English malcontents, a commission was given to the surveyor of the king's works, directing him 'to press into his service all necessary workmen to expedite the repairs of the Tower of London.' †

Richard was slain in the battle of Bosworth Field, on the twenty-second of August, 1485; and his crown having been found in the field by a soldier, was placed by the lord Stanley on the head of the earl of Richmond, who immediately assumed the regal state, by the title of Henry the seventh, and had his claim subsequently ratified by the parliament. He entered London six days afterwards, having been met on his way by the 'maior, magistrates, and citie companies, with great pompe,' by whom he 'was conveyed through the citie to St. Paul's church, where he offered his three standards,' and afterwards 'went to the bishop's palace, and soiourned a season.' ‡ He was crowned at Westminster on the thirtieth of October following, on which occasion he instituted a body-guard of fifty chosen archers, 'being strong and hardy persons,' to attend him and his successors for ever; thus 'covering,' says Rapin, 'with a pretence of grandeur and majesty, a precaution which he apparently believed necessary in the present juncture.' §

About this period the sweating sickness, an epidemical distemper of a very singular nature, raged with great violence in London, where, says Stow, 'it began the twenty-first of September.' Those attacked by this before unknown disorder, were thrown into a violent perspiration, which mostly occasioned their deaths in twenty-four hours; yet, if they survived that time, they generally recovered. Of this sickness, 'a wonderfull number died,' before the proper remedies could be determined, which lay chiefly in a temperate regimen. It appears from Hall's Chronicle, that two mayors and six aldermen of London died of this affliction within the space of one week. ‖

On the 18th of January, 1486, the king's marriage with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the fourth, by which the claims of the rival houses of York and Lancaster were united, was

* Stow's Ann. p. 776.
† Led. Book. Rich. III.
‡ Stow's Ann. p. 784.
§ Hist. of Eng. i. p. 651.
‖ Brayley's Lond. i. 230.

solemnized at Westminster, amidst the rejoicings of every class of people: yet Henry, whose hatred to the house of York was extreme, deferred the coronation of his queen for nearly two years; but he was then obliged to bend to the general wish, and Elizabeth was crowned on the 25th of November, within a few days after the king's return to London from quelling the insurrection of Lambert Simnel, who had personated the young earl of Warwick, whom Henry, from the beginning of his reign, had kept closely confined in the Tower. The commotion was so general, that the king found it prudent to shew the earl to the people, which he did, by causing him to ride through the principal streets of the city, in solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral.

In 1488, Henry borrowed 6,000l. of the citizens, to enable him to furnish aid to the duke of Bretagne, who was then at war with the French king; and this sum was the more cheerfully advanced, inasmuch as a loan of 3,000 marks, which the king had required from the city soon after his accession, had been duly paid at the appointed time. This mode of obtaining money, however, was insufficient to supply the king's wants; and about the year 1491, making a pretext of the war with France, he exacted great sums from his subjects in the way of benevolence, publishing, says Stow, 'that he who gave most shoulde be judged to be his most loving friend; and he that gave little to be esteemed according to his gift.'* The sums thus obtained from the citizens, amounted to near 10,000l.

The growing discontent which Henry's harsh government had excited among the people, was favourable to conspiracy; and about 1493, a new claimant to the throne appeared, in one whom the pages of history have denominated Perkin Warbeck, but who styled himself Richard, duke of York, youngest son of Edward the fourth. Whatever may be the fact as to the identity of Warbeck with the youth whom Richard is supposed to have had murdered in the Tower, the king found himself compelled to exert all his activity to avoid the threatened danger. The old duchess of Burgundy had acknowledged Warbeck as her nephew, and many of the nobility covertly supported him; among others, was sir William Stanley, the king's chamberlain, who, notwithstanding all the previous services which his family had rendered to Henry, was beheaded on Tower-hill, in February, 1495. though all that was proved against him was, his saying, that 'he certainly knew that the young man was the undoubted sonne and heire of king Edward the fourth, he would never fight nor bear armour against him.'*

About this period the insatiable avarice of the king led him to

* Stow's Ann. p. 791. † Ibid. p. 796.

commit many acts of oppression upon his subjects, through the agency of different profligate minions, who extorted money from his subjects by forfeitures upon penal laws.

The first remarkable instance of this kind was the case of sir William Capel, an alderman of London, who, upon sundry penal laws, was condemned in a fine of two thousand seven hundred pounds; but, by the powerful intercession of his friends, it was mitigated to sixteen hundred pounds. Yet, notwithstanding this severe and cruel usage, Empson, the infamous minister, intended to have made another attack on sir William for himself, had not his master died in the interim.

The great plenty of corn this year lowered wheat to four shillings the quarter, and white herrings were sold at three shillings and fourpence the barrel.

The wicked and detestable crime of perjury having at this time greatly prevailed among the London juries, to the great dishonour of the city, it was therefore by parliament enacted, that for the future, no person or persons be impannelled or sworn into any jury or inquest in any of the city courts, unless he be worth 40 marks; and if the cause to be tried amount to that sum, then no person shall be admitted as a juror worth less than 100 marks; and every person so qualified, refusing to serve as a juryman, for the first default to forfeit one shilling, the second two, and every one after to double the sum, for the use of the city.

And when upon trial it shall be found that a petty jury have brought in an unjust verdict, then every member of the same to forfeit twenty pounds, or more, according to the discretion of the court of lord mayor and aldermen; and also each person so offending to suffer six months imprisonment, or less, at the discretion of the said mayor and aldermen, without bail or mainprize, and for ever after to be rendered incapable of serving in any jury.

And if upon inquiry it be found, that any juror has taken money as a bribe, or other reward, or promise of reward, to favour either plaintiff or defendant in the cause to be tried by him, then, and in every such case, the person so offending, to forfeit and pay to the party by him thus injured, ten times the value of such sum or reward by him taken, and also to suffer imprisonment as already mentioned, and besides, to be disabled from ever serving in that capacity; and that every person or persons guilty of bribing any jury, shall likewise forfeit ten times the value given, and suffer imprisonment as aforesaid.*

In the latter end of October, 1497, in a great council held at Westminster, was granted to the king for his defence against the Scots, or to enable Henry to repel the Scottish invasion, in favour of Perkin Warbeck, the sum of 120,000*l.* and in November was granted to the king a present by the city of 4,000*l.*: and, on

* Majtland, i. 219.

the 16th of January following, a parliament began, whereby was granted two dynies and a half, two aids and two fifteenths, to levy the former 120,000*l.* which was so much disliked by the nation, that it occasioned a rising in Cornwall. The rebels, spirited up particularly by lord Audley, whom they made their general, marched to Wells; and thence marching into Kent, they encamped on Blackheath on the 17th day of June, threatening either to attack the king's army, or reduce the city of London. This news put all into the greatest commotion; but, by the indefatigable application of the mayor and sheriffs, the citizens were not only recovered from their panic, but likewise prevailed upon to arm in defence of the city; so that, in a short time, by erecting of batteries, and placing guards in proper places, they put it into such a formidable posture, as to be able to baffle all the attempts of their enemies: and the more immediately to remove the apprehensions of danger from the citizens, the king encamped for one night in St. George's Fields. On the next day, June 22, he attacked his foes by surprise, and entirely routed them, after a short contest. The ringleaders, Flammock and the farrier, were soon afterwards executed at Tyburn, and lord Audley, was beheaded on Tower-hill: the other prisoners were distributed among the captors, for them to dispose of their ransoms as they thought proper; and most of them compounded for their liberty at two or three shillings a man.*

The king having entered into a league for the defence of Italy, the pope, as an evidence of his gratitude, sent, by his nuncio, as a present to Henry, a consecrated sword and a cap of maintenance; for whose magnificent reception, his majesty commanded the mayor and aldermen of the city to receive him at the bridge foot; on which occasion, the streets through which the cavalcade passed were richly embellished, and lined by the several companies in their formalities.†

There was now such a dearth of corn, that wheat was sold at twenty shillings the quarter.

The impostor Perkin receiving advice of the king's advance towards him, was thereby so intimidated, that he retired to Taunton, and thence fled for sanctuary to Bealieu Abbey in the New Forest. He soon, however, submitted to the king, and was conducted in triumph through London to the Tower. Through an unsuccessful attempt to escape, he was afterwards exposed a whole day in the stocks in the Palace Court at Westminster, and on the next day at the Cross, in Cheapside, from whence he was reconveyed to the Tower. In the following year, he again engaged in an abortive attempt to free himself from captivity, together with the young earl of Warwick, who had been fifteen years a prisoner: for this Henry caused him to be hanged at Tyburn,

* Bayley's London, i, 233. † Maitland, i. 219.

and within a few days afterwards the earl was decapitated on Tower-hill.

In 1500, the kingdom was visited by a dreadful plague; to avoid the ravages of which, the king and his court, after removing to various places, sailed to Calais. The number of persons carried off in the metropolis and its vicinity amounted to about thirty thousand.*

On the 2nd of May, 1501, the king kept a 'roiall Turne and Justs,' within the Tower of London.

On the 12th of November, in the same year, says Stow, (speaking of Catherine of Spain,) 'the said lady princess, accompanied with many lords and ladies, came riding from the archbishop's inne of Canterbury, at Lambeth, into Southwarke, and so to London-bridge, where was ordeyed a costly pageant of Saint Katherine and S. Vsula, with many virgins; from thence shee rode to Grace-streete, where was ordeined a second pageant; from thence to the conduit in Cornhill, where was another pageant. The great conduit in Cheape ran with Gascoyne wine, and was furnished with musick. Against Soperlane end was the fourth pageant. At the standard in Cheape was ordeined the fift pageant. At Paul's gate was the sixt pageant; by the which the princesse rode through Paul's church-yarde unto the bishop of Londons pallace, where shee and hir people were lodged.

'Now, within the church of St. Paule, to wit, from the west gate of it unto the vppermost gresse or step at the going in of the quier, was made a pale of tymber and boordes to go upon, from the said west dore unto the forenamed gresse, of the height of six foote from the ground, or more; and fore anenst the place where the commissaries court is kept within the said church, was ordeined a standing like unto a mountaine with steps on euery side; which was couered ouer with red wusted, and in likewise was all the railes: against which mountaine vpon the north side, within the foresaid place of the commissaries court, was ordeined a standing for the king, and such other as liked him to haue: and on the south side, almost for against the king's standing, was ordained a scaffold, whereupon stood the maior and his brethren.

Then vpon the 14. of Nouember, being sonday, vpon the aboue named mountaine, was prince Arthur, about the age of 15 yeeres, and the lady Katherine, about the age of 18. yeers, both clad in white sattine, married by the archbishop of Caunterbury, assisted by 19. bishops and abbots mitered. And the king, the queene, the king's mother, stood in the place afore named, where they heard and beheld the solemnization; which being finished, the said archbishop and bishops tooke their way from the mountaine, vpon the said pase couered vnder foote with blew rey-cloth vnto the quire, and so to the high altar, whome followed the spouse and

* Stow's Ann. p. 803

spouses, the lady Cicile, sister to the queene, bearing hir traine, after hir followed 100 ladies and gentlewomen, in right costly apparell, then the maior in a gowne of crimson velvet, and his brethren in scarlet, with the sword borne before the maior, and sate in the quire the masse while, the archbishop of Yorke sate in the deanes place, and offered as cheefe, and after him the duke of Buckingham, &c. Wonderfull it was to behold the riches of apparell worne that day, with the poïsant chaines of gold: of which, two were specially noted, to wit, sir T. Brandon, knight. master of the king's horse, which that day ware a chaine valued at 1400. pound: and the other William de Riuers, esquire, master of the king's haukes, whose chaine was valued at a thousand pound: many mo were of 200. 300. and so foorth; these were not noted for the length, but for the greatness of the links. Also the duke of Buckingham ware a gowne wrought of needle worke, and set upon clothe of tissue, furred with sables, the which gowne was valued at 1500. pound. And sir Nicholas Vause, knight, ware a gowne of purple veluet, pight with peeces of gold, so thicke and massy, that it was valued in gold, besides the silke and furre, a thousand pound; which chaines and garments were valued by goldsmithes of best skill, and them that wrought them. The masse being finished, the princesse was led by Henry, duke of Yorke, and a legate of Spaine, by the foresaid pace into the palace going before hir men of honor, to the number of 160. with gentlemen and other. There came vnto the maior sir Richard Crofts, steward of the princes house, which brought him and his brethren the aldermen into the great hall, and at a table upon the west side of the hall, caused them to be set to dinner, where honorably were they serued with 12. dishes to a messe at the first course, 15. the second course, and 18. dishes the third course. In this hall was a cupboord of fiue stages height, being triangled, the which was set with plate valued 1200 pound, the which was neuer mooued at that day; and in the vtter chamber where the princesse dined, was a cupboord of gold plate, garnished with stone and pearle, valued aboue 20000. pound. The Tuesday following the king and queene being all this season at Bainards castell, came vnto Paules, and heard there masse, and then accompanied with many nobles, went into the palace, and there dined with the princesse. This day sir Nicholas Vause ware a collar of Esses, which weyed, as the goldsmiths that made it reported, 800 pound of nobles. And the same day at afternoone, the said princess were conveyed with manie lordes and ladies unto Paules Wharffe, where the said estates took their barges, and were rowed to Westminster, upon whom the choir attended, with the aldermen and fellowship in barges, garnished with banners and other devises, musike, &c.'*

* Stow's Ann. p. 805-7

In the same year, sir John Shaw, the mayor, by a contribution from the several companies of the city, caused to be erected the kitchens and other offices at Guildhall; by the convenience of which, he first entertained his brethren, the aldermen and principal citizens, at a very magnificent banquet in the said hall; which entertainments were formerly given at that of the Grocers. The said mayor also caused his brethren the aldermen, first to accompany him on horseback to the water side, to take barge to Westminster.

On the 25th of January, the espousals of the princess Margaret, by proxy, with James IV. of Scotland being published at Saint Paul's Cross, in London, it occasioned an incredible joy among the citizens, by making of bonfires, ringing of bells, and every thing else that contribute to the public rejoicings: for, by this match the citizens apprehended that all causes of difference would be removed from between the two nations, and a happy translation restored; whereby all dreadful and destructive wars for the future would be happily prevented, to the great advantage of both kingdoms.

The Taylors' company in this same year purchased a charter of the king, by which they thenceforwards obtained the style of Merchant Taylors of the city of London.

The citizens, in the year 1505, granted to the king 5000 marks for confirmation of their liberties; 1000 whereof they paid in hand, and covenanted to pay the other 4000 in the course of four years; which is particularly levelled against the encroachments upon the liberties, franchises, and customs of the citizens by foreigners, in buying and selling, and concerning the qualifications of brokers, &c. in the same form as that of Edward III. dated December 4th, in the 50th year of his reign, and that of 1 Richard II. confirmed by parliament, and is dated on the 23rd of July, in the 20th year of his reign.

The archduke Philip, in right of his consort, having succeeded to the crown of Castile, set out with his queen from Flanders with a considerable fleet on his way thither; but meeting in the channel with a dreadful storm, was forced into Weymouth; from whence he came by land to Windsor to pay his respects to king Henry, who from thence brought him to London to see his capital city; where they were entertained by the mayor and citizens with a pomp and magnificence proper for the accommodation of such illustrious guests.

King Henry, being apprehensive of his approaching end, was seized with a remorse of conscience for his many, great, and grievous exactions; wherefore he attempted to bribe heaven with the spoils of his subjects, and to purchase favour of the Almighty, by making, as he vainly imagined, an atonement for his past crimes, by hastening the construction, and endowing various religious foundations with much greater alms than usual; and, at

his own expence discharged all the prisoners in London, whose debts did not exceed forty shillings.

Thomas Knesworth, who had been mayor two years before, and Richard Shoare and Roger Grove, his sheriffs, were accused for abuses committed in their offices; for which they were dragged to the Marshalsea, and confined without any legal process, till they redeemed themselves with the payment of 1,400*l*. Also Christopher Haws, an alderman of London, was secured for some imaginary crime; but, being a timorous man, soon died of an excess of grief.

About the end of April died the lord mayor, sir William Browne, mercer, and was succeeded by sir Lawrence Aylemer; who, in the year following, was imprisoned by Henry's rapacious ministers, in order to extort a sum of money for his liberty; but the death of the king, which soon after happened, delivered him and many others from their troubles and apprehensions.

Henry, once more willing to honor the city of London, sent the mayor a letter; wherein he acquainted him with his having concluded a match between Charles, prince of Castile (afterwards the great emperor Charles V.) and the princess Mary, his youngest daughter. On which occasion he commanded him to make all the public demonstrations of joy imaginable: expressing himself with all the signs of an unfeigned joy, by saying, that 'now he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom, by having for his sons-in-law the king of Scotland, and a prince of Castile and Burgundy.'

Yet, nevertheless, his rapacious and infamous ministers, Empson and Dudley, continued their grievous extortions and oppressions of the people with the utmost rigor, by a second prosecution of sir William Capel, some time mayor of London, for a neglect in not discovering and prosecuting some false coiners; for which pretended crime he was amerced in 2,000*l*. But, being a bold man, he would not submit to such vile and arbitrary proceedings, and, instead of paying his fine, highly reflected on those iniquitous ministers, the authors of his troubles; for which he was committed first to the Compter, and then to the Tower of London, where he continued a prisoner during the king's life.

The odium excited by these acts the king sought to remove by an ostentatious display of charity, to which his apprehensions of the chances of another world unquestionably contributed. He endowed several religious foundations, gave considerable sums to the poor, &c. Still so excessive were the treasures he had amassed, that, on his decease, in April, 1509, as appears from lord Bacon's history of this prince, he left to the value of 1,800,000*l*. in money, plate, and jewels, locked up in secret vaults beneath his favourite palace of East Sheen, near Richmond.

CHAPTER IX.

History of London during the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Upon the demise of Henry VII. on the 21st of April, 1509, his son Henry was proclaimed king in London on the 23rd of April, with the usual solemnities; and two days after, all foreign beggars were banished the city, and compelled to repair to their several parishes.

His majesty, to rivet the affections of the city of London, and of all his subjects, the more securely towards him, committed sir Richard Empson, knight, and Edward Dudley, esquire, sergeant at law, to the Tower. These two were employed by king Henry VII. to raise money, upon penal laws, for filling his coffers, which they did very rigorously in a commission of forfeitures; for which they were now both condemned and attainted by parliament, and, upon the 18th of August, 1510, beheaded on Tower-hill. Divers of their inferior agents, called promoters, were set in the pillory on Cornhill, with papers on their heads, and forced to ride through the city with their faces towards the horses' tails.

Henry's marriage with Catherine, his deceased brother's widow, to whom he had been contracted during the life-time of his father, (a dispensation having been procured from the pope) was solemnized at Greenwich in June, 1509; and, on the 24th of the same month, their majesties were crowned at Westminster with extraordinary pomp. On this occasion, the king and queen, in a magnificent procession, rode from the Tower to Westminster. The city was gorgeously embellished with rich silks and tapestry, and part of Cornhill, and Goldsmiths'-row in Cheapside, with golden brocades; and the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, together with the city companies in their formalities, attended and adorned this pompous show, whilst the populace incessantly proclaimed their joy. During this whole reign, indeed, the citizens indulged in all the splendid pageantry and profusely expensive spectacles, which were patronised by the court, and became a characteristic feature of the taste of the age.*

Henry, in the habit and arms of the yeomen of his guard, came into the city on St. John's eve, A. D. 1510, to see the pompous march of the city watch; wherewith he was so highly delighted, that, on the St. Peter's night after, accompanied by his royal con-

* Hall's Chron.

sort, and attended by the principal nobility, he returned to the city, and in Cheapside stood and saw the stately march of the aforesaid watch; which was performed every St. John Baptist's vigil, and on the vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul, according to ancient custom, in the following magnificent manner:

The march was begun by the city music, followed by the lord mayor's officers in party-coloured liveries; then the sword-bearer on horseback, in beautiful armour, preceded the lord mayor, mounted on a stately horse, richly trapped, attended by a giant, and two pages on horseback; three pageants, morrice-dancers, and footmen; next came the sheriffs, preceded by their officers, and attended by their giants, pages, pageants, and morrice-dancers. Then marched a great body of demi-lancers, in bright armour on stately horses; next followed a body of carabineers, in white fustian coats, with a symbol of the city arms on their backs and breasts; then marched a division of archers, with their bows bent, and shafts of arrows by their side; next followed a party of pikemen, in their corslets and helmets; after whom marched a body of halberdiers, in corslets and helmets; and the march was closed by a great party of billmen with helmets and aprons of mail; and the whole body, consisting of about 2,000 men, had between every division a certain number of musicians, who were answered in their proper places by the like number of drums, with standards and ensigns as veteran troops. This nocturnal march was illuminated by forty cressets, [large lanterns fixed at the ends of poles, and carried over men's shoulders] 200 whereof were defrayed at the city expence, 500 that of the companies, and 240 by the city constables. The march began at the conduit at the west end of Cheapside, and passed through Cheapside, Cornhill, and Leadenhall-street, to Aldgate; whence it returned by Fenchurch-street, Grasschurch-street, Cornhill, and so back to the conduit. During this march, the houses on each side the said streets were decorated with greens and flowers, wrought into garlands, and intermixed with a great number of lamps.

Sir William Fitz-William was this year disfranchised, because he refused to serve the office of sheriff. He was alderman of Bread-street ward, and retired to Milton, in Northamptonshire. On the fall of the cardinal, his former master, he gave him kind entertainment there at his house in the country. For which deed being called before the king and demanded how he durst entertain so great an enemy to the state, his answer was that he had not contemptuously or wilfully done it, but only because he had been his master, and (partly) the means of his great fortunes. The king was so well pleased with his answer, that, saying himself had too few such servants, immediately he knighted him, and afterwards made him a privy-counsellor.

Roger Achiley, the mayor, caused Leaden-hall, the city granary, to be plentifully stored with all sorts of grain, for prevent-

ing a scarcity. The said mayor likewise caused Moorfields to be levelled, and bridges and causeways to be erected over the same.

In the same year an act of parliament was passed, rendering ecclesiastics amenable to the civil law; the clergy preached vehemently against it, but their cause fell into great disrepute, through the infamous murder of a respectable citizen, named Richard Hunne, who, for presuming to bring an action of premunire against a priest, was himself accused of heresy, and imprisoned in the Lollard's tower, at St. Paul's, where he was found hanged, as if he himself had committed suicide. The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of wilful murder against those who had the charge of the prison; and it was afterwards discovered that the chancellor, Dr. Horsey, assisted by the bell-ringer, had first murdered Hunne, and then hung up his body against the wall. As a means of stifling the vehement clamour which this event excited, Fitz-James, bishop of London. by the advice of some of his brother prelates, held a court at St. Paul's, in which Hunne, who had now been ten days in his grave, was condemned as a heretic, for having had a Wickliff's bible in his house, and his body was ordered to be taken up and burnt in Smithfield. This contemptible baseness aggravated the animosity of the laity; yet, although the commons passed a bill for bringing the murderers of Hunne to justice, the clergy had enough influence to cause it to be thrown out by the lords; and, after a long series of conferences, disputes, and bickerings, the whole business terminated in a compromise. The prelacy agreed to drop all proceedings against those who were opposed to them, provided that Horsey's plea of Not Guilty, in the court of King's Bench, should be admitted by the king's attorney-general, as a sufficient answer to the crime of which he was accused. However imperfectly the ends of justice were fulfilled by this decision, it must be regarded as one of those efficient steps, which, by slow progression, led to the downfall of he Catholic hierarchy. To bring an ecclesiastic to the bar of a civil court was, in that age, to triumph over the whole body of the priesthood, who thus made at least a virtual acknowledgment of the king's supremacy.*

In 1512, the chapel in the White Tower was burnt; and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were first, by act of parliament, empowered to have the empannelling of juries for the city courts, each juror so empannelled to be a citizen worth 100 marks; and who, in case of non-appearance upon the first summons, to forfeit one shilling and eight-pence, for the second three shillings and four-pence, and for every default afterwards the penalty to be double.

A great mortality raged in the city, which swept away a great

* Brayley's London, i. 240.

number of citizens; but whether pestilential or not Hollinshed does not mention.

The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of Islington, Hoxton, and Shoreditch, having so inclosed their grounds, that the citizens were thereby not only debarred from their usual exercises in those fields, but likewise, when any of them endeavoured to divert themselves with shooting, their bows and arrows were seized and destroyed before their eyes, whilst others were indicted for trespasses; the citizens, greatly enraged at this rude treatment, at the instigation of a turner, in a merry andrew's coat, who ran up and down the streets, incessantly crying, 'spades and shovels,' assembled in great numbers, and running to the fields, soon levelled hedges, banks, and ditches. The king sent commissioners into the city to enquire into the cause of the tumult; and being met in the convent of Grey-friars (now Christ's Hospital), they convened before them the lord mayor and aldermen to know the occasion of the late sedition; which when acquainted with, they reprimanded the mayor for not being careful of the peace of the city, and strictly enjoined him to prevent all farther mischief for the future.

In the year 1515, the Thames was frozen over, and so hard, that carriages of all sorts might pass on the ice between Westminster and Lambeth.

In the month of May, on May-day, there were used to be May-games; all the citizens, who were able, going into the woods and meadows to divert themselves. A notable example of this is given by Edward Hall, who says, that king Henry VIII. in the 7th year of his reign, on May-day in the morning, with Queen Catherine his wife, accompanied by many lords and ladies, rode a maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooter's Hill; where, as they passed along, they saw a company of tall yeomen, cloathed all in green, with green hoods, and with bows and arrows, to the number of two hundred: one being their chieftain, was called Robin Hood, who desired the king and all his company to stay and see his men shoot, which the king consented to; and then Robin Hood whistling, all the two hundred archers shot off at once, and when he whistled again, they likewise shot again. Their arrows were so contrived in the heads of them, that they all whistled when shot off; so that the noise was strange and loud, and greatly delighted the king, queen, and their company.

Moreover, this Robin Hood desired the king and queen, with their retinue, to enter the green wood, where, in arbours made with boughs, and decked with flowers, they were set and served plentifully with venison and wine, by Robin Hood and his men, to their great satisfaction.

About two years after this, an accident happened, which occasioned the epithet of evil to be added to this day of rejoicing,

and that day was afterwards noted by the name of Evil May-day. In the ninth year of the reign of king Henry VIII. the jealousies of the London artificers had been strongly excited by the encouragement that was given to foreign traders who had settled in the suburbs, and, to employ the words of Hall, encompassed "the city round about, in Southwark, Westminster, Temple-bar, Holborn, St. Martin's-le-Grand, St. John's-street, Aldgate, Tower-hill, and St Catherine's.' This '*hart-burning*,' as Stow calls it, was blown into open flame by a city-broker, named John Lincoln, who busied himself so far in the matter, that about Palm-Sunday, on the 5th of April, he came to one Dr. Standish with these words:—"Sir, I understand that you shall preach at the Spital on Monday in Easter week; and so it is, that Englishmen, both merchants and others, are undone; but strangers, who have more liberty in this land than they, which is against reason, and also against the commonweal of this realm. I beseech you, therefore, to declare this in your sermon, and in so doing, you shall deserve great thanks of my lord mayor, and of all his brethren." And herewith he offered unto the said doctor a bill containing the matter more at large; but Dr. Standish, wisely considering that there might more inconvenience arise from it than he would wish, if he should deal in such sort, both refused the bill, and told Lincoln plainly, that he meant not to meddle with any such matter in his sermon.

Whereupon the said Lincoln went unto one Dr. Bell, or Bele, a canon of the aforesaid Spital, that was appointed likewise to preach on Tuesday in Easter week, at the same Spital, whom he persuaded to read his said bill in his pulpit: which bill contained in effect, the grievances that many found from strangers, for taking the livings away from artificers, and the intercourse from merchants, the redress whereof must come from the commons united together; for, as the hurt touched all men, so must all set to their helping hands; which letter he read, or the chief part thereof, comprehending much seditious matter, and then he began with this sentence:—"*Cælum cæli Domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum*;" i. e. "The heavens to the Lord of heaven, but the earth he hath given to the children of men." And upon this text, he showed how this land was given to Englishmen; and as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves, and to hurt and grieve aliens for respect of their commonwealth. And on this text, *Pugna pro Patria*. i. e. Fight for your country, he brought in how, by God's law, it was lawful to fight for their country, and thus he subtily moved the people to oppose strangers. By this sermon, many a light-headed person took courage, and spoke openly against them. And, by chance, there had been divers ill things of late done by strangers, in and about the city of London, which kindled the people's rancour the more furiously against them.

The 28th day of April, divers young men of the city p cked quarrels with certain strangers, as they passed along the streets; some they smote and buffeted, and some they threw in the channel; for which the lord mayor sent some of the Englishmen to prison, as Stephen Studley, Skinner, Stephenson Betts, and others.

Then suddenly rose a secret rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that on May-day next following, the city would slay all the aliens, insomuch that divers strangers fled out of the city.

This rumour came to the knowledge of the king's council; whereupon the lord cardinal sent for the mayor, and other of the council of the city, giving them to understand what he had heard.

The lord mayor, as one ignorant of the matter, told the cardinal, that he doubted not so to govern the city, but that peace should be obtained.

The cardinal willed him so to do, and to take heed that if any riotous attempt were intended, he should by good policy prevent it.

The mayor coming from the cardinal's house, about four o'clock in the morning, on May-eve, sent for his brethren to the Guildhall; yet it was almost seven o'clock before the assembly was set. Upon conference had of the matter, some thought it necessary that a substantial watch should be set of honest citizens, which might withstand the evil doers if they went about any misrule. Others were of a contrary opinion, as rather thinking it best, that every man should be commanded to shut up his doors, and to keep his servants within. Before eight o'clock the recorder was sent to the cardinal with these opinions, who, hearing the same, allowed the latter. And then the recorder, and sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff of London, and of the king's council, came back again to the Guildhall half an hour past nine o'clock, and there shewed the pleasure of the king's council; whereupon every alderman sent to his ward, that no man, after nine o'clock should stir out of his house, but keep his doors shut, and his servants within, until nine o'clock in the morning.

After this command was given in the evening, as sir John Mundy, alderman, came from his ward, he found two young men in Cheape playing at the bucklers, and a great many young men looking on them; for the command seemed to be scarcely published. He ordered them to leave off; and because one of them asked why, he would have them sent to the Compter. But the apprentices resisted the alderman, taking the young man from him, and cried, "'prentices, 'prentices! clubs, clubs!" Then out of every door came clubs and other weapons, so that the alderman was put to flight. Then more people arose out of every quarter, and forth came serving men, watermen, courtiers, and others, so that by eleven o'clock, there were in Cheap six or seven hun-

dred: and out of St. Paul's church-yard came about three hundred. From all places they gathered together, and broke open the Compter, took out the prisoners committed thither by the lord mayor for hurting the strangers; they went also to Newgate, and took out Studley and Betts, committed for the like cause. The mayor and sheriffs were present, and made proclamation in the king's name, but were not obeyed.

Being thus gathered in crowds, they ran through St. Nicholas' shambles; and at St. Martin's gate sir Thomas More, and others, met them, desiring them to return to their homes, which they had almost persuaded them to do; when some within St. Martin's throwing sticks and stones, hurt several who were with sir Thomas More, particularly one Nicholas Dennis, a serjeant at arms; who, being much wounded, cried out 'down with them;' and then all the unruly persons ran to the doors and windows of the houses within St. Martin's, and spoiled all they found. After that they ran into Cornhill, and so on to a house east of Leadenhall, called the green gate, where dwelt one Mewtas, a Picard, or Frenchman, with whom dwelt several other Frenchmen. These they plundered; and if they had found Mewtas, they would have struck off his head.

They ran to other places, and broke open and plundered the houses of strangers, and continued thus till three o'clock in the morning, at which time they began to withdraw; but by the way, they were taken by the mayor and others, and sent to the Tower, Newgate, and the Compters, to the number of three hundred.

The cardinal, being advertised of this by sir Thomas Parre, sent him immediately to inform the king of it at Richmond; and he forthwith sent to learn what condition the city was in. Sir Roger Cholmeley, lieutenant of the Tower, during the time of this business, shot off certain pieces of ordnance against the city, but did no great hurt. About five o'clock in the morning, the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey, Thomas Docwray, lord prior of Saint John's, George Nevil, lord Abergavenny, and others, came to London with what forces they could get together; so did the inns of court: but before they came the business was all over

The n were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of Dr. Bell led in question, and he sent to the Tower. A commission of oyer and terminer was directed to the duke of Norfolk, and other lords, for the punishment of this insurrection. The 2nd of May, the commissioners, with the lord mayor, aldermen, and justices, went to Guildhall, where many of the offenders were indicted; whereupon they were arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, having one day given them till the fourth of May.

On which day, the lord mayor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, and others, came to sit in the Guildhall. Tne duke of Norfolk entered the city with 1300 men, and the prisoners were brought through the streets tied with ropes; some men, some

lads but of thirteen or fourteen years old, to the number of 278 persons. That day John Lincoln and divers others were indicted; and the next day thirteen were adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; for execution whereof ten pair of gallows were set up in divers places of the city, as at Aldgate, Blanchappleton, Grass-street, Leadenhall, before each of the compters at Newgate, St. Martin's, at Aldersgate. and Bishopsgate. And these gallows were set upon wheels, to be removed from street to street, and from door to door, as the prisoners were to be executed.

On the 7th of May, Lincoln, Sherwin, and the two brothers named Betts, with several of their confederates, were found guilty, and received sentence as the former; when, within a short time after, they were drawn upon hurdles to the standard in Cheapside, where Lincoln was first executed; but, as the rest were about to be turned off, a reprieve came from the king to stay the execution; upon which the people shouted, crying, 'God save the king;' and thoreupon the prisoners were carried back to prison, there to attend the king's farther pleasure.

After this, all the armed men, which before had kept watch in the city, were withdrawn; which gave the citizens hope that the king's displeasure towards them was not so great as themselves conceived. Whereupon, on the 11th of May, the king residing at his manor of Greenwich, the mayor, recorder, and divers aldermen went in mourning gowns to wait upon him; and having admittance to the privy chamber, after they had attended there for some time, the king, attended with several of his nobles, came forth; whereupon they, falling upon their knees, the recorder, in the name of the rest, spake as followeth:

'Most natural, benign, and our sovereign lord, We well know that your grace is highly displeased with us of your city of London, for the great riot done and committed there; wherefore we assure your grace, that none of us, nor no honest person, were condescending to that calamity: yet we, our wives, our children, every hour lament that your favour should be taken from us; and forasmuch as light and idle persons were doers of the same, we most humbly beseech your grace to have mercy on us for our negligence, and compassion on the offenders for their offences and trespasses.'

To which the king replied:—'Truly you have highly displeased and offended us, and therefore you ought to wail and be sorry for the same; and whereas you say that you, the substantial citizens, were not consenting to what happened, it appeareth to the contrary; for you never moved to let them, nor stirred to fight with those whom you say were so small a number of light persons; wherefore we must think, and you cannot deny, but that you did wink at the matter: therefore at this time we will neither grant you our favour nor good will, nor to the offenders mercy; but resort to our lord chancellor, and he shall make you an answer, and declare to you our pleasure.'

At this speech of the king's the citizens departed very sorrowful; but having notice that the king intended to be at his palace of Westminster on the 22nd of May, they resolved to repair thither, which they did accordingly, though not without the appointment of cardinal Wolsey, who was then lord chancellor; when a cloth of state being placed at the upper end of Westminster-hall, the king took his place, and after him the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earls of Wiltshire, Surrey, Shrewsbury, and Essex, with several others; the lord mayor, recorder, and aldermen, together with many of the commons, attending in their liveries: when, about nine o'clock, order was given to bring forth the prisoners, which was accordingly done; so that in they came in their shirts, bound together with ropes, and halters about their necks, to the number of 400 men and 11 women, one after another; which so moved several of the nobility, that they became earnest intercessors to the king for their pardon.

When silence was made and they were all come into the king's presence, the cardinal sharply rebuked the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty for their negligence; and then, addressing his speech to the prisoners, he told them that for their offences against the law of the realm, and against his majesty's crown and dignity, they had deserved death. Whereupon they all set up a piteous cry, crying, 'Mercy, gracious lord, mercy!' which so moved the king, that, at the earnest entreaty of the lords, he pronounced them pardoned; upon which, giving a great shout they threw up their halters towards the roof of the hall, crying God save the king. When this news was bruited abroad, several that had been in the insurrection, and had escaped, came in upon their own accords, with ropes about their necks, and received the benefit of the king's pardon; after which, the cardinal gave them several good exhortations tending to loyalty and obedience, and so dismissed them to their no small joy: and within a while after the gallows that were set in the several parts of the city were taken down, which so far pleased the citizens, that they expressed infinite thanks to the king for his clemency.

This company was called the Black Waggon; and the day whereon this riot and insurrection happened bears the name of Evil May-day to these our present times. And thus have you heard how the citizens escaped the king's displeasure and were again received into favor, though, as it is thought, not without paying a considerable sum of money to the cardinal to stand their friend; for at that time he was in such power, that he did all with the king.

These great Mayings and May-games, with the triumphant setting-up the great shaft, a principal may-pole in Leadenhall-street, before the parish church of St. Andrew, thence called Undershaft, were not so commonly used after this insurrection on May-day, 1517, as before.*

* Maitland, i. 226.

On the 1st of February this same year, there passed an act of common-council, enacting, 'That the lord mayor and aldermen for the time being should monthly assign and appoint two aldermen, and four discreet commoners, to sit at Guildhall, in a judicial manner, twice a week, viz. on Wednesdays and Saturdays, there to hear and determine all matters brought before them, between party and party (being citizens and freemen of London), in all cases where the due debt or damage did not exceed forty shillings.' This act was to continue but for two years; but it being found of great relief and advantage to the citizens, it was afterwards continued by several acts of the said council, with some little variation as to the number of commissioners, till the first year of king James I., when this laudable institution was confirmed for all debts in the city under forty shillings, as will be more particularly noted in that year.

About the same time London was again grievously afflicted with the sweating-sickness, which carried off a great number of citizens: and the king, to prevent the spreading of the infection into his own family, dismissed many of his attendants and officers. As this distemper was peculiar to England, and to Englishmen in foreign parts, it went by the appellation of *Sudor Anglicus*, or the English sweat.

King Henry, in the tenth year of his reign, granted the citizens of London a charter, by which the sessions of the peace for London, which had hitherto been held in the monastery of St. Martin's-le-grand (to the great dishonour of the city in having it kept in a foreign liberty), was removed to Guildhall, where it has ever since continued, to the great convenience of the citizens.

On the 23rd of September in this same year, his majesty granted a charter of incorporation to the physicians, who hitherto had been under no regulation.

In 1519, the tenth of Henry VIII. for cleansing and scowering the common ditch, between Aldgate and the postern next the Tower-ditch, the sum of 95*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* was laid out. The chief ditcher had by the day 7*d.* The second ditcher 6*d.* The other ditchers 5*d.* And every vagabond (for so were they then termed) one penny, and meat and drink at the city's charge.

In the year 1521, an infectious distemper raged in the city, which carried off abundance of the citizens; yet, nevertheless, by the great scarcity of corn, wheat was sold at twenty shillings the quarter, and in some places in the country at six-and-twenty and eight-pence; an excessive price at that time.

Next year, the emperor Charles the Fifth came into England to pay a visit to king Henry, who received him at Dover, and conducted him to Greenwich, where he was received by the queen, his aunt; from whence he was conducted by their majesties and the nobility to London, which on that occasion was embellished with the most rich and pompous decorations that could be devised, with a variety of magnificent pageants;* and as those great princes ap-

* "On this occasion the crosse in Cheape was new gilt, and eleven pageants were devised on stages very faire and excellent to behold."

proached the city, they were received by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs in their formalities, attended by a great number of the principal citizens on horseback, richly accoutred; by whom they were conducted through the city to the imperial apartments in Blackfriars; and the princes and nobility of his retinue to theirs in the new palace at Bridewell.

The English, in all parts of France, but especially at Bourdeaux, having their effects seized by order of the French king, the French ambassador, residing in London, was ordered to be confined to his house; and all the merchants of his nation were committed to prison and adjudged to pay large sums for their liberty; however, many of them, after a confinement of ten days, were released, upon their giving security to appear before the lord mayor against a certain day, to pay their several fines. The king, now engaged in war with France, had an immediate occasion for money, and, not willing to wait the meeting of parliament, borrowed of the city the sum of twenty thousand pounds; but the lenders being in a manner compelled to advance the same, it was raised with great difficulties and heart-burnings among the citizens.

Christian, king of Denmark, with his queen (niece to queen Catherine) came into England to pay the king and queen a visit; and being arrived in London, they were received by the mayor and citizens with the utmost splendour, and by them conducted to the bishop of Bath's palace, the place appointed for their residence; from whence, on St. Peter's eve following, they were attended by the prime nobility, who conducted them to the King's-head, in Cheapside, where they beheld the pompous march of the city watch, and afterwards were sumptuously entertained by sir Thomas Baldry, the mayor.*

King Henry being in great want of money for the prosecution of his war in France, cardinal Wolsey, his prime minister, in a very illegal and arbitrary manner, issued out commissions in the king's name, for levying the sixth part of all the goods and chattels of the laity, and a fourth of those of the clergy: by which absolute and tyrannical proceeding, the whole kingdom was so much inflamed, that the people in all parts were ready to break out in a general rebellion; which so greatly affected Henry, that he openly disavowed those irregular proceedings; and, by his letter to the mayor and citizens of London, declared that he would not exact any thing of his people by compulsion, nor demand any thing of them but by benevolence, as had been practised by his predecessors. But this soon discovered itself to be only an artifice to extort large sums under another name; for what the people refused to pay to the cardinal's commission, they now found themselves obliged to raise by way of benevole ce.†

* Ma tland, i. 227.

† Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

The citizens of London being the first to be rated to this benevolence, the cardinal sent for the mayor and aldermen, and acquainted them in an expostulatory manner of his majesty's most gracious condescension, in remitting the payment of the sixth of all their effects, and in lieu thereof had only appointed them to pay a certain benevolence; therefore, he desired them to return and make proper assessments in their several wards for raising the same. To which the recorder answered, that by a statute of the 1st of Richard III. such benevolences were abolished. The cardinal replied, that laws made by usurpers are not obligatory to legitimate princes; that Richard was not only a tyrant, but a murderer of his own nephews, therefore more fit to suffer by law than to make any; and who did that with no other view, than by a popular and licentious way to ingratiate himself with the people, as the only means to support his usurpation. But our king, being the true and undoubted heir to the crown, could be thereby no farther affected than it pleased himself; it being absurd to imagine, that a statute contrived by a factious assembly, and confirmed by one of the greatest criminals, should bind an absolute and lawful monarch; wherefore, if they had no better argument, they had as good have omitted one so ridiculously trifling.

The cardinal thereupon resolved to try the mayor and aldermen separately, to know what each were willing to contribute; and, having begun with the mayor, he excused himself from making any declaration in that affair till he had consulted the common council thereon, who, by their former deportment, the cardinal had reason to believe they never would agree to; he therefore desired the mayor and aldermen in their private capacities to give what they thought proper; however, before they complied with the cardinal's proposal, they communicated the same to the common council, who, instead of agreeing to it, in a rage were for expelling Richard Gresham, John Hewster, and Richard Gibson, three of their members, for speaking in behalf of so great an imposition; yet without coming to any resolution in that respect, they broke up in the greatest ferment; however, this stand occasioned the benevolence to be rejected in all parts of the kingdom. In this year the plague raged in London, which occasioned the king's removal to Eltham, and the adjournment of the term, whereby the city was so much deserted by its inhabitants, that the great festival was denominated the Still Christmas.

In 1526, the citizens finding themselves greatly aggrieved by foreign merchants, who had purchased licenses for the importation of wood, contrary to law, whereby the freemen of the city were entirely deprived of that trade; it was by the mayor and common-council enacted, That for the future no citizen whatever should presume to buy, sell, or have any intercourse in a mercantile way, with any foreign merchants importers of wood.

In 1527, it became the general talk of the city that the king

intended to repudiate his consort; Henry seemed offended thereat; and, sending for sir Thomas Seymer, the mayor, strictly enjoined him to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the like discourse for the future.

About the same time, the cardinal being appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, on his way thither rode through the city in the greatest pomp, attended by a numerous train of the prime nobility, gentry, and prelates; who, together with his and their domestics, formed a body of twelve hundred horsemen. This magnificent cavalcade was preceded by sixty sumpter-horses and mules, and eighty baggage-carriages, which were followed by a great number of gentlemen, three in a rank, richly dressed in velvet, with large golden chains about their necks; then followed two gentlemen, each carrying a very large silver cross; next came two others, with a stately silver column each, followed by two other gentlemen, one carrying the great seal of England, after the other the cardinal's hat; after them rode a gentleman carrying the cardinal's portmanteau of scarlet, richly embreidered, with a cloak therein; then came the cardinal gorgeously apparelled, mounted on a stately mule, followed by a led horse, and a mule trapped in crimson velvet; then came the nobility, gentry, and clergy, followed by his and their domestics, all clothed in dark orange-coloured coats, with T. C. embroidered on each, that is, Thomas, Cardinal. And his servants daily attending in his house were about four hundred, omitting his servants' servants, which were many. He had in his hall continually three tables, or boards, kept with three principal officers; to wit, a steward, who was always a priest; a treasurer, a knight; and a comptroller, an esquire: also a cofferer, being a doctor; three marshalls; three yeoman ushers in the hall, besides two grooms and almoners; then the hall-kitchen, two clerks of the kitchen, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of the spicery; all which together kept a continual mess in the hall. Also in his hall kitchen he had of master cooks two, and of other cooks, labourers, and children of the kitchen, twelve persons; four yeomen of the ordinary scullery, two yeomen of the pastry, with two other pastelers under the yeomen.

In the privy-kitchen, he had a master-cook, who went daily in velvet and satin, with a chain of gold about his neck, and two other yeomen and a groom. In the scalding-house a yeoman and two grooms. In the pantry, two yeomen. In the buttery, two yeomen, two grooms, and two pages. In the chandery, two yeomen. In the wafery, two yeomen. In the wardrobe of beds, the master of the wardrobe, and ten other persons attending. In the laundery, a yeoman, a groom, thirty pages, two yeomen-purveyors, and one groom. In the bake-house, a yeoman and two grooms. In the wood-yard a yeoman and a groom. In the

barn one. In the garden, a yeoman and two grooms; a yeoman of his stage; a master of his horse; a clerk of the stable; a yeoman of the same; the sadler; the farrier; a yeoman of his chariot; a sumpterman; a yeoman of the stirrup; a muleteer, and sixteen grooms of his stable, every one of them keeping four geldings; porters at his gate; two yeoman and two grooms. In the armoury, a yeoman and a groom.

In his chapel he had a dean, a great divine, and a man of excellent learning; a sub-dean, a repeater of the choir, a gospeller, a pisteler; of singing priests, ten; a master of the children; twelve seculars, being singing men of the chapel; ten singing children, with a servant to attend upon the children. In the vestry, a yeoman and two grooms, over and beside divers retainers, that came thither at principal feasts.

For the furniture of his chapel, it exceedeth my capacity to declare, or to speak of the number of costly ornaments and rich jewels that were used in the same continually. There have been seen in procession about the hall, four and twenty very rich copes worn, all of one suit, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks, and other ornaments belonging to the furnishment of the same. He had two cross-bearers, and two pillar-bearers, in his great chamber; and in his privy-chambers these persons; first, the chief chamberlain and vice-chamberlain; of gentleman ushers (besides one in his privy chamber) he had twelve daily waiters; and of gentleman-waiters, in his privy chamber, he had six; of lords nine or ten, who had (each of them) two men allowed to attend upon them, except the earl of Derby, who always was allowed five men. Then he had of gentlemen cup-bearers, carvers, sewers, both of the privy chamber, and of the great chamber with gentlemen (daily waiters there) forty persons; of yeomen-ushers six; of grooms in his chamber eight; of yeomen in his chamber forty-five daily. He had also alms-men, sometime more in number than at other times.

There were attending on his table, daily, of doctors and chaplains (besides them of his chapel) sixteen; a clerk of his closet, two secretaries, two clerks of his signet, and four counsellors learned in the laws. And forasmuch as it was neeessary to have divers officers of Chancery to attend upon him; that is to say, the clerk of the crown, a riding clerk, a clerk of the hamper, and a clerk of the wax; then a clerk of the check, as well upon the chaplains, as on the yeomen of his chamber; he gave allowance to them all. He had also four footmen, who were cloathed in rich running coats, whensoever he rode on a journey. Then had he an herald at arms, a serjeant at arms, a physician, an apothecary, four minstrels, a keeper of his tents, an armourer, an instructor of his wards, two yeomen of his wardrobe and robes, and a keeper of his chamber, continually in the court.

He had also in his house the surveyor of York, and a clerk of

the green cloth. All these were daily attending, down-lying, and uprising, and at meals. He kept in his great chamber a continual table for the chamberers and gentlemen officers; having with them a mess of young lords, and another of gentlemen. And besides all these there was not an officer, gentleman, or other person of worth, but was allowed in the house, some three some two, and all other one at least, which amounted to a great number of persons; besides retainers, suitors, and who most commonly dined in his hall.*

Two ambassadors extraordinary arrived from France, and made their public entry into this city in a pompous manner, attended by a great number of their countryman of the first quality, for whom apartments were provided in the bishop of London's palace; where they were presented by the mayor and citizens with five fat oxen, twenty sheep, twelve swans, twelve cranes, twelve pheasants, four dozen of partridges, twenty sugar loaves, eight hogsheads of wine, and all sorts of spices, &c.†

By a great scarcity of corn, a terrible famine happened in this city, whereby many of the meaner sort of citizens were starved; and, had it not been for the king's paternal care in sending a thousand quarters of corn to the city, and the laudable care of the mayor and sheriffs in preventing the bread-carts of Stratford from being plundered by the populace, many more must have suffered by this dreadful calamity. In the mean time, great quantities of wheat and rye being imported by the Hanseatic merchants from Dantzic, corn became much cheaper in this city than in any other part of the kingdom.

A war happening between England and the emperor, it put an entire stop to the trade with Spain; whereby the clothiers became such sufferers, that, not being able to dispose of their goods, they were obliged to dismiss their servants; which had like to have occasioned insurrections in divers parts of the kingdom: wherefore the cardinal ordered several of the principal merchants of this city to attend him, whom he simply threatened, that if they did not take off cloths, &c. from the clothiers, as usual, (notwithstanding the merchants being as great sufferers by the war as the clothiers, by their not being able to export one piece to the imperial dominions, where formerly their principal commerce lay) the cloth-market should be removed from Blackwell Hall in the city, to Westminster: however, it was neither in the power of the king, nor in that of his ministev, to execute the aforesaid injunction; wherefore commerce continued on the same foot as before till the conclusion of a peace.

At a common-council, on the first of June, 18 Henry VIII. it was agreed, granted, ordained, and enacted, 'That, if hereafter any freeman or freewoman of this city take any apprentice, and

* Maitland's London. i 229. † Hall. Chron

within the term of seven years suffer the same apprentice to go at his large, liberty, and pleasure: and within or after the said term agree with his said apprentice for a certain sum of money, or otherwise for his said service, and within or after the end of the said term, the said freeman present the said apprentice to the chamberlain of the city, and by good deliberation, and upon his oath made to the same city, the same freeman or freewoman assureth and affirmeth to the said chamberlain, that the said apprentice hath fully served his said term as an apprentice; or, if any freeman or freewoman of this city take any apprentice which at the time of the said taking hath any wife; or, if any freeman or freewoman of this city give any wages to his or her apprentice, or suffer the said apprentices to take any part of their own getting or gains; or, if any freeman or freewoman of this city hereafter colour any foreign goods, or from henceforth buy or sell for any person or persons, or with or to any person or persons, being foreign or foreigners, cloths, silks, wines, oils, or any other goods or merchandize, whatsoever they may be, whether he take any thing or things for his or their wages or labour, or not; if any person or persons, being free of this city, by any colour or deceitful means, from henceforth do buy, sell, or receive of any apprentice within this city, any money, goods, merchandize, or wares, without the assent or licence of his master or mistress; and upon examination duly proved before the chamberlain of the said city for the time being, and the same reported by the mouth of the said chamberlain, at a court to be holden by the mayor and the aldermen of the same city in their council-chamber; that as well the said master, as the said apprentice, shall for evermore be disfranchised. God save the king.'

To which were added the following instructions:

'Ye shall constantly and devoutly on your knees, every day, serve God morning and evening, and make conscience in the due hearing of the word preached, and endeavour the right practice thereof in your life and conversation. You shall do diligent and faithful service to your master for the time of your apprenticeship, and deal truly in what you shall be trusted. You shall often read over the covenants of your indenture, and see and endeavour yourself to perform the same, to the utmost of your power. You shall avoid all evil company, and all occasions which may tend to draw you to the same; and make speedy return when you shall be sent of your master's and mistress's business. You shall be of fair, gentle, and lowly speech and behaviour towards all men, and especially to all your governors. And according to your carriage, expect your reward, for good or ill, from God and your friends.'

It is said in the *Liber Albus*, that none was apprentice, or at least admitted into the city, unless he were *Liberæ conditionis*, that is, of the quality of a gentleman born. And that, if, after he was made free, it was known he was of servile condition, he

lost his freedom. As certain citizens, Thomas le Bedel, and others did, that held lands of the bishop of London in *Villenagio.*

The sweating-sickness broke out anew in the city, in 1528, with such violence, that it carried off a great number of people in the space of five or six hours; which not only occasioned the adjourning of the term, but likewise suspended the annual solemnity of the nocturnal march of the city watch, which, on account of its great expense to the city, was afterwards forbidden by the king, and discontinued till the second of Edward VI.*

In May, 1529, the court for enquiring into the legality of the king's marriage with Catherine, assembled in the great hall of Blackfriars, where their majesties then lodged. The slow progress made in the business of the divorce, and the evident duplicity of Cardinal Campegius, who presided, led to the disgrace and downfall of Wolsey, and subsequently to the throwing off of the papal yoke, and full establishment of the Reformation. But Henry's zeal for the Catholic religion was not repressed, however great his anger against the Roman pontiff; and several Protestants were about this time burnt for schism and heresy, in different parts of the kingdom.

Richard Rose, cook to the bishop of Rochester, according to his sentence, was boiled to death in Smithfield, in 1531, for poisoning sixteen persons with porridge, which he had prepared for the destruction of his master, who fortunately escaped the intended mischief by the want of appetite, which prevented his eating that day.

Eleven gentlemen of the law being promoted to the dignity of the coif, they gave a splendid and and elegant entertainment in the bishop of Ely's palace in Holborn, for five days successively; at which were present the king, queen, foreign ministers, lord mayor, judges, master of the rolls, aldermen of the city, masters of Chancery, serjeants at law, principal merchants of London, together with many knights and esquires, and a certain number of citizens belonging to the chief companies of the city.†

This being one of the greatest entertainments recorded in history, an account thereof wi l not be unacceptable to the reader; but as there were three poulterers concerned in providing the same with poultry, and only one of their accounts to be come at, the quantity of provisions will thereby be considerably lessened; however, though the following be only part of the bill of fare, it will nevertheless appear to have been one of the greatest banquets that ever was given in this city, to one of the most numerous companies, as above specified; and though the said entertainment was given near three hundred years ago, the subjoined account will

* Fab. A. D. 1528. † Stow's Survey of London, 1531

shew the vast disparity between the prices of provisions then and now:—

	£.	s.	d.
Four and twenty large oxen, each at	1	6	8
The carcase of a large ox from the market, at	1	4	0
One hundred sheep, each at	0	2	10
One and fifty calves, each at	0	4	8
Four and thirty hogs, each at	0	3	8
Ninety-one pigs, each at	0	0	6
Fourteen dozen of swans, no price	0	0	0
Capons of Greece, ten dozen, each at	0	1	8
Kentish Capons, nine dozen and a half, each at	0	1	0
Common capons, nineteen dozen, each at	0	0	6
Seven dozen and nine of grouse, or heath-cocks, each at	0	0	8
Common cocks, fourteen dozen and eight, each at	0	0	3
The best pullets, though no number be mentioned each at	0	0	2½
Common ditto, though not numbered, each at	0	0	1½
Seven and thirty dozen of pigeons, each dozen at	0	0	10
Larks 340 dozen, each dozen at	0	0	5

The Reformation of religion advancing apace in this kingdom, Mr. Tindal and others translated and published the New Testament in the English tongue; but Stokesley, bishop of London, ordered as many copies thereof to be bought up as could be got; which, out of a false and furious zeal, he caused to be burnt at St. Paul's Cross. But the clergy fell into a *praemunire*, for supporting Cardinal Wolsey's legatine power: wherefore, the convocation petitioned the king to accept of the sum of 100,000*l.* in full satisfaction for their offence; which Henry agreeing to, they were soon after called upon for the money. The bishops, to ease themselves in raising the said sum, endeavoured to draw in the parochial incumbents of their respective dioceses to contribute towards the same; and Stokesley, bishop of London, attempting to lead the way with the priests of this city, they so highly resented the same, that in an outrageous manner they forced themselves into the chapter-house of St. Paul's cathedral, where they beat and abused the bishop's servants. This so intimidated their master, that, for the security of his own person, he not only forgave them, but, giving them his blessing, exhorted them to depart in charity. But the bishop, by this artifice escaping unhurt, instead of adhearing to the remission granted by him, he applied to the lord chancellor for redress, who thereupon sent to the mayor to secure the persons that were chiefly concerned in the riot. Pursuant to this order, fifteen priests and their accomplices were arrested and committed to the Tower and other

prisons, where they suffered a duress, to the no great honour of that implacable prelate.

In January, 1533, Henry was privately married to the lady Anne Boleyn, who soon becoming pregnant, on Easter eve he openly acknowledged her as his queen, and addressing his letters to the mayor and commonalty of London, required them to make preparation for conveying her grace from Greenwich to the Tower, and from thence to Westminster, preparatory to her coronation on Whit-Sunday. The pageantry exhibited on this occasion was the most gorgeous that the taste of that age could furnish.

'The mayor and his brethren, all in scarlet, such as were knights having collars of esses, and the residue great chains, assembled with the common council at St. Mary's-hill, where they descended to their barge which was garnished with many goodly banners and streamers, and richly covered, and had in its shamles, stage-bushes, and divers other instruments of musicke, which plaied continually. After the mayor and his brethren were in their barge,' and had given the proper orders for the arrangement of the barges of the city companies, &c. they set forward in the following order: 'First, before the maiors barge was a foiste for a wafter, full of ordnance, in which foiste was a great red dragon continually moving and casting wilde fire, and round about the said foiste stoode terrible monstrous and wild men, casting fire, and making hideous noise; next, at a good distance, came the maior's barge; on whose right hand was the batchelor's barge, in the which were trumpets, and divers other melodious instruments; the decks of the said barge, yards, &c. were richly hung with cloth of gold and silk; at the foreship and stern were two great banners rich beaten with the arms of the king and queen: the same arms were also displayed from a long streamer on the topcastle, and almost every other part 'was set full' of flags, banners, and streamers, diversely ornamented, and many of them hung 'with little bels at the ends.' 'On the left hand of the maior was another foiste, in the which was a mount, and on the mount stood a white faulcon crowned upon a roote of gold, environed with white roses and red, which was the queenes device, and about the mount sate virgins singing and playing melodiously.' The different companies followed in succession, 'everie company having melodie in their barge by themselves, and goodlie garnished with banners.—At Greenwich towne they cast anchor, making great melodie: at three of the clock (29th of May), the queene, apparelled in rich cloth of gold, entered into her barge, accompanied with divers ladies and gentlewomen, and incontinent the citizens set forward in order, their minstrelsy continually playing, and the batchelers, barge going on the queen's right hand, which she took great pleasure to behold. About the queenes barge were many noblemen, as the duke of Suffolke, the mar-

quesse Dorset, the earle of Wiltshire, hir father, the earls of Arundale, Darby, Rutland, Worcester, Huntingdon, Sussex, Oxford, and many bishops and noble men, everie one in his barge, which was a goodlie sight to behold. She thus being accompanied rowed towards the Tower; and in the mean waie the ships which were commanded to lie on the shore for letting of the barges, shot divers peales of guns, and ere she landed, there was a marvellous shot out of the Tower, I never heard the like. At hir landing there met with her the lord chamberlaine with the officers of armes, and brought her to the king, which received her with loving countenance at the posterne by the water side and kissed hir, and then she turned backe again and thanked the maior and the citizens with many goodlie words, and so entered into the Tower.—To speak of the people that stood on every shoare to behold this sight, he that saw it not will not believe it.'*

The second day afterwards the queen was conveyed through the city to the palace of Westminster, attended by all the principal nobility, prelates, and gentry of the kingdom, including nineteen new Knights of the Bath, whom the king had dubbed that morning in the Tower. The streets through which the procession passed were 'rayled on each side,' as far as Temple Bar, and 'all gravelled, with intent that the horses should not slide on the pavement, nor that the people should be hurt by horses.' The city 'craftes' were stationed within the inclosed space, 'along in their order from Grace-church;' and the houses on each side were hung with rich cloths of various kinds, intermixed with rich arras, &c. making 'a goodlie shewe;' and 'all the windows were replenished with ladies and gentlewomen to behold the queene and her traine as they should pass by.'

The queen was borne on 'a litter of white cloth of gold, led by two palfreys clad in white damaske led by her footemen. She had on a kertle of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same furred with ermine; her hair hanging downe, but on her head she had a coife, with a scarlet about it full of rich stones: over her was carried a canopie of cloth of gold.' Behind her rode many ladies magnificently apparrelled, in chariots, and on horseback, and 'after them followed the guards in coats of goldesmiths worke.'

In Fenchurch-street, the queene was greeted by a pageant of children, clothed as merchants, who welcomed her to the city. 'From thence she rode unto Grace-church corner, where was a costly and marvellous cunning pageant made by the marchants at the Stilyard; therein was the mount Pernassus and the fountaine of Helicon, which was of white marble, and four streames without pipe did rise an ell high, and met together in a little cuppe above the fountaine, which ranne abundantlie with racktie Rhenish

* Stow's Ann. p. 249-50.

wine till night. On the mountain sate Apollo, and at his feete, Calliope; and on every side of the mountaine sate four Muses playing on severell sweet instruments, and at their feet epigrams and poesies were written in golden letters, in the which every Muse according to her property praysed the queene.'

At Leadenhall was another 'goodlie pageant,' representing among other things, St. Anne, and her numerous progeny, one of whom made an oration to the queene of the fruitfulness of St. Anne and of her generation, trusting 'that like fruit should come of her.' At the conduit in Cornhill, which 'continually ranne wine, as did also all the others between that and Temple-bar, were 'the three graces set on a throne,' each of whom, 'according to her property, gave to the queene a severall gift of grace.' The great conduit in Cheape was 'newly painted with arms and devices,' and the Standert [or Standard] was richly painted with images of kings and queens, and hanged with banners of arms, and in the top was marvellous sweet harmony both of songs and instruments. The 'Cross' was also newly gilt; and between that and the little conduit, where the aldermen stood, the Recorder of London came to the queen, 'with a lowe reverence,' and presented her, in the name of the city, with a thousand marks in a gold purse, which she 'thankfully accepted with many good wordes, and so rode to the little conduit, where was a rich pageant, full of melody and songs, in which pageant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus; and afore them stood Mercurie, which, in the name of the three goddesses, gave unto her a ball of gold divided into three, signifying the three gifts which these goddesses gave to her, that is to say, Wisdom, Riches, and Felicitie.'

At St. Paul's gate was another pageant, in which sate three ladies richly clothed, and an angel bearing a crown, with complimentary verses in Latin. At St. Paul's school stood a scaffold with children well apparelled, who rehearsed 'divers verses of poets translated into English,' to the honor of their majesties. Ludgate 'was new garnished with gold and bisse, and on the leads of St. Martin's church stood a goodly queere of singing men and children, which sang new ballets made in praise of her grace. The conduit in Fleet-street was also 'newly painted, and all the armes and angles refreshed.' On this was raised a tower with four turrets, in each of which stood 'one of the cardinal vertues, with their tokens and properties; and in the middest of the tower closely was such severall solemne instruments, that it seemed to be a heavenly noise.' At Temple-bar, which was 'newly painted and repaired, there stood also divers singing men and children.' In the middle of Westminster-hall, which was richly hung with 'cloth of arras,' and newly glazed, the queen was taken out of her litter, and after a 'solemne service' of 'wines, spices, subtleties,' &c. she gave 'hearty thanks to the

ordes and ladies, and to the maior and others, that had given their attendance on her," and withdrew to her chamber.*

On the following day, June the 1st, the coronation was solemnized in Westminster Abbey, with great ceremony and magnificence. At the dinner twelve of the principal citizens assisted the earl of Arundel in his office of chief butler; and at the conclusion of the feast, the lord mayor received from the queen's hands the cups of gold which devolved to him of ancient custom.

The strong opposition which Henry had met with in his attempt to get divorced from queen Catherine, determined him to free himself from the yoke of ecclesiastical bondage, however unwilling he might be to suffer his subjects to enjoy liberty of opinion. During the sitting of the parliament therefore, which met at Westminster, in 1553-4, 'every Sunday at Paule's Crosse preached a bishop, declaring the Pope not to be supreme head of the church.'† In this parliament, Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the *Holy Maid of Kent*, with several of her adherents, was attainted of treason, her pretended visions having an evident tendency to shake the allegiance of the people. In the April following she was 'hanged and headed' at Tyburn, with several of her ill-fated supporters; the 'nun's head,' says Stowe, 'was set on London Bridge, and the other heads on the gates of the citie.'‡ About this time also, according to Holingshed, one Pavier, 'town clerk of London,' hung himself, apparently through a proud spirit of indignation at the measures which were then pursuing. The historian says that he had heard him affirm, 'with a great oath,' that 'rather than live to see the Scripture set forth in English, he would cut his own throat.'

An act of parliament was passed in this year for paving the west end of the high street in London, between Holborn-bridge and Holborn-bars, and also the streets of Southwark; and that every one should maintain the said pavement before his own ground, or forfeit to the king sixpence for every square yard.

According to Hakluyt, from about the years 1511 and 1512, to the year 1534, divers tall ships of London, and also of Southampton and Bristol, had an unusual trade to Sicily, Candia, and Chios, and sometimes to Cyprus, and to Tripoli, and Baruth in Syria. They exported sundry sorts of woollen-cloths, calf-skins, &c. and imported silks, camblets, and rhubarb; malmsey, muscadel, and other wines; oils, cotton-wool, Turkey carpets, galls, and India spices: yet, in those days, they were generally twelve months in those voyages, as were two ships going this year from London to Candia and Chios; which voyage was found so hazardous and dangerous, that one of these ships were put into Blackwall dock, and never more went to sea. In the next year a ship of three

* Stow's Ann. p. 951-4. † Ibid. p. 963.

‡ Ibid.

nundred tons, with one hundred persons in her, went from London on the same Levant voyage, and returned in eleven months, having settled factors in those places.*

Though Henry had renounced his subjection to the see of Rome, he was, in several respects a bigotted Catholic, and a stict adherent of many of the Popish tenets: besides he had written a book against Luther, who, in his reply, had not treated him with much respect. This had incensed Henry beyond a possibility of reconciliation; in fine, Henry wanted to be the pope's rival, but without being either a Lutheran or a Sacramentarian: he still preserved the invocation of Saints, but under certain restrictions. It was with him equally a crime to believe in the authority of a Pope, and to be a Protestant; and in the course of his reign, he alike condemned to the flames those who spoke in favour of the Roman pontiff, and those who declared for the reformed religion. In particular he now ordered the prior of the Carthusian monks of the Charter-house, London; the prior of Hexham; Benase, a monk of Sion College; and John Haile, vicar of Isleworth, together with three monks of the Charter-house, to be hanged and quartered at Tyburn, on the 18th of July, this year (1534), for refusing to submit to the new laws: and a little before, orders were given for burning twenty-seven Protestants, viz. John Frith, a man of great learning, Andrew Hewet, and nineteen men and six women, born in Holland, to convince the world, that his severity to the ecclesiastics was not actuated by any fondness he was charged with for the new religion.

In the year 1535, the common-council granted two fifteenths towards defraying the expences of bringing water from Hackney to Aldgate, where a conduit was erected for the use of the eastern part of the city.

On the fifteenth of January, in this year, Henry assumed the title of supreme head of the church; and he maintained it with so much jealousy, that he spared none who called it in question.

Among other victims of this jealousy may be enumerated Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. The king, who was irritated against them for their opposition to his divorce and second marriage, and also knew their attachment to the see of Rome, determined to make them acknowledge his supremacy, or to make them examples that none who opposed it should escape with impunity. The bishop was tried on the 17th of June, and found guilty of high treason in having denied the king's supremacy; and was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 22nd of June. Ten days after, his friend, Sir Thomas More, was tried and found guilty of the same offence, and suffered the same punishment on the 6th of July.

* Hakluyt, vol ii. p. 96.

Henry was a prince of impetuous passions, and, at the same time, fickle and capricious. He had surmounted many difficulties to obtain the hand of the beautiful Anne Boleyn, and had enjoyed the greatest conjugal felicity with her; but, in the beginning of the year 1536, a new object (Jane Seymour) captivated his heart. This new passion extinguished all his former love, which was succeeded by the most furious, and, as far as appears, unfounded jealousy. On the first of May, there was a grand tournament at Greenwich, at which the king, queen, and all the court were present. In the midst of the diversion, the king rose suddenly from his seat, went out, mounted his horse, and rode off, attended by only six persons. The cause of his abrupt departure is unknown; but on the following day the queen was sent to the Tower, and such was Henry's severity, that he debarred her from seeing all her relations and friends; even her almoner was denied admittance. On the 13th of May she was brought to her trial in the great hall of the tower, before less than half the then number of peers of Egland; she was found guilty, without a shadow of proof, of having conspired the king's death, and sentenced to be burnt or beheaded, as the king should direct. On the 19th of May she was beheaded on a scaffold erected on the green within the Tower, from which all strangers were excluded; the only persons present at her execution being the Dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, Chancellor Audley, Secretary Cromwell, and the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London. Little respect was shewn to her remains: no coffin having been provided, her body was put into a chest made for holding arrows, and instantly buried in the chapel in the tower.*

The next day Henry was privately married to Jane Seymour, who, without the least attention either to decency or shame, was at 'Whitsuntide openly shewed as queene.' On St. Peter's Eve, 'the king and queene stood at the Mercer's Hall; and saw the [city] watch most bravely set forth:' and on the twenty-ninth of June, 'the king held a great justing and triumph at Westminster;' doubtless on account of his recent marriage.

In this year parliament directed that all French wines should be sold for eight pence the gallon, and Malmsey and Romney sack, and all other sweet wines, for one shilling.

The years 1536 and 1538 were productive of vast effects in the religious system of the country, in which London had its share. During the first year no less than three hundred and seventy-six lesser monasteries were dissolved, and their vast revenues granted to the crown by parliament; the latter amounting to 32,000l. per year, besides their goods and chattels, which amounted to 100,000l. more.†

The greater monasteries shared a similar fate; and thus in less

* Lambert's London, i. 515.

† Hollingshed.

than two years, the king seized upon the whole monastic revenue and other property; the tricks of the priests were exposed, their pretended miracles detected, and the relics and other instruments of their superstition turned into derision. Among the rest a great wooden idol, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought from Wales to London, and cut up for fuel to burn friar Forest, who had presumed to deny Henry's supremacy.* The king, under various pretences, had suppressed no less than six hundred and forty-five religious foundations, of which twenty-eight had abbots who enjoyed seats in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals.

About 1536, coals were sold at Newcastle at two shillings and two-pence the chaldron, 'wherefore,' says Maitland, 'I imagine that they were then sold in this city for about four shillings.'

The spirit of mercantile adventure, which had sprung up in the preceding reign, still continued and increased; and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged Many voyages were now undertaken for the discovery of unknown countries, but the accounts we have of them are very imperfect. In this year, Mr. Hore, a merchant of London, prevailed upon thirty young gentlemen to accompany him on a voyage of discovery on the north coast of America, with a view to find a north-west passage to India. They sailed from Gravesend, in April, 1536, with two ships, the Trinity and the Minion; and after having been reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, reached England again in the month of October of the same year. Though this voyage was unfavorable to the proposed object, it gave rise to the very beneficial fishery on the banks of Newfoundland; which island, with that of Cape Breton, were discovered in the early part of it.

The suppressing of the monasteries had now begun; and though several partial insurrections broke out in consequence, they only served to forward the king's measures, by giving the colour of necessity to the vengeance that was inflicted; and Tyburn became the place of frequent executions both for heresy and treason.

In October, the hospital of St. Thomas of Acres in London was suppressed: and in November, the monasteries of the Black Friars, the White Friars, the Grey Friars, and the Carthusians of the Charter-house, all underwent the same fate.

In the year 1531, the common council passed an act to enforce the observance of a statute, which had been made by the parliament for preserving the navigation of the river Thames, whereby it was enacted as follows:

'That proclamation should be made within this city, and the

* Godwin's Annals.—Stow.

same to be put in writing, and tables thereof made, and set up in divers places of this city, that it shall be lawful to every person to dig, carry away, and take away, sand, gravel, or any rubbish, earth, or any thing, lying and being in any shelve or shelfts, within the said river of Thames, without let or interruption of any person, and without any thing paying for the same: and after that to sell the same away, or otherwise to occupy or dispose of the said gravel, sand, or other thing, at their free liberty and pleasure. And that all paviors, bricklayers, tylers, masons, and all others that occupy sand or gravel, shall endeavour themselves, with all diligence, to occupy the said sand or gravel, and none other, paying for the same reasonably, as they should and ought to pay for other sand or gravel, digged out of other men's grounds about the said city. That further application be made to his majesty, that all persons having lands or tenements along the said river-side, shall well and sufficiently repair and maintain all the walls and banks adjoining unto their said lands, so that the water may not nor shall break in upon the same. And that strong grates of iron along the said water-side, and also by the street-side, where any water-course is had into the said Thames, be made by the inhabitants of each ward, so along the said water, as of old times has been accustomed: and that every grate be in height twenty-four inches at the least, as the place shall need; and in breadth, one from another, one inch. And further, 'that if the occupiers of the said lands and tenements make default contrary to the ordinance aforesaid; or else, if any person or persons, in great rains or at other times, sweep their soilage, or filth of their houses, into the channel, and the same afterwards is conveyed into the Thames, every person so offending shall forfeit for every such default one shilling and eight pence; and that upon complaint to be made to any constable next adjoining to the said place, where any such default shall be found, or his sufficient deputy for the time being, from time to time, to distrain for the said offence, and to retain the same irreplagiable. And a like law to be kept and observed, and like penalty to be paid by every person that burns ashes and straw in their houses, or wash in the common streets or lanes, and to be recovered as aforesaid; and one moiety thereof to be to the lord mayor and commonalty, and the other moiety between the constable and the informer; and that the constable that shall refuse to do his duty in this case, shall pay three shillings and four pence, for each offence, recoverable in the same manner, and for the same uses. And that no person or persons, having a wharf or house by the water side, shall make their lay-stalls where the common rakers of this city use to lay all their soilage, to be carried away by them in their dung-boats; and that the said rakers shall lay their dung to be carried away in boats, at such places as shall be appointed by the lord mayor and the court of aldermen, under the penalty of five pounds for every offence.' Which act or ordinance is still in force.

Before this year, reading the Bible in the English tongue was interdicted under very severe penalties; but at this time, Henry's unsteady mind appears to have experienced another change; for we find a copy of the New Testament printed in this year by Robert Redman, without Temple-bar, in the suburbs of London, 'set forth under the kynge's moste gracious lycence.'

In the year 1539, Henry VIII. having understood that there was a learned man, named John Nicholson, but who, to secure himself from his former prosecutors, had assumed the name of Lambert, a schoolmaster of London, who denied the real preseuce of the sacrament, to which the king was blindly devoted, thought this a favorable opportunity for him at once to exercise his supremacy, and display his learning. He therefore determined to have the glory of disputing with this reformer, who had appealed from a sentence given against him by Archbishop Cranmer. Public notice was accordingly given, that the king designed to enter the lists again t Lambert; and scaffolds were erected in Westminster Hall, for the accommodation of the audience, without any regard had to the injustice of thus mixing the disputant with the judge.

Divers articles were ministered to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Worcester, and other; but namely, the king pressed him sore, and in the end offered him pardon if he would renounce his opinion, but he would not, wherefore he was condemned, had judgment and was burnt in Smithfield.'* Had any spark of real generosity resided in Henry's bosom, he would doubtless on this occasion, after having gratified his vanity by mingling the disputant with the judge, have spared the life of his antagonist. Soon afterwards a man and a woman were committed to the flames in Smithfield, as Anabaptists; and on the ninth of January, 1539, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Devonshire, Henry, lord Montacate, and sir Edward Nevil were beheaded on Tower Hill.

'On the eighth of May, 1532, the citizens of London mustered at the Miles-ende, all in bright harneies, with coates of white silke, or cloth, and cheines of gold, in three great battailes: the number was 15,000, besides wifflers, and other awayters, who in goodly order passed through London to Westminster, and so through the sanctuary, and round about the park of St. James, and returned home through Holborne.'† The king, under whose commission directed to the lord mayor, sir William Foreman, this muster had been made, reviewed the procession at Westminster, and expressed himself highly pleased with the martial appearance of the men. Those who were mustered at this time seem to have composed only a 'convenient number of the most able betwixt the ages of sixteen and sixty,'‡ of the inhabitants of the city and its liberties, whose names had been registered under the commission.

The state of shipping in the port of London was still very low

* Stow's Ann. 972. † Ibid. 973.

‡ Ibid. 974.

about this time, if we may give credit to Wheeler, who wrote in defence of the company of merchant-adventurers, to whom he was secretary. In his Treatise on Commerce, published in 1601, he says, that, about sixty years before he wrote, 'there were not above four ships besides those of the royal navy, that were above one hundred and twenty tons each, within the river of Thames.'

The king, having restrained the annual custom of the city watch, owing to its great expense, endeavoured to preserve the manly exercise of shooting, of which he was very fond, by granting a charter to the company of archers, who were called the fraternity of St. George; by which they had a power to use and exercise shooting at all manner of marks, as well in the city as suburbs, with long bows, cross bows, and hand guns; with this clause, that, in case any persons were shot and slain in these sports, by some arrow shot by these archers, he was not to be pursued or molested, if he had, immediately before he had shot, used the word 'Fast.' The chieftain of these archers was called prince Arthur, and the rest of them his knights. The principal place of exercising their sport was Mile-end, where they were frequently honoured with the presence of the king himself.

About this time the stews, which had been hitherto licensed on the Bank-side, in Southwark, were put down by the king's proclamation and sound of trumpet.

On the arrival of Anne of Cleves, Henry's new bride, she was met on Blackheath, on the 3rd of January, 1540, by the Hanseatic merchants, and those of Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Spain, resident in the city of London, together with a number of the principal citizens, common-councilmen, and aldermen, to the number of one hundred and sixty, richly dressed in velvet, with chains of gold, mounted on stately horses, and accompanied by the king, divers foreign princes, the nobility, and the lord mayor, was conducted in great magnificence to the royal palace at Greenwich.

The marriage was solemnized on Twelfth-day; and on the 4th of February, being the day appointed for their majesties removal to Westminster, the lord mayor and aldermen, in the city barge, attended by the twelve principal companies, in their respective barges, most pompously equipped, repaired to Greenwich, whence they conducted the king and queen by water to Westminster.

However Henry might have been deceived in the representations of the beauty of this princess, he doer not seem to have been displeased with Cromwell, the principal adviser of the match, for some time after it; since in April following he conferred the title of earl of Essex upon him; but this appearance of satisfaction was of short duration. On the 9th of July, a sentence of divorce passed the two houses of convocation! and on the twenty-eighth of the same month, Cromwell was beheaded on Tower-hill. He was accused of heresy and treason, but it is probable the accusation was unfounded, for a bill of attainder was pa ed against him.

without trial, on the more general representations of the king's council.

Some few days after Cromwell's death, Henry gave a terrible instance of that cruelty which seemed to take possession of his soul. Catholics and reformers were alike the objects of this infernal passion, and suffered in the same flames. Dr. Barnes, who had made a figure in an embassy to the German princes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming minister, and William Jerom, vicar of Stepney, who had been, unheard, attainted of heresy by the parliament, were now condemned to the stake; but when they came there, neither they nor the sheriff knew for what they suffered. Along with them Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplip, and Clement Philpot (all bigotted papists) were hanged, drawn, and quartered, for denying the king's supremacy. To increase the absurdity of this indiscriminate cruelty, they were drawn to the place of execution on three hurdles, a Catholic and a Protestant on each.

In April, 1540, the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, was dissolved.

On the 8th of August this year, Catherine Howard, to whom the king had been some time privately married, was publicly declared queen of England. By this marriage the popish interest was strengthened, and that party made a strong push at Cranmer; but the king's affection for him was so immovable, that their endeavours proved abortive.

About this time, Robert Brocke, chaplain to the king, invented the method of making leaden pipes for conveying water under ground, without using solder. Robert Cooper, a goldsmith of London, was the first who made them, and put the invention in practice.

In the year 1541, much blood was shed on the scaffold, and many persons of different ranks were executed. The most illustrious of these victims was the aged countess of Salisbury, as the last of the royal race of the Plantagenets. This venerable matron had been attainted by parliament in 1539, and had been kept in prison from that time. Without regard to her sex, her age, or her royal descent, she was brought to a scaffold in the Tower, on the 27th of May, to be beheaded, where, though in her 70th year, she behaved with great spirit and magnanimity; when she was desired to lay her head upon the block, she obstinately refused, saying, 'I am no traitor; I have done nothing to deserve death; if you would have my head,' shaking her grey locks, 'you must get it as well as you can.' In consequence of this, she was rather butchered than beheaded.*

It is impossible to discover what provoked Henry to this act of cruelty; her only crime was that of having held a correspondence with her own son, cardinal Pole. But the truth is, we are much

* Herbert, p. 227.

better informed of the punishments than of the crimes of many eminent persons in this reign.

In this year a statute was passed, by which various streets of the city were ordered to be paved with stone, new conduits to be erected, and such as were falling into decay to be repaired; the lord mayor and aldermen were also invested with authority to put the act into execution, by levying the necessary assessments and punishing defaulters. The increasing population and importance of London were evident from the frequent acts of Parliament during this reign, which had for their object progressive improvements. The streets paved under this act were Aldgate High-street, as far as Whitechapel church, Chancery-lane,* High Holborn, Gray's Inn-lane, Shoe-lane, and Fetter-lane. And within three years afterwards, the improvement was extended to Whitecross-street, Chiswell-street, Grub-street, Shoreditch, Goswell-street, St. John's-street, Cow-cross, Wych-street, Holywell-street, by St. Clement Danes; the Strand, from Temple-bar to Strand-bridge; Petty France, Westminster; Water-lane, Fleet-street; Long-lane, West Smithfield; and Butcher-row, without Temple-bar: thoroughfares at that time much frequented. Water was conveyed into the city in additional streams from Hampstead-heath, St. Mary-le-bonne, Hackney, Muswell-hill, and the springs of St. Agnes-le Clair, Hoxton.†

We learn, from Hakluyt, that the merchants of London and Southampton traded to the Brazils in 1540 and 1542.

Archbishop Cranmer having prevailed on the king to grant a privilege for printing the Bible in English, the same was executed accordingly, and made its appearance about this time, under the following title: "The Bible in English of the largest and greatest volume, used and appointed by our sovereign prince, King Henry VIII. supreme head of the church and realm of England, to be frequented and used in every church within this his said realm, according to the tenor of his former injunctions given in that behalf: overseen and perused, at the command of the king's highness, by the reverend fathers in God, Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, and Nicholas, Bishop of Rochester. Printed by Richard Grafton, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, 1541."

In the year 1542, the house of commons having sent their sergeant at arms to demand the release of George Ferras, member for Plymouth, who had been arrested at the suit of one White, for two hundred marks, the sheriffs and their officers belonging to the Compter, then situate in Bread-street, assaulted the sergeant at arms, and

* That part of Chancery-lane now to be paved is thus described: 'From the bars beside the Rolls lately set up by the Lord Privy Seal, unto the said highway in Holborn. All the streets directed to be paved are said to be 'very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, as well for the king's subjects on horseback as on foot, and with carriages.'

† Hughson's London, i. 121.

broke his mace; for which they were ordered to attend the house; when, after a severe reprimand for their contempt, the sheriffs and White were committed prisoners to the Tower, and the arresting officers, and four others, to Newgate, where they were confined for a considerable time, till, by the interposition of the lord mayor, and the application of many friends, they were discharged by an order of the house

On the twelfth of February, in this year, Catharine Howard, late queen of England, and her confidant lady Jane Rochfort, were beheaded on a scaffold, erected within the Tower of London.

In the year 1543, there was a great mortality among the cattle, which occasioned an enormous increase in the price of meat; in consideration whereof, the lord mayor and common council made a sumptuary law to restrain luxurious feasting; wherein it was ordained, that the lord mayor should not have more than seven dishes at dinner or supper; the aldermen and sheriffs were limited to six, the sword-bearer to four, and the mayor's and sheriff's officers to three; upon penalty of forty shillings for every supernumerary dish.

It was likewise enacted, by the same authority, that neither the lord mayor, aldermen, nor sheriffs, should buy cranes, swans, or bustards, after the ensuing Easter, under the penalty of forty shillings for every bird so bought; but the purchaser was at liberty to clear himself by his own oath.

The parliament, which met in January of this year, resumed the consideration of the bad state of those parts of the metropolis which still remained unpaved and were become almost impassable, and made an act as follows: "Whereas, the streets named Whitecross-street, Chiswell-street, Golding-lane, Grub-street, Goswell-street, Long-lane, St. John-street, from the bars of Smithfield up to the pound, at the corner of the wall extending along the highway leading up to Islington; and also the street from the said bars to Cow-cross; Water-lane, in Fleet-street; the way without Temple-bar, leading westward, by and unto Clement's-inn gates and New-inn gates, to Drewry-place, in the county of Middlesex; and also one little lane stretching from the said way to the sign of the Bell, at Drewry-lane end; and the common-way leading through a certain place called Petit-France, from the bars of the west end of Tothill-street, at Westminster, unto the uttermost part of the west end of the said place called Petit-France; Bishopsgate-street, to and above Shoreditch-church; the Strand-bridge, and the way leading from the said bridge to Temple-bar; the lane called Foskue-lane, from the garden and tenement of the bishop of Litchfield, and the gardens and tenement called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strand-bridge, be very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, and very necessary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt savours, and an occasion of pestilence. For the amendment and reformation whereof" they are directed to be paved with stone, and a channel made in the midst of them, at the

charge of the ground landlords, ' in like manner and form as the streets of the city of London be paved.' And it was also enacted, ' That the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. of London, shall have power to inquire into, hear, and determine the defaults of paving and reparation of streets; and that any three justices in London, whereof the mayor to be one, may set fines upon such as do not pave and repair any street or lane in London, or the liberties thereof, to be levied by distress or action, &c. by the chamberlain, to the use of the mayor and commonalty of the said citie.' And further it was enacted, ' That the conduits of London should be made and repaired, for the better watering of the city and its liberties: and that the mayor and citizens should have power to bring water to the said conduits from Hampstead-heath, St. Mary-le-bone, Hackney, and Muswell-hill, upon their indemnifying the owners of lands for damages that might be done by the said water-courses, &c.'

By another act of parliament passed in this year, Wapping Marsh, in the county of Middlesex, is directed to be divided by certain persons assigned, or by any six of them. And Cornelius Vanderdelf, who, at his own charge, inned, imbanked, and recovered the same, being drowned, Richard Hill, of London, mercer, his assignee, shall have the one moiety thereof to him and his heirs, it having been before this time within the flux and tide of the Thames.

These two acts of parliament, with that passed in 1540, will enable us to form a tolerably correct idea of the suburbs of London at this period.

The plague raged so violently in London during this year, that a great number of the citizens fell victims to it, and the term was adjourned to St. Albans.

Sir John Allen, who had served the office of lord mayor in 1535, and was honoured with the rank of a privy-councillor to Henry the Eighth, died this year. By his will, he gave a rich collar of gold, to be worn by future lord mayors, and five hundred marks to be a stock for sea-coal; he also directed the rents of his lands, purchased of the king, to be distributed yearly to the poor in each ward for ever; besides many other liberal benefactions to the prisons, hospitals, lazar-houses, and the poor of other parts within two miles of the city. He was buried in a chapel belonging to St. Thomas of Acres, which he had built.

In the year 1545, the twelve city companies advanced the king twenty one thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds, six shillings and eight-pence, upon a mortgage of crown lands, towards the charges of his war with Scotland. This, however, being found insufficient, his majesty afterwards sent commissioners into the city to assess the Londoners, in an arbitrary manner, by way of benevolence. Alderman Richard Read not only objected to this illegal proceeding, but positively refused to pay the sum demanded of him; for which Henry, whose tyrannical spirit would endure no opposition, enrolled him as a foot soldier, and sent him to Scotland with

the army, where he was taken prisoner, and, after undergoing very severe hardships, was obliged to pay a considerable sum for his liberty.*

A proclamation, issued in this year for prohibiting 'certain bookes printed of newes of the prosperous successes of the king's ma'ties arms in Scotland,' carries the date of the first circulation of these vehicles of information to a much earlier period than has generally been assigned to it. Chalmers, in his life of Ruddiman, states the Gallo-Bellicum, a kind of State of Europe, or Annual Register, to have been the first English one, and the Venice Gazette, which is considered as the original, was circulated in manuscript till the end of the sixteenth century, as appears from a collection of them in the Magliabechian library at Florence; these, therefore, appear to have been the first printed newspapers ever circulated.

The proclamation states that, 'the king's most excellent majestie understanding that certain light persones, not regarding what they reported, wrote, or set forthe, had caused to be imprinted and divulged, certain newes of the prosperous successes of the king's majestie's army in Scotland, wherein, although the effect of the victory be indeed true, yet the circumstances in divers points were in some past over slenderly, in some parte untruly and amisse reported; his highness, therefore, not content to have anie such matters of so greate importance sett forthe to the slaunder of his captaines and ministers, nor to be otherwise reported than the truth was, straightlie chargeth and commandeth all manner of persones into whose hands anie of the said printed books should come, ymmediately after they should hear of this proclamation, to bring the same bookes to the lord mayor of London, or to the recorder, or some of the aldermen of the same, to the intent that they might suppresse and burn them, upon pain that every person keeping anie of the said bookes XXIIII hours after the making of this publication, suffer ymprisonment of his bodye, and be farther punished at the king's majestie's will and pleasure.'

This year the parliament passed an act, in which it was ordained, that every citizen and inhabitant within the city and liberty thereof should, for every ten shillings annual rent, pay the vicars of their respective parishes, one shilling and four-pence: and for every rent of twenty shillings, two shillings and nine-pence, and so on in proportion as the rents advanced. It was also enacted, that every person possessed of 400 marks in real and personal estate, was properly qualified to serve on the grand jury.

In the month of August this year, the citizens of London, at their own expense, raised and completely fitted out a regiment of foot, consisting of one thousand men, as a reinforcement to the army in France.

A peace being concluded between England and France, the

* Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

same was proclaimed in the city with great solemnity, on Whitsunday, 1646. On this occasion a general procession was made, 'before the which,' says Stow, 'was borne all the richest silver crosses in London, to wit, of every church one; then proceeded all the parish clearks, condocts, quiristers, and priests in London, with the quire of Paules, al of them in their richest copes, singing. Then the companies of the citie in their best liveries: the lord mayor, the aldermen, and sheriffs, in scarlet, &c. All these went from Paules church through Cheap and Cornhil, up to Leden hal, and so back again to Paules. And this was the last shew of the rich crosses and copes in London; for shortly after, they, with other church plate. were called into the king's treasury and wardrobe.'

Several persons suffered this year on account of their principles in religion; among whom was Mrs. Anne Askew, or Ascue, a gentlewoman of good birth and excellent education, who was well known to many persons at court. This lady, being convicted of denying the real presence in the sacrament, was condemned to the flames, and chose to suffer death rather than purchase pardon at the expense of abjuring her faith. The lord chancellor, who was a zealous papist, imagining that her resolution proceeded from the encouragement given her by persons of distinction about the court, who were friends to the Reformation, caused this poor woma to be put to the rack in prison, though already under sentence of death; and is even said to have assisted with his own hands in administering the torture, which was done in such a merciless manner, that almost all her bones were dislocated. This she bore, however, with amazing fortitude; nor could they extort a syllable from her in accusation of any one. At length, on the 16th of July, she was conveyed to the stake, and suffered with four men, condemned on the same account: Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, who had been imprisoned for the same offence, but saved his life by recanting, attended them to the place of execution, where he preached a sermon, reproaching them in the harshest terms for their obstinacy and heresy.

On the 21st of August, Claud Annibaut, ambassador extraordinary of France, arrived at London from Dieppe, and landed at the Tower wharf, where he was met by the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and conducted to the bishop's palace; and on his departure, after having sworn, in the name of his sovereign, to perform the articles of the peace, he was presented by the city with four large silver flagons, richly gilt, valued at one hundred and thirty-six pounds, besides wine and other costly presents.

Towards the end of the year, the duke of Norfolk, and his son, the earl of Surrey, were committed to the Tower, charged with treason; and on the 13th of January, 1547, the earl was brought to trial at Guildhall, before the lord mayor and a common jury; by whom he was found guilty, and received sentence of death: he was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 19th of January. His father being

a peer, the proceedings against him were obliged to wait the determination of parliament, by whom he was attainted; and the warrant for his execution was signed; but the king's death, which happened on the 28th of January, rendered it of no force; and it was not thought advisable that the commencement of the young king's reign should be followed immediately by the execution of the first nobleman of the land; for which reason his life was spared, but he remained in confinement during all this reign.

King Henry VIII. having dissolved the priory and old hospital of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, he, a short time before his death, founded it anew, and endowed it with the annual revenue of 500 marks, on condition that the city should pay an equal sum. The proposal being accepted, the new foundation was incorporated by the name of 'The hospital of the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, governors of the poor, called Little St. Bartholomew's, near West Smithfield.

CHAPTER IX.

History of London from the reign of Edward the Sixth to the accession of Elizabeth.

EDWARD VI. who succeeded to the crown by the demise of his father, was only in the ninth year of his age at his accession to the dominion of England; it was necessary, therefore, to choose a protector, who might exercise the regal power during his minority, to which high station the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, was chosen, and soon after created duke of Somerset.

On the 6th of February, the lord protector commenced the exercise of his high office, by knighting the young king in the presence of the lord mayor, and many other lords and gentlemen; immediately after which, the king, standing under his canopy of state, took the sword from the lord protector, and conferred the honour of knighthood on Henry Hoblethorn, the lord mayor; which was the first act of sovereignty done by him.

In this year, according to Howell, in his Londinopolis, the price of Malmsey wine, the only sweet wine then imported, and that by the Lombards alone, was but three halfpence the pint; for which he quotes the churchwarden's accounts of St. Andrew Undershaft, from which it appears that they had 'paid ten shillings for eighty pints of Malmsey, spent in the church.'

From the accession of Edward, the Reformation, which, in his father's life-time, was a monstrous medley of Protestantism and Catholicism, proceeded with firm and steady steps. In the Easter-

week of this year, the church service began to be read in English, in the king's chapel; and in September, commissioners were assembled in St. Paul's church to reform the superstitions of the old worship, among which the adoration of images held a prominent place. These were ordered to be taken out of the churches, which order was carried into effect in London, in November, by pulling down the rood in St. Paul's cathedral, with all the pictures and statues of saints in the different churches, and supplying their places with texts of Scripture calculated to show the fallacy of image worship. In addition to this, the parliament passed an act for permitting the laity to receive the sacrament in both kinds; the statutes against the Lollards and heresies were repealed; private masses were abolished; and bishops were to be elected by letters patent from the king, and to hold their courts in his name.

The combinations and conspiracies which were daily concerted by the journeymen and labourers, being found very detrimental to trade, the parliament, among other things, enacted, 'That if any artificers, workmen, or labourers, do conspire, covenant, or promise together, that they shall not make or do their work but at a certain price or rate, or shall not enterprise or take upon them to finish that work which another hath begun, or shall do but a certain work in a day, or shall not work but at certain hours or times; that then every person so conspiring, covenanting, or offending, being thereof convicted by witnesses, confession, or otherwise, shall forfeit for the first offence ten pounds, or have twenty days imprisonment; for the second offence, twenty pounds, or pillory; and for the third offence forty pounds, or to sit on the pillory and one ear cut off, besides being rendered infamous, and incapable of giving evidence upon oath.' In this act are included butchers, bakers, brewers, poulterers, cooks, &c. And all justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, &c. in their sessions, leets, and courts, have full power and authority to inquire, hear, and determine, all and singular offences against this statute, and to cause offenders to be punished.

In the year 1548, the march of the city watch was revived by sir John Gresham, the mayor. The procession received an additional splendor from three hundred light horsemen, which had been raised by the citizens to reinforce the king's army in Scotland.

On St. Peter's day, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a zealous Catholic, preached before the king at Whitehall. He had been warned not to speak of controversial subjects, and the answer he gave was moderate and satisfactory. But when in the pulpit he forgot his promises, and warmly supported the real presence in the sacrament. The effect of this ill-judged conduct was grossly indecent. Each party, although in the church, and before the king, cried out aloud, and with vehemence, to support or to insult the preacher; and, on his leaving the pulpit, the orator was taken to prison.

London was again visited by the plague in the month of July of this year, which carried off a great number of its inhabitants.

From Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, we learn, that in this year, wheat sold at six shillings and eight-pence per quarter; barley, malt, and rye, at five shillings; and pease and beans at four shillings. And, by an act of parliament for regulating the purveyors of the king's household, the rate of post horses is fixed at one penny per mile.

In the year 1549, at the instigation of archbishop Cranmer, encouragement was given to persecuted foreign Protestants, to come over and settle in England, where they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; and, in return, enriched the nation by the manufactures they brought with them. They settled principally in London, Southwark, Canterbury, and other great towns in that part of the country.

The protector (the duke of Somerset) having been guilty of some acts of imprudence, his enemies took the advantage of it, and several of the members of the council entered into a cabal against his person. They met at Ely-house, and taking the whole authority into their own hands, acted independent of him. They sent injunctions to the magistrates of London and the lieutenant of the Tower, to obey no orders from the protector, but to keep the city and Tower in a state of defence, and at the same time demanded a supply of five hundred men. The magistrates so far agreed with their request, as to order the several companies to mount guard alternately, but would not proceed any farther without consulting the common-council; for which purpose they were summoned by the lord mayor to attend next day at Guildhall.

The protector, who was at this time with the king at Hampton-court, receiving advice of these proceedings, was so intimidated, that he retired with his majesty to Windsor, and began strongly to fortify the castle.

The common-council meeting at the appointed time, a letter was produced from his majesty to the city, wherein he demanded five hundred men, completely armed, to be immediately sent to Windsor. Robert Brook, the recorder, opposed this, and, on the contrary, earnestly requested them to supply the lords with that number, as it would enable them to bring the protector to an account, and thereby redress the grievances of the people. He was heard by the court with great attention, but was interrupted by George Stadlow, a member of the common-council; who, after a very elaborate harangue, in which he recited the bad consequences of the city's joining the barons against king Henry III. concluded thus: 'Wherefore, as this aid is required of the king's majesty, it is our duty to hearken thereto, for he is our high shepherd, rather than unto the lords; and yet I should not wish the lords to be clearly shaken off; but they with us and we with them may join in suit, and make our most humble petition to the king's majesty, that it would please his majesty to hear such complaint against the government of the lord protector, as may be justly alleged and proved;

that neither shall the king, nor yet the lords, have cause to seek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them.'

This plain and honest speech had so good an effect, that the common council broke up without coming to any resolution in that affair; wherefore. the lord mayor and aldermen held a conference with the lords in the star-chamber, at the conclusion of which sir Philip Hobby was dispatched with a letter of credence, wherein they most humbly implored his majesty to give credit to all the said sir Phillip should declare to him in their names; which message he delivered in a very emphatical manner; and, though in the presence of the protector, he bitterly inveighed against his previous proceedings, insomuch that the protector was not only commanded instantly to withdraw, but soon after committed to Beauchamp's tower in the castle; from whence he was brought to London, and, in a kind of triumph, rode down Holborn between the earls of Southampton and Huntingdon, followed by three hundred noblemen and gentlemen on horseback. At Holborn-bridge, certain of the aldermen attended on horseback, and the streets through which he passed were lined with armed citizens; and the upper end of Soper-lane (now Queen-street), in Cheapside, he was received by the lord mayor, recorder, and sheriffs, with a numerous attendance of halberdiers, who conducted him to the Tower of London.

The earl of Warwick, who had taken the lead in depriving the protector of his power, retained the chief management of public affairs for some time; but Somerset was at length restored to liberty, and took his place again at the council. The fine which he was to have paid for his misconduct, was also remitted by the king.

House-rents must have been very low at this time; for archbishop Nicholson, in his Historical Library, says, 'a house, in the very precincts of king Edward VI.'s court, in Channel-row, Westminster, was let to no less a person than the comptroller of that king's household, for the yearly rent of thirty shillings.'

In the year 1550, the Thames at London bridge was observed to ebb and flow three times within nine hours, occasioned by a strong easterly wind repelling the ebb before it could perform its natural course.

Mary, queen of Scotland and dowager of France, (after the demise of the king her husband), in her return from France through England was sumptuously entertained at the bishop of London's palace, by the mayor and citizens for four days successively; and, at her departure from hence, was attended by the prime nobility with the utmost magnificence. On which occasion, the duke of Northumberland had in Cheapside one hundred men on horseback, armed with javelins, forty whereof were dressed in black velvet, with velvet hats and feathers, and golden chains about their necks; and next to whom stood one hundred and twenty horsemen belonging to the earl of Pembroke, with javelins, hats, and feathers; then

one hundred gentlemen and yeomen belonging to the lord treasurer, with javelins; which three bodies of horse reached from Gutter-lane end in Cheapside, to Birchin-lane, in Cornhill; and, being attended by all the nobility from Shoreditch church, she was thence conducted by the sheriffs of London to Waltham.

In this year a captain Bodenham made a trading voyage to the isles of Candia and Chios, in the Levant, from whence he loaded home with wines &c. and returned in the following year.

The first parliament in Edward's reign having given all the lands and possession of colleges, chantries, &c. to the king, the different companies of London redeemed those which they had held for the payment of priests' wages, obits, and lights, at the price of 20,000l. and applied the rents arising from them to charitable purposes.

The butchers of London having greatly enhanced the price of meat, owing to a combination between the graziers and salesmen, the king and council, to restrain the like imposition for the future, fixed the prices of cattle sold in the different seasons, in the following manner:—

From Midsummer to Michaelmas.

	£.	s.	d.
The best fat ox, to be sold at	2	5	0
The best steers and runts	1	5	0
The best heifers and kine	1	2	0

From Hallowmass to Christmas.

The best fat ox	2	6	8
The best steers and runts	1	6	8
The best heifers and kine	1	3	0

From Christmas to Shrovetide.

The best fat ox	2	8	4
The best steers and runts	1	8	4

From Shearing time to Michaelmas.

The best fat wether, at	0	4	4
If shorn	0	3	0
The best fat ewe	0	2	6
If shorn	0	2	0

From Michaelmas to Shrovetide.

The best fat wether	0	4	4
If shorn	0	3	0

A great dearth happening the same year, the following prices of provisions were also fixed by the king and council:

	s.	d.
White wheat, the quarter, at	13	0
Red ditto	11	0
All other sorts of ditto	8	0
The best malt, the quarter	10	0
Second sort ditto	8	0
The best barley, the quarter	9	0
Second sort	7	0
The best rye, the quarter	7	0
Second sort	6	0
The best beans and peas, the quarter	5	0
Second sort ditto	3	0
Oats, the quarter	4	0
The best sweet butter, the pound at	0	1
Essex barrelled butter, the pound	0	0¾
All sorts of other barrelled butter	0	0½
Essex cheese, the pound, at	0	0¾
All other sorts of ditto	0	0½

In April, 1550, the king, in consideration of the sum of 1,147*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* granted various lands and tenements in Southwark and Lambeth to the city of London, together with 'all that our lordship and manor of Southwark, with their rights, members, and appurtenances in the said county of Surrey, late pertaining to the late monastery of Bermondsey in the said county: and all messuages, houses, buildings, barns, stables, dove-houses, ponds, pools, springs, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, commons, waste-street, void ground-rent, reversions, services, court leet, view of frankpledge, chattels, waifs, strays, free warren, and all other rights, profits, commodities, emoluments, and hereditaments whatsoever.' Also the right of holding four markets there weekly, a three days fair, &c.

On St. Barnaby's day, the high altar at St. Paul's church was pulled down, and a table placed where the altar stood, with a veil drawn beneath, and steps; and, on the next Sunday, a communion was sung at the same table; and, shortly after, all the altars in London were taken down, and tables placed in their rooms.*

In 1551, the sweating-sickness broke out again in London, and carried off a great number of people: 'eight hundred,' says the above chronicler, 'died in the first week; seven honest householders did sup together; and before eight of the clock in the next morning, six of them were dead!'

The king being greatly distressed for money, had recourse to the bank of Anthony Fugger and company of Antwerp, of whom he borrowed a large sum of money, and as a security for the payment, the corporation of London were bound jointly with him,

* Howe's Chronicle.

and Edward gave a recognizance to sir Andrew Jud, the mayor, to indemnify the city.

In consequence of an act of common-council passed this year, a postern gate was made in the wall, on the north side of the dissolved cloister of the Gray Friars, now Christ's Hospital, to pass through to the hospital of St. Bartholomew.

The time was at length come that the eyes of the English nation were to be opened to the immense injury sustained by permitting the German merchants of the Steel-yard to enjoy such advantages in the duty on the exportation of English cloths, which now began to be more generally seen and felt, as the foreign commerce of England became more diffused.

In 1552, the privy council, upon the pressing remonstrances of the English merchant-adventurers, inquired into the injuries sustained by native traders, in consequence of their immunities; and after mature consideration, determined that their privileges, liberties, and franchises, should be resumed by the king; allowing them, however, the liberty of traffic in as ample a manner as any merchant-strangers have it. The difference in the duty being twenty per cent. instead of one per cent. their ancient duty, had such an effect, that, according to Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, our own merchants in this year shipped forty thousand cloths for Flanders.

The government being apprehensive of a disturbance in the city, through the approaching trial of the duke of Somerset, a royal precept was sent to the mayor, commanding him strictly to enjoin all the citizens to have an eye over their respective families, and likewise to cause each householder to provide a man completely armed, but not to stir abroad till called for. The mayor was also enjoined to provide a strong guard of citizens in each ward. All which being carefully performed, the peace and quiet of the city was thereby effectually preserved.

On the 1st of December, the duke was conveyed by water to Westminster hall, where he was arraigned for treason and felony, 'and after tried by the peeres, the nobles there present, which did acquit him of the treason, but found him giltie of the felonie.—The people in the hall supposing he had beene cleerely quit when they saw the axe of the Tower put downe, made such a shrike, casting up of their caps, &c. that their crie was heard to the Long Acre, beyond Charing Crosse.'* The duke was beheaded on the 22nd of January, 1552, on Tower-hill, which, by 'seven a clocke was covered with a great multitude repairing from all parts of the citie, as well as out of the suburbs.'—'The duke being ready to have been executed, suddenly the people were driven into a great feare, and some ran one way, some another; many fell into the Tower ditch, and they which tarried thought

* Stow's Ann. p. 1325.

some pardon had been brought; some said it thundered; some that a great rumbling was in the earth under them, that the ground moved; but there was no such matter, more than the trampling of the feete of the people of a certaine hamlet, which were warned to be there by seven of the clock, to give their attendance on the lieutenant,'* but who did not arrive till the duke was already on the scaffold, 'when the foremost began to run, crying to their fellows to follow close after; which suddenness of these men, being weaponed with bills and halberds, thus running, caused the people which first saw them to think some power had come to have rescued the duke from execution, and therefore, to crie 'away, away.'†

On the 1st of November in the same year, 'being the feast of All Saints,' the book of Common Prayer was first used 'in Paule's church, and the like through the whole citie.' On this occasion, bishop Ridley preached a sermon in his rochet only, 'without coape or vestment.'‡

About this time a statute was made for regulating the number of taverns and wine vaults. Its preamble states that it was enacted 'for the avoiding of many inconveniences, much evil rule, and common resort to misruled persons, used and frequented in many taverns of late newly set up, in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places, both in London and other towns and villages.'

By it the prices of wines are fixed thus: Gascony and Guienne wines at eight-pence per gallon; Rochelle wines at four-pence; and no other sorts of wine to be sold higher than twelve-pence per gallon, on forfeiture of five pounds. No taverns are to be kept for retailing of wines, unless licensed, and the number of them is not to exceed forty in London and three in Westminster; and no wine to be drank in any of these taverns.

The citizens of London having purchased of the king the manor of Southwark, with all its appurtenances, they became possessed of a hospital dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle; which being greatly decayed, they repaired and enlarged the same at a considerable expense, for the reception of poor, sick, and helpless objects. The king incorporated the lord mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, governors of the hospital, together with those of Christ and Bridewell.

King Edward VI. also, but a short time before his death, founded Christ's Hospital, in the Grey-friars' convent, for the relief and education of young and helpless children; and incorporated the governors by the title of 'the mayor, commonalty and citizens of the city of London, governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods of the hospitals of Edward VI. king of England, &c.' He also gave the old palace of Bridewell to the city, for the lodging

* Stow's Ann. p. 1226. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid, p. 1028.

of poor way-faring people, the correction of vagabonds and disorderly persons, and for finding them work.

The city having appointed Christ's Hospital for the education of poor children, and St. Thomas's in Southwark, for the maimed and diseased, the king formed these charitable foundations into a corporation; as appears by a charter granted for that purpose, wherein it is declared as follows:

'And, that our intention may take the better effect, and that the lands, revenues, and other things granted for the support of the said hospitals, houses, and poor people, may be the better governed, for the establishment of the same, we do will and ordain, that the hospitals aforesaid, when they shall be so founded, erected, and established, shall be named, called, and stiled, 'the hospitals of Edward VI. of England, of Christ, Bridewell, and St. Thomas the apostle; and that the aforesaid mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, and their successors, shall be stiled, the governors of Bridewell, Christ, and St. Thomas the apostle; and that the same governors, in deed, and in fact, and in name, shall be hereafter one body corporate and politic of themselves for ever. And we will that the same governors shall have perpetual succession.'

On the 6th of July, 1553, Edward VI. died at Greenwich, and was buried in the chapel of his grandfather, at Westminster, with great funeral pomp, and the unfeigned mournings of an affectionate people.

During his illness, his crafty adviser Northumberland had persuaded him to make a will, setting aside his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and leaving the crown to lady Jane Grey, on pretence that this was necessary for the quiet of his people, and the security of their newly adopted religion. But sensible that it could not be carried into effect without the co-operation of the city of London, he concealed the king's death for some days; and on the 8th of July, the lord mayor received an order to attend the council at Greenwich, and to bring with him six aldermen, six merchants of the staple, and as many merchant-adventurers, to whom, under an oath of secresy, the death of the king was communicated, and also the choice he had made of a successor.

Accordingly, on the 10th, lady Jane was received into the Tower of London as queen; and in the afternoon, proclamation was made through the city of the death of king Edward VI. and that he had ordained by letters patent that the lady Jane should be heir to the crown of England.

Some preparations were made for supporting this nomination by force of arms; but it being found that the sense of the nation was against disturbing the succession, the council met at Baynard's Castle, on the 19th of July; from whence, having consulted the lord mayor, aldermen, and recorder, they all proceeded in cavalcade to Cheapside, where they proclaimed the princess Mary,

daughter of Henry VIII. queen of England; after which they returned in the same order to St. Paul's cathedral, where Te Deum was sung.

Soon afterwards the duke of Northumberland, with most of his family, the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Huntingdon, and other supporters of lady Jane, were sent prisoners to the Tower, and on the third of August, the new queen rode into London in triumph. Almost immediately afterwards all the opposers of the late reformation, who had been in confinement, were released, the Catholic bishops were restored to their sees, and various preliminary measures were taken to re-establish papal supremacy.

The adherents of the Roman church were so confident of the queen's attentions that they every where began to inveigh publicly against the Protestants. So early as the tenth day after Mary's entry into London, one Bourne, chaplain to bishop Bonner, preached a sermon at 'Paule's crosse,' in which he uttered such injurious insinuations against the memory of the late king Edward, that the mass of the people were greatly offended, and the preacher would have fallen a victim to his temerity, had it not been for the interference of Bradford and Rogers, two popular Protestant ministers, by whom Bourne was escorted in safety, though with difficulty, into St. Paul's school, after having had a dagger thrown at him with great violence, and with so good an aim, that it struck 'a side poste' of the pulpit. Soon after Bradford and Rogers were committed to prison: 'they could repress the rage of the populace in a moment,' said the queen, 'doubtless they set it on.' On the following Sunday (August the 20th) Dr. Watson, chaplain to bishop Gardiner, preached at Paul's Cross, by the queen's appointment; and, for 'feare of the like tumulte, as had been the Sundaie last past,' he was attended by several lords of the council, and a guard of 200 halberts. The city companies had also 'been warned by the maior to be present in their liveries.'*

On the 22d of August, the duke of Northumberland, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates were beheaded on Tower-hill, for the part they had taken in the elevation of lady Jane Grey. On the first of September, a prest or forced loan, of 20,000*l.* was demanded of the city for the queen's use, 'which summe was levied by the alderman and 120 commoners.'† About the middle of the month bishop Latimer and archbishop Cranmer were sent to the Tower; and, on the twenty-seventh, the queen came to the Tower by water, accompanied by the lady Elizabeth, her sister, and other ladies, whilst the necessary preparations were made for her coronation. Three days afterwards she rode through the city in great pomp to Westminster, and on the first of October she

* Stow's Ann. p. 1040. † Ibid. p. 1043.

was crowned in Westminster abbey, by the bishop of Winchester, 'who forgot not one formality,' says Rapin, that was 'practised before the Reformation.'

Stow's description of the pageant is curious: 'The last of September,' says he, 'queene Mary rode through the city of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tissue, drawne with six horses, al trapped with the like cloth of tissue. She sate in a gowne of purple velvet furred with powdered ermine, having on her head a caule of cloth of tinsell, beset with pearle and stone, and above the same upon her head, a round circlet of gold beset so richly with pretious stones, that the value thereof was inestimable; the same caule and circlet being so massy and ponderous, that she was faine to beare up her head with her hand, and the canopy was borne over her chariot. Before her rode a number of gentlemen and knights, then judges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the councill; after whom followed the knyghts of the Bathe, 13 in number, in their robes; the Bi. of Winchester lord chancellor, and the marquesse of Winchester lord high treasurer: next came the duke of Norffolke, and after him the erle of Oxford, who bare the sword before hir: the maior of London, in a gowne of crimosin velvet, bare the sceptre of gold, &c. After the Q. chariot, sir Edward Hastings led her horse in his hand: then came another chariot, having a covering all of cloth of silver al white, and six horses trapped with the like; therein sate the lady Elizabeth and the lady Anne of Cleve; then ladies and gentlewomen riding on horses trapped with red velvet, and their gowns and kirtles likewise of red velvet; after them followed two other chariots covered with red satin, and their horses betrapped with the same, and certaine gentlewomen between every of the said chariots riding in crimosin satin, their horses betrapped with the same: the numbers of the gentlewomen so riding were 46, besides them in the chariots. At Fenchurch was a costly pageant, made by the Genoways: at Grace Church corner there was another pageant made by the Easterlings. At the upper end of Grace-streete there was another pageant made by the Florentines very high, on the top whereof there stood four pictures; and in the midst of them, and most highest, there stood an angell all in greene, with a trumpet in his hand; and when the trumpetter, who stood secretly in the pageant, did sound his trump, the angel did put his trump to his mouth, as though it had been the same that had sounded, to the great marvelling of many ignorant persons: this pageant was made with three thorow-fares, or gates, &c. The conduit on Cornehill ran wine; and beneath the conduit a pageant made at the charges of the city; and another at the great conduit in Cheape, and a fountaine by it running wine. The Standart in Cheape new painted, with the waites of the city thereof playing. The crosse in Cheap new washed and burnished,

One other pageant at the little conduit in cheape, next to Paules, made by the citie, where the aldermen stoode: and when the Q. came against them, the Recorder made a short proposition to her; and then the chamberlaine presented to her, in the name of the maior and the city, a purse of cloth of gold, and 1000 marks of gold in it: then she rode foorth, and in Paule's church-yard, against the schoole, one M. Heywod sate in a pageant under a vine, and made to her an oration in Latin and English. Then was there one Peter, a Dutchman, stoode on the weathercock of Paules steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stoode sometime on the one foote, and shook the other, then he kneeled on his knees to the great marvel of all people. He had made two scaffolds under him, one above the crosse, having torches and streamers set on it; and one other over the bole of the crosse, likewise set with streamers and torches, which could not burn, the wind was so great: the said Peter had 16 pound 13 shilling and four-pence given him by the citie, for his costs and paines, and all his stuffe. Then was there a pageant made against the deane of St. Paules gate, where the queristers of Paules played on vialles, and song. Ludgate was newely repaired, painted, and richly hanged, with minstrelles playing and singing there: then there was another pageant at the conduite in Fleete-streete; and the Temple-barre was newly painted and hanged.—And thus she passed to Whitehall at Westminster, where she took her leave of the L. maior, giving him great thanks for his pains, and the city for their cost. On the morrow, which was the first day of October, the queene went by water to the olde pallace, and there remained till about eleven of the clocke, and then went on foote upon blew cloth, being railed on either side unto St. Peter's church, where she was solemnly crowned and anointed by the bishop of Winchester; which coronation, and other ceremonies and solemnities then used according to the olde custome, was not fully ended until it was nigh feure of the clocke at night that she returned from the church; before whom was then borne three swords sheathed, and one naked. The great service that day done in Westminster-hall at dinner by divers noble men, would aske long time to write, The lord maior of London and twelve citizens kept the high cupboard of plate as butlers; and the queene gave to the maior for his fee a cup of gold with a cover, waying seaventeene ounces.'*

The proposed marriage between Mary and Philip of Spain, was announced to the council in the beginning of 1554; and the day after, the lord mayor and aldermen were sent for to attend the court, and to bring with them forty of the principal commoners, to whom the lord chancellor declared the queen's intention, requiring them to behave like good subjects on the occasion.

* Stow's Ann. p. 1043-45.

As soon as this intention was made public, the nation took the alarm, and its discontent was expressed so openly, that the government thought it necessary to provide against the probable consequences of the ferment. Nor were these precautions useless, for in a very short time intelligence arrived from several counties that the people had taken up arms. In this conjuncture the privy council ordered the lord mayor to exert himself for the preservation of the peace in the city, and, upon advice that sir Thomas Wyat was in arms, in Kent, they directed that the city should be put in a posture of defence.

In obedience to this command, the mayor and aldermen forthwith ordered a strong guard to be kept in every ward, and at every gate of the city, not only for preventing any sudden attack, but likewise for hindering a rising of the citizens in favour of the said Wyat.

Soon after, the lord treasurer came to Guildhall, to solicit in the queen's name for a supply of five hundred men, to march against Wyat; which were got ready with such an incredible expedition, that the very next day, under the conduct of Alexander Brett, an experienced officer, they were sent by water to Gravesend, where they joined the duke of Norfolk, who thereupon began his march to Rochester, to dispossess Wyat thereof. Upon his approach to the city, he dispatched Norroy king at arms, with an offer of a general pardon to Wyat and his men upon their submission: which being rejected, he advanced to attack the bridge; but Brett, the commander of the Londoners, drawing his sword, turned to his men, and addressed himself to them after this manner:

'Gentlemen: Nothing can be more barbarous and unjust, than for us to fight against our friends and countrymen, especially considering, that they are engaged in defence of the rights and liberties of our dear country, in opposition to the proud and imperious Spaniard; from whom, if the intended match succeeds, we can expect no other favour, that that (if it may be called so) of becoming their slaves; therefore, as that worthy patriot sir Thomas Wyat has laudably undertaken to protect and prevent us from being imposed upon by those lordly foreigners, I am humbly of opinion, that, instead of opposing, we ought, in duty to our country to join him, for the more easily obtaining so salutary an end.'

This speech met with such a reception among his followers, that they not only instantly cried out 'a Wyat, a Wyat,' but also turned their ordnance against the other part of their army; whereby Norfolk and many of his principal officers were so greatly intimidated, that they fled in the utmost precipitation, leaving their ordnance and ammunition, together with all their equipage, a prey to Wyat; who, upon this unexpected turn of affairs, marched the day after towards London, where advice arriving of his being at Deptford, the city was immediately thrown into the

greatest commotion, insomuch that not only the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs and citizens had recourse to arms, but likewise (being Term time) the judges sat, and counsel pleaded, in Westminster-hall, in armour.

'By this time was Wyat in Kent-streete, and so by St. George's church into Southwarke. Himself and part of his company came in good array down Bermondsey-streete, and they were suffered peaceably to enter Southwarke without repulse, or any stroke stricken, either by the inhabitants or of any other: yet was there many men of the countrey in the innes raised and brought thither by the lorde William and other, to have cause against the said Wyat, but they all joyned themselves to the Kentish men, and the inhabitants with their best entertained them. Immediately upon the said Wyat's comming, he made proclamation, that no souldier should take any thing, but that he should pay for it, and this his comming was to resist the Spanish king, &c. Notwithstanding, they forthwith made havocke of the bishop of Winchester's goods, victuals, or whatsoever, not leaving so muche as one locke of a doore, nor a booke in his gallery or library uncut, or unrent into pieces, in his house of that borough.'*

The queen, in this general confusion, came to the city, and repairing to Guildhall, was attended by the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and several of the city companies in their formalities; to whom she addressed herself to the following purport:

'In my owne person I am come unto you, to tell you that which yourselves already doe see and know; I mean the traiterous and seditious number of the Kentish rebels that are assembled against us and you: their pretence, as they say, is to resist a marriage between us and the prince of Spain. Of all their plots, pretended quarrels and evil-contrived articles, you have been made privy; since which time our council have resorted to the rebels, demanding the cause of their continued enterprise; by whose answers the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrel, or rather a cloake to cover their pretended purposes against our religion; for, swarving from their former articles, they now manifestly bewray the inward treason of their hearts, most arrogantly demanding the possession of our person, the keeping of our Tower, and not only the placing and displacing of our counsellors, but also to use them and us at their pleasures; what I am, loving subjects, you right well know, your queene, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realme, and to the lawes of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your allegiance and obedience unto me; and that I am the right and true inheritor to the English crown, I not only take all Chris-

* Stow's Ann. 1049.

tendome to witness, but also your acts of parliaments confirming the same.

'My father, as you all know, possessed the regal estate by right of inheritance, which now, by the same right, is descended unto me: to him you alwayes shewed yourselves both faithful and loving subjects, as to your liege lord and king, and therefore I doubt not, but you will shew yourselves so to me his daughter; which if you doe, then may you not suffer any rebel to usurpe the government of our person, or interpose our estate, especially so presumptuous a traitor as this Wyat hath shewed himself to be; who most certainly, as he hath abused our ignorant subjects to be adherent to his traiterous quarrel, so doth he intend by the colour of the same to subdue the lawes to his will, and to give scope to the rascal and forlorne persons, to make general havocke and spoile of your goods.

'And this I further say unto you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally a mother loveth her children, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a prince and governour may as naturally love their subjects, as the mother doth her child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your soveraigne lady and queene, doe as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you; and I, thus loving you, cannot but thinke, that you as heartily and faithfully love me againe; and so, this love bound together in the knot of concord, we shall be able, I doubt not, to give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

'Now, as concerning my intended marriage, you shall understand, that I entered not into the treaty thereof without the advice of our privy council, yea, and by the assent of those to whom my father committed his trust, who have so considered the great commodities that may thereof ensue, as they not only have thought it very honourable, but also expedient both for the wealth of our realme, and also of our loving subjects.

'But as touching myself, I assure you, I am not so desirous of wedding, neither am I so precisely wedded to my will, that either for mine own pleasure I will chuse where I list, or else so amorous, as needs I must have one; for I thanke God, to whom be the praise, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt not but, with God's grace, to be able to live so still.

'But if, as my progenitors have done before, it might please God that I might leave some fruit of my body to be your governour, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also I know, it would be to your great comfort; and certainly, if either I did know or thinke, that this marriage should either turne to the danger or loss of any of you, my loving subjects, or to the detriment of any part of the royal estate of this English realme, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry, whilst I lived; and in the word of a queene, I promise and assure

you, if it shall not probably appeare before the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commodity of the whole realme, that then I will abstaine, not only from this marriage, but also from any other.

'Wherefore, good subjects, plucke up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast with your lawful prince against these rebels, both ours and yours, and fear them not, for I assure you, I do not, and will leave you my lord Howard and my lord treasurer, to be assistant with my lord maior, for the safeguard of the city from spoile and sackage, which is the only scope of this rebellious company.'

As the queen, on an information that Wyat had many friends in London, had joined the lord Howard as an assistant to the lord mayor, they unanimously and assiduously set about the defence of the city. In the mean time, Wyat on the third of February arriving with his army in Southwark, he was joyfully received, and plentifully supplied with all sorts of necessaries for his men; but instead of being admitted into London, according to his expectation, the gates were shut against him, and the drawbridge cut down; and the mayor and sheriffs in armour riding up and down the streets, commanded all shops to be immediately shut, and the citizens forthwith to appear in arms, to be ready upon all emergencies. Wyat, highly enraged a this unexpected opposition, raised a battery of two guns, in order to batter the city; but, considering that the destruction of London would rather irritate than oblige the citizens to a compliance, he changed his resolution, and marched against Kingston, in order to pass the river Thames over the bridge at that place. Wyat, on his way thither, met one Dorrell, a merchant of London, whom he desired to remember him to his fellow-citizens, and to acquaint them, that as they had denied them entrance, and rejected liberty when offered, they deserved no pity when under the cruellest treatment and oppression that strangers could inflict.

The same day, about four in the afternoon, Wyat arrived at Kingston; when finding the bridge broke down to prevent his passage, and the adverse bank guarded by two hundred men, he instantly played upon them with two pieces of ordnance; which had so good an effect, that they were soon compelled to exchange their post for a place of greater security; whereupon, he caused divers sailors to swim across the Thames, to bring over the barges that lay on the other side; which, being performed without opposition, he repaired the bridge with an admirable celerity, and passed both his army and ordnance over it in the night following. He then proceeded towards London, where, had he arrived before day-light, it is probable that he would have obtained possession of the city, as many of his friends were expecting him, and as it was not till about five in the morning that the queen was informed

by a scout that he had crossed the Thames, and was already at Brentford: which sodaine newes,' says Stow, 'made all the courte wonderfully afraide.' The drums, however, immediately beat to arms, and the queen's troops were ordered to rendezvous in St. James's-fields; and this they were enabled to do in sufficient time, for the carriage of one of Wyat's guns breaking down on Turnham green, he most imprudently ordered a general halt till it was repaired. The delay was fatal: Wyat had acted against the opinion of his officers, and several of them deserted him. Sir George Harper, who had been principally instrumental in bringing over the Londoners under Brett, was of this number; and, posting to London, he informed the earl of Pembroke that it was Wyat's intention to march through Westminster, and enter the city at Ludgate. The earl immediately took the necessary precautions; and he now determined to let the insurgents entangle themselves in the streets before he gave them battle.

'Wyat hearing that the earl of Pembroke was come into the fields, he staide at Knightsbridge until day, his men being very wearie with travell of that night and the day before, and also partly feebled and faint, having received small sustenance since their coming out of Southwarke. There was no small adoo in London, and likewise the Tower made great preparation of defence. By ten of the clocke, the earl of Pembroke had set his troupe of horsemen on the hill in the high waie above the new bridge, over and above St. James: his footemen were set in two battels, somewhat lower, and nearer Charing crosse, at the lane turning downe by the bricke wall from Islington-ward, where he had set also certain other horsemen, and he had planted his ordnance upon the hill side. In the meane season, Wyat and his company planted his ordinance upon a hill beyond Saint James,* almost over against the parke corner, and himselfe, after a few words spoken to his souldiers, came downe the old lane on foote, hard by the court gate at Saint James, with four or five ancients, his men marching in good array: Cuthbert Vaughan, and two ancients, turned down towards Westminster. The earl of Pembroke's horsemen hovered all this while without mooving, until all was passed by saving the taile, upon which they did set and cut off; the other marched forward in array, and never staid or returned to the aide of their taile: the great ordinance shot off freshly on both sides. Wyat's ordinance overshot the troupe of horsemen; the queenes ordinance, one piece strake three of Wyat's company in a ranke upon the head, and slaying them, strake through the wall into the parke. More harm was not done by the great shot of neither partie. The queene's whole battaile of footemen standing still, Wyat passed along by the wall

* This must have been Hay Hill, on which Wyat's head was afterwards set upon a pole.

towards Charing-crosse, where the saide horsmen that were there set upon part of them, but was soone forced backe.'*

At Charing cross, Wyat was attacked by sir John Gage, with nearly 1000 men, yet he quickly repulsed him, and obliged him to seek shelter within the gates of Whitehall palace. 'At this repulse many cryed 'Treason' in the court; and there was running and crying out of ladies and gentlewomen, shutting of doores and windowes, and such a shriking and noise, as was wonderfull to heare.'† In the panic spread through the queen's forces by this repulse, Wyat reached Ludgate without further opposition, though he had to pass 'along by a great company of harnessed men, which stoode on both sides the streetes, and his men going not in any good order or array.'

At Ludgate, Wyat attempted to gain admission, but the opportunity was lost; and the lord William Howard, who defended the gate, said, 'Avant, traitor, thou shalt not come in here!' Wyat, whose easy credulity had led him to imagine that it was requisite only for him to show himself to gain admittance, now mused awhile 'upon a stall over against the Bell Savadge Gate, and at the last seeing he could not get into the city, and being deceived of the aydes he hoped for, he turned him back in array towards Charing-crosse.' his aim most probably was to rejoin his ordnance; but retreat now was impracticable, for the queen's troops had closed in upon him, and Pembroke's horse intercepted his return. His men would have forced their way, and the fight had already begun, when Clarencieux, king at arms pressed forward, and entreated him to save the blood of his soldiers by submission: 'perchance,' said the herald, 'you may find the queen mercifull, and the rather, if ye stint so great a bloudshed as here is like to be: the day is sore against you, and in resisting you can get no good.'‡ Wyat felt the herald's eloquence, and presently surrendered to sir Maurice Berkeley, who, being on horseback, immediately 'bade him leape up behind him,' and in that manner carried him to the court at Whitehall. 'Then,' continues the annalist, 'was taking of men on all sides; and it is said that in this conflict one pikeman, setting his backe to the wall at St. James, kept seventeene horsemen off him a great time, but at the laste was slaine.'§ In the afternoon, Wyat and his principal officers were conveyed prisoners to the Tower; where also many of his partizans were imprisoned within a few days.

The suppression of this revolt was followed by a dreadful scene of sanguinary triumph. Even bigotry itself had hitherto respected the youth of lady Jane Grey, who was scarcely seventeen, and whose only real crime was an imprudent submission to a parent's will; but she was now devoted to death with her husband, lord

* Stow's Ann. p. 1051.
† Ibid. p 1052.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.

Guildford Dudley, and both of them were beheaded on the same day, February 12th, the former on Tower-green, the latter on Tower-hill. Eleven days afterwards, the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane's father, was also decapitated.

On the 14th and 15th of February, about 'fifty of Wyat's faction were hanged on twenty paire of gallowes made for that purpose in divers places about the citie.'* On the 18th, several more were executed in different parts of Kent; and on the 22d about 400 more were led with halters round their necks to the Tilt-yard at Westminster, and were there pardoned by the queen, 'who looked forth of her gallery.'† The trial of Wyat was deferred for some weeks, through the expectations of Mary's council that the hope of pardon might induce him to accuse his more secret supporters; and it was said that he charged the princess Elizabeth, and Courteney, earl of Devonshire, with being privy to his intended rising. It seems probable, however, that this was only a scheme of the queen's to compass the ruin of the princess, and of the earl, whose attentions to her sister, and neglect of herself, had long excited her jealousy and hatred. They were both committed to the Tower in March, and underwent a strict examination, yet not a shadow of crime could be proved against them; and Wyat himself, who was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 11th of April, solemnly absolved them from any knowledge of his design, whilst upon the scaffold, and at the point of death.'‡

Five days after Wyat's execution, sir Nicholas Throckmorton was brought to trial as an accomplice, in Guildhall, but the jury acquitted him; which so enraged the queen's council, that in defiance of all justice, they commanded the jurors to appear before them at an hour's warning, and fined each of them 500*l.* On the 25th of April, the lord Thomas Grey, uncle to lady Jane, was beheaded on Tower-hill. On the 18th of May, William Thomas, esq. who had been clerk of the council, was 'hanged, headed, and quartered' at Tyburn. He was one of the last that suffered through Wyat's rebellion. On the day following, the princess Elizabeth was released from the Tower, and conducted to Woodstock; and about a week afterwards, the earl of Devonshire was also liberated from the Tower; but this was only to change the place of his confinement, and he was sent a close prisoner to Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire.

The parliament having confirmed the articles of marriage between the queen and Philip II. of Spain, that prince arrived at Southampton on the 19th of July. The queen had set out on a progress to the west, that she might meet her bridegroom at Winchester, where she intended to be married, and where the ceremony was accordingly performed with great magnificence on the 25th of the same month. On the 18th of August following, the

* Stow's Ann. p. 1054 † Ibid. p. 1055

‡ Brayley's London, i. 276.

king and queen made their public entry into London; on which occasion the city was sumptuously adorned and embellished with a great number of stately pageants; nor was any expence spared by the citizens to testify their attachment to the royal pair.

The sumptuous and extravagant manner of living of the city magistrates had gradually risen to such an height, that many of the principal citizens retired from the city, rather than incur the enormous expense of serving the city offices. To remedy this growing evil, an act of common council was passed in this year, whereby it was enacted, That henceforth the mayor should have but one course either at dinner or supper and that, on a festival, being a flesh-day, to consist of no more than seven dishes, whether hot or cold; and on every festival, being a fish-day, eight dishes; and on every common flesh-day, six dishes; and on every common day, seven dishes, exclusive of brawn, collops with eggs, sallads, pottage, butter, cheese, eggs, herrings, sprats, shrimps, and all sorts of shell fish and fruits. That the aldermen and sheriffs should have one dish less than the above-mentioned; and all the city companies, at their several entertainments, to have the same number of dishes as the aldermen and sheriffs; but with this restriction, to have neither swan, crane, or bustard, upon the penalty of 40*s*. That all the serjeants and officers belonging to the mayor or sheriffs, on flesh days, to have three, on fish days four dishes. But, when any foreign ministers or privy councillors are invited to any of the city entertainments, then the regulations or additions to be left to the discretion of the mayor; provided always, that no other entertainment be given after dinner, except ipocras and wafers. And the annual feasts, on the three days after Whitsunday and Bartholomew-tide, were entirely laid aside.

It was also about the same time and by the same authority enacted, that each of the sheriffs for the future should only have fourteen serjeants and their yeomen, who, instead of having liveries given them, were each to have ten shillings in money annually, to supply themselves and the clerks of the compters; and such as had been accustomed to have liveries, were each to have a gown annually at Christmas.

It was likewise enacted, that henceforth no wyth should be carried away from the mayor's or sheriffs houses, nor shall any of them keep a lord of misrule; and that in consideration of the great and annual expense the mayor and sheriffs are at in providing a sumptuous entertainment every lord mayor's day at Guildhall, for the honour of the city, and regaling of persons of the greatest distinction; it was therefore ordained, that every subsequent mayor, as an alleviation of that charge, shall be paid out of the chamber of the city the sum of one hundred pounds. This act was revived in the year 1683, with reasons shewing that a fifth part of the charge of a shrievalty is in wine.

The keeper of Bread-street Compter, having not only ill

rteated his prisoners, but also converted his prison into a receptacle for thieves and dissolute women, a large and convenient building was erected in Wood-street, at the expense of the corporation, for the reception of debtors and others, in the year 1555, and the prisoners were removed from Bread-street Compter into it on Michaelmas eve.

The citizens of London, being still greatly injured by the encroachments of foreigners on their respective professions, applied to the lord mayor and commonalty for farther relief; when an act of common council was passed, in which it was ordained, 'That henceforth no citizen should presume to employ any foreigner in any manner of business, exclusive of felt-makers, cap-thickers, carders, spinners, knitters, and brewers, upon penalty of five pounds for every offence; and all offenders, upon conviction, refusing to pay, to be committed to prison, without bail or mainprize, till such fines were paid.

In this year we find that an Englishman, named Thomson, making a voyage from Cadiz to New Spain, touched at the Canaries, and found the factors of some London merchants already settled there.* This is the first mention of a commercial intercourse between London and these islands.

The statutes against heretics were now revived by the commons, whose obsequiousness indeed was so great, that the council thought it prudent to check their zeal, lest despair should induce the Protestants to fly to arms. The bloody tragedy was, however, resolved on, and the first decided victim of religious persecution was John Rogers, the vicar of St. Sepulchre's, who, with Bradford, had assisted Bourne to escape from the rage of the populace at Paul's Cross. He was burnt in Smithfield on the 4th of February, 1555. Before his death, he requested to have a parting interview with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but Gardiner, blending insult with cruelty, ironically answered, that being 'a priest, he could not possibly have a wife.'† Many other persons were burnt in Smithfield in the course of the year; and the fires of persecution were now lit in every part of the kingdom. Among the sufferers in London were John Cardmaker, canon of Wells; John Bradford, prebend of St. Paul's; and John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester.

'On the last of September, by occasion of great wind and raine that had fallen, was such fluds, that that morning the king's palace at Westminster, and Westminster hall, was overflowen with water unto the staire foote going to the Chauncerie and King's Bench, so that when the lord maior of London should come to present the sherifes to the barons of the exchequer, all Westminster-hall was full of water; and by report there that morning, a wherrie-man rowed with his boate over Westminster-bridge

* Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i i.

† Fox's Mar. iii. 118.

into the palace court, and so through the Staple-gate and all the Woolle Staple into the king's streete; and all the marshes on Lambeth side were so overflown, that the people from Newington church could not passe on foote, but were carried by boate from the said church to the Pinfold, neere to St. George's in Southwarke.'*

A raging fever prevailed in London from the end of 1555, to the autumn of 1556, which carried off great numbers of people. Seven aldermen fell victims to its ravages within ten months.

In the year 1556, alderman Draper, of Cordwainer's ward, first instituted the office of bellman, whose business was to go about the ward by night, and ringing his bell at certain places, exhort the inhabitants, with an audible voice, to take care of their fires and lights, to help the poor, and to pray for the dead. This institution was soon after adopted in all the other wards of the city.

According to the author of the Present State of England, printed in 1683, it was in the year 1557, that glasses were first begun to be made in England. The finer sort was made in the place called Crutched Friars, in London; and the fine flint glass, little inferior to that of Venice, was first made in the Savoy-house, in the Strand.

This was a year both of dearth and plenty. Before harvest, wheat was sold at two pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence the quarter, malt at two pounds four shillings, beans and rye two pounds, and pease two pounds six shillings and eight-pence the quarter; but after harvest, wheat was sold at five shillings, malt at six shillings and eight-pence, and rye at three shillings and four-pence the quarter! 'so that,' says Howes, 'the penny wheat loaf that weighed in London the last year, but eleven ounces troy, weighed now fifty-six ounces troy, according to the assize set down by the mayor at the time.'

According to the same author, the Michaelmas term of this year did not produce a single cause either in the courts of King's Bench or Common Pleas.

In March 1551, the queen borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the city companies, on the security of certain lands; and allowed them twelve per cent. interest for it.

On the 23rd of the same month, king Philip entered London on a visit to the queen, whom he had not seen for two years and a half. The chief aim of his visit appears to have been to engage her in a war with France: which having done he passed over to Calais on the 6th of July. In the following winter, the French took Calais in a few days, it having been left almost totally unprovided for defence. This loss, conjoined to the neglect of her

* Stow's Ann. p. 1064.

husband, so affected the queen, that she gradually declined in health, and at length died on the 17th of November, 1558. When near death, she said to her attendants, that were the cause of her disorder to be sought by opening her body, 'the loss of Calais would be found at her heart.'

CHAPTER XI.

History of London, during the reign of Elizabeth.

Upon the demise of queen Mary, her sister, the princess Elizabeth, was, on the 17th of November, proclaimed queen in London, with the usual solemnities, and such unfeigned demonstrations of joy by the citizens, as probably never appeared before on the like occasion. And the next day, on her approach from Hatfield to London, she was met at Highgate by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, who conducted her to the city, where she took up her residence in the Charter-house, wherein she continued till the 28th of the said month, when she removed; and passing through Barbican, entered the city at Cripplegate, and riding by London-wall, Blanch-Appleton, Mark-lane, and Tower street, amidst the joyful and incessant acclamations of an incredible multitude of people, she entered the Tower of London, and from thence, on the 1st of December following, removed to Somerset house.*

On the first of January, 1559, the church service was again read in English throughout London by proclamation, and it was commanded that all churches in the kingdom should conform to the practice of the queen's chapel: the elevation of the Host was also expressly forbidden. These innovations were considered by the Catholic bishops as sufficiently significant of Elizabeth's designs in respect to religion, and they all refused to assist in the ceremony of her coronation. At length, Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was prevailed on to officiate, and she was crowned January 15th, in Westminster abbey. On the 14th she rode through the city to Westminster in great state, amidst the accustomed display of pageantry and expensive magnificence. The following tract is so curious, we have printed it verbatim.

'*The passage of our most dread Soveraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the Citie of London to Westminster, the daye be-*

* Holins. Chron. Engl.

fore her Coronation, anno 1558-9.* *Imprinted at London, in Flete-strete, within Temple-barre, at the signe of the Hand and Starre, by Richard Tottill. the xxiii day of January.*— Cum privilegio.

'Upon Saturday, which was the 14th day of January, in the yere of our Lord God 1558, about two of the clocke at afternoone, the most noble and Christian Princesse, our most dradde Soveraigne Ladye Elyzabeth, by the grace of God, Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defendour of the Faith, &c. marched from the Towre, to pass through the citie of London towarde Westminster, richely furnished, and most honourably accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other the nobilite of this realme, as also with a notable trayne of goodly and beawtifull ladies, richly appoynted. And entryng the citie was of the people received marveylous entirely, as appeared by the assemblie, prayers, wishes, welcomminges, cryes, tender woordes, and all other signes, which argue a wonderfull earnest love of most obedient subjectes towarde theyr soveraigne. And on thother side, her grace, by holding up her handes, and merie countenaunce to such as stode farre of, and most tender and gentle language to those that stode nigh to her grace, did declare herselfe no less thankefullye to receive her peoples good wyll, than they lovingly offered it unto her. To all that wyshed her grace well, she gave heartie thankes, and to such as bade God save her grace, she sayde agayne God save them all, and thanked them with all her heart: so that on eyther syde there was nothing but gladnes, nothing but prayer, nothing but comfort. The quenes majestie rejoysed marveilously to see that so exceadingly shewed towarde her grace, which all good princes have ever desyred. I meane so earnest love of subjectes, so evidently declared even to her grace's own person, being carried in the middest of them. The people again were wonderfully rauisheed with the louing answers and gestures of theyr pryncesse, like to the which they had before tryed at her first comming to the Towre from Hatfield. This her grace's loving behaviour preconceived in the people's heades upon these considerations was then thoroughly confirmed, and indede emplanted a wonderfull hope in them touchyng her woorthy government in the reste of her reygne. For in all her passage, she did not only shew her most gracious love toward the people in generall, but also privately, if the baser personages had offered her grace any flowers or such like as a signification of their good wyll, or moved to her any sute, she most gently, to the common rejoysing

* Another edition of this tract, in the Bodleian library, has this title:— 'The Royal Passage of her Majesty from the Tower of London to her palace at Whitehall, with all the Speeches and Devices, both of the Pageants and otherwise, together with her majesties severall Answers, and most pleasing Speaches to them all. Imprinted at London by S. S. for Jone Millington, and are to be sold at her shop under S. Peter's Church, in Corne-hill, 1604.' —*Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*

of all lookers on, and private comfort of the partie, staid her chariot, and heard theyr requestes. So that if a man shoulde say well, he could not better tearme the citie of London that time, than a stage wherein was shewed the wonderfull spectacle, of a noble-hearted princesse towards her most loving people, and the people's exceeding comfort in beholding so worthy a soveraigne, and hearing so prince-like a voice, which could not but have set the enemye on fyre, since the vertue is in the enemie always commended, much more could not but enflame her naturall, obedient, and most loving people, whose weale leaneth onely uppon her grace and government. Thus therefore the quenes majestie passed from the Towre till she came to Fenchurche, the people on eche side joyously beholdyng the viewe of so gracious a ladye theyr quene, and her grace no lesse gladly notyng and observing the same. Nere unto Fanchurch was erected a scaffolde richely furnished, whereon stode a noyes of instrumentes, and a chylde in costly apparell, whiche was appoynted to welcome the quenes majestie in the whole cities behalfe. Against whieh place when her grace came, of her owne wyll she commaunded the chariot to be stayd, and that the noyes might be appeased till the chylde had uttered his welcoming oration, which he spake in English meter, as here followeth:—

O pereles Soveraygne Quene, behold what this thy Town
Hath thee presented with at thy fyrst entraunce here;
Beholde with how riche hope she ledeth thee to thy Crown,
Beholde with what two gyftes she comforteth thy chere.

The first is blessing tonges, which many a welcome say,
Which pray thou maist do wel, which praise thee to the sky,
Which wish to thee long lyfe, which blesse this happy day,
Which to thy kingdome heapes, all that in tonges can lye.

The second is true hertes, which love thee from their roote,
Whose sute is triumphe now, and ruleth all the game.
Which faithfulnes have wone, and all untruthe driven out;
Which skip for joy, when as they heare thy happy name.

Welcome therefore, O Quene, as much as herte can thinke;
Welcome agayn, O Quene, as much as tong can tell:
Welcome to joyous tonges, and hartes that will not shrink;
God thee preserve we praye, and wishe thee ever well,

At which wordes of the last line the hole people gave a great shoute, wishing with one assent as the chylde had said. And the queenes majestie thanked most heartely both the citie for this her gentle receiving at the first, and also the people for confirming the same. Here was noted in the quenes majesties countenance, during the time that the childe spake, besides a perpetuall attentiveness in her face, a marvelous change in loke, as the childes wordes touched either her person, or the peoples tongues or hertes. So that she with rejoysyng visage did evidently declare that the wordes tooke no less place in her minde, than they were most heartely pronounced by the chylde, as from all the heartes of her

most heartie citizeins. The same verses were fastned up in a table upon the scaffolde, and the Latine thereof likewise in Latine verses, in another table, as hereafter ensueth:

Urbs tua quæ ingressu dederit tibi munera primo,
O Regina parem non habitura, vide.
Ad diadema tuum, te spe quam divite mittat,
Quæ duo letitiæ det tibi dona, vide.

Munus habes primum, linguas bona multa precantes
Quæ te quum laudant, tum pia vota sonant,
Fœlicemque diem hunc dicunt, tibi secula longa
Optant, et quicquid denique lingua potest.

Altera dona feres, vera, et tui amantia corda,
Quorum gens ludum jam regit una tuum.
In quibus est infracta fides, falsumque perosa,
Quæque tuo audito nomine læta salit.

Grata venis igitur, quantum cor concipit ullum,
Quantum lingua potest dicere, grata venis.
Cordibus infractis, linguisque per omnia lætis
Grata venis: salvam te velit esse Deus.

Now when the childe had pronounced his oration, and the quenes highnes so thankefully had received it, she marched forwarde towarde Gracious streate, where, at the upper ende, before the signe of the Egle, the citie had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous arke, as here followeth:

A stage was made whiche extended from thone side of the streate to thother, richely vawted with battlementes conteining three portes, and over the middlemost was avaunced three severall stages in degrees. Upon the lowest stage was made one seate royall, wherein were placed two personages representyng kyng Henrie the seventh, and Elyzabeth his wyfe, doughter of kyng Edward the fourth, eyther of these two princes sitting under one cloth of estate in their seates, no otherwyse divided, but that thone of them, whiche was king Henrie the seventh, proceeding out of the house of Lancastre, was enclosed in a read rose, and thother, which was quene Elizabeth, being heire to the house of Yorke, enclosed with a whyte rose, eche of them royally crowned, and decently apparailled as apperteineth to princes, with scepteurs in their hands, and one vawt surmounting their heades, wherein aptly were placed two tables, each conteining the title of those two princes. And these personages were so set, that the one of them joined handes with thother, with the ring of matrimonie perceived on the finger. Out of the which two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed upward to the second stage or degree, wherein was placed one, representing the valiant and noble prynce king Henry the eight, which sprong out of tne former stock, crowned with a crown imperial, and by him sate one representing the right worthy ladie quene Ann, wife

to the said king Henry the eight, and mother to our most sove raign ladie quene Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with sceptours and diademes, and other furniture due to the state of a king and queene, and two tables surmounting their heades, wherein were written their names and titles. From their seate also proceaded upwardes one braunche directed to the thirde and uppermost stage or degree, wherein lykewyse was planted a seate royall, in the whiche was sette one representyng the queenes most excellent majestie Elizabeth, nowe our moste dradde sove-raigne ladie, crowned and apparalled as thother prynces were. Out of the foreparte of this pageaunt was made a standyng for a chylde, whiche at the quenes majesties comeing, declared unto her the hole meaning of the said pageaunt. The two sides of the same were filled with loude noyses of musicke. And all emptie places thereof were furnished with sentences concerning unitie. And the hole pageant garnished with redde roses and white, and in the forefront of the same pageant, in a faire wreathe, was written the name and title of the same, which was "The uniting of the two howses of Lancastre and Yorke." Thys pageant was grounded upon the quenes majesties name. For like as the long warre betwene the two houses of Yorke and Lancastre then ended, when Elizabeth, doughter to Edward the fourth matched in marriage with Henry the seventh, heyre to the howse of Lancastre; so since that the quenes majesties name was Eliza-beth, and forsomuch as she is the onelye heire of Henrye the eighth, which came of bothe the howses, as the knitting up of concorde, it was devised, that like as Elizabeth was the first occa-sion of concorde, so she, another Elizabeth, myght maintaine the same among her subjectes, so that unitie was the ende whereat the whole devise shotte, as the quenes majesties names moved the first grounde. Thys pageant nowe agaynste the quenes majesties comming was addressed with children representing the forenamed personages, with all furniture dewe unto the setting forth of such a matter well ment, as the argument declared, costly and sumptuouslye set forth as the beholder can beare witnes. Now the quenes majestie drewe near unto the sayde pageant, and forso-muche as the noyse was greate by reason of the prease of people, so that she coulde scarce heare the childe whiche did interprete the said pageant, and her chariot was passed so farre forwarde that she coulde not well view the personages representing the kynges and quenes abovenamed; she required to have the matter opened unto her, and what they signified, with the ende of unitie, and ground of her name, according as is before expressed. For the sight whereof, her grace caused her chariot to be removed back, and yet hardly could she see, because the children were set some-what with the farthest in.

But after that her grace had understode the meaning thereof, she thanked the citie, praysed the fairenes of the worke, and pro-

mised that she would doe her whole endevour for the continuall preservation of concorde, as the pageant did emport.

The childe appoynted in the standing abovenamed to open the meaning of the said pageant, spake these words unto her grace:

The two princes that sit under one cloth of state,
The man in the redde Rose, the woman in the white,
Henry the VII. and quene Elizabeth his mate,
By ring of marriage as man and wife unite.

Both heires to both their bloodes, to Lancastre the kyng,
The queene to Yorke, in one the two howses did knit:
Of whom as heire to both, Henry the eighth did spring,
In whose seat his true heire, thou quene Elisabeth doth sit.

Therefore as civill warre, and feude of blood did cease
When these two houses were united into one,
So that now jarrs shall stint, and quietnes encrease,
We trust, O noble quene, thou wilt be cause alone.

The which also were written in Latin verses, and both drawn in two tables upon the fore front of the saide pageant, as hereafter followeth:

Hii quos jungit idem solium, quos annulus idem;
Hæc albente nitens, ille rubente rosa.
Septimus Henricus Rex, Regina Elizabetha,
Scilicet hæredes gentis uterque suæ.
Hæc Eboracencis, Lancastrius ille dederunt
Connubio e geminis quo foret una domus.
Excipit hoc hæres Henricus copula regum
Octavus, magni Regis imago potens.
Regibus hinc succedis avis Regique Pareuti
Patris justa hæres Elizabetha tui.

Sentences placed therein concerning unitie.

Nullæ concordes animos vires domant.
Qui juncti terrent, dejuncti timent
Discordes animi solvunt, concordes ligant.
Augentur parva pace, magna bello cadunt.
Conjunctæ manus fortius tollunt onus.
Regno pro mœnibus æneis civium concordia.
Qui diu pugnant diutius lugent.
Dissidentes principes subditorum lues.
Princeps ad pacem natus non ad arma datur.
Filia concordiæ copia, neptis quies.
Dissentiens respublica hostibus patet.
Qui idem tenent, diutius tenent.
Regnum divisum facile dissolvitur.
Civitas concors armis frustra tentatur.
Omnium gentium consensus firmat fidem, &c.

These verses, and other pretie sentences, were drawen in voide places of thys pageant, all tending to one ende, that quietnes

might be mainteyned, and all dissention displaced, and that by the quenes majestie, heire to agreement, and agreing in name with her, which tofore had joyned those houses, which had ben thoccasion of much debate and civill warre within thys realme, as may appeare to such as will searche Cronicles, but be not to be touched in thys treatise, only declaring her graces passage through the citie, and what provisyon the citie made therfore. And ere the quenes majestie came wythin hearing of thys pageaunt, she sent certaine, as also at all the other pageaunt, to require the people to be silent. For her majestie was disposed to heare all that should be sayde unto her.

When the quenes majestie had hearde the chyldes oration, and understoode the meanyng of the pageant at large, she marched forward toward Cornehill, alway received with lyke rejoysing of the people; and there, as her grace passed by the conduit, which was curiously trimmed agaynst that tyme with riche banners adourned, and a noyse of loude insrumentes upon the top thereof, she espyed the seconde pageant; and because she feared, for the people's noyse, that she shoulde not heare the child which dyd expounde the same, she enquired what that pageant was ere that she came to it: and there understoode, that there was a chylde representing her majesties person, placed in a seate of governement, supported by certayne vertues, which suppressed their contrarie vyces under their feete, and so forthe, as in the description of the sayd pageant shall hereafter appear.

This pageant standynge in the nether ende of Cornehill, was extended from thone syde of the streate to the other, and in the same pageant was devysed three gates, all open; and over the middle parte thereof was erected one chayre, or seate royal, with clothe of estate to the same apperteynyng, wherein was placed a chylde representing the quenes highnesse, with consideracion had for place convenient for a table, which conteyned her name and tytle. And in a comely wreathe, artificiallie and well devised, with perfite light and understanding to the people, in the front of the same pageant was written the name and title thereof; which is, 'The seate of worthie governance,' whych seate was made in such artificiall maner, as to the apperance of the lookers on, the forparte semed to have no staye, and therfore of force was stayed by lively personages, which personages, were in numbre foure, standing and staeing the forefront of the same seate royall, eche having his face to the quene and people, whereof every one had a table to expresse their effectes, which are vertues; namely, Pure Religion, Love of Subjects, Wisdom, and Justice: which did treade their contrarie vices under their feete; that is to witte, Pure Religion did treade upon Superstition and Ignorance; Love of Subjectes did treade upon Rebellion and Insolencie; Wisdome did treade upon Follie and Vaine Glorie; Justice did treade upon Ad lation and Bribery. Eche of these personages, according to

their proper names and properties, had not onely their names in plaine and perfit writing set upon their breastes easely to be read of all, but also every of them was aptly and properly apparelled, so that hys apparell and name did agree to expresse the same person that in title he represented, This part of the pageant was thus appointed and furnished. The two sydes over the two side portes had in them placed a noyse of instrumentes, whyche immediatelye after the chyldes speache gave an heavenlye melodie. Upon the top or uppermost part of the said pageant stode the armes of England, totally portratured with the proper beastes to upholde the same. One representing the quenes highnes sate in this seate, crowned with an imperial crowne; and before her seat was a convenient place appointed for one childe, which did interpret and applye the saide pageant as herafter shall be declared. Everye voyde place was furnished with proper sentences, commendyng the seate supported by vertues, and defacing the vices, to the utter extirpation of rebellion, and to everlasting continuaunce of quyetnes and peace. The quenes majestie approching nyghe unto thys pageaunt, thus beawtifyed and furnyshed in all poyntes, caused her chariot to bee drawen nyghe thereunto, that her grace might heare the chyldes oration, whiche was this:

Whyle that Religion true shall Ignorance suppresse,
And with her weightye foote breake Snperstition's head·
Whyle Love of Subjectes shall Rebellion distresse,
And, with zeale to the prince, Insolency down treade.

While Justice can flattering tonges and bribery deface,
While Follie and Vainglorie to Wisdome yeld their handes
So long shal government not swerve from her right race,
But wrong decayeth still, and rightwisenes up standes.

Now all thy subjectes hertes, O prince of pereless fame,
Do trust these vertues shall maintayn up thy throne,
And vyce be kept down still, the wicked put to shame,
That good with good may joy, and naught with naught may move.

Which verses were painted upon the right syde of the same pageant, and the Latin thereof on the left side, in another table, which were these:

Quæ subnixa alte solio regina superbo est,
Effigiem sanctæ principis alma refert,
Quam civilis amor fulcit, sapientia firmat,
Justicia illustrat, relligioque beat.
Vana superstitio et crassæ ignorantia frontis
Pressæ sub pura relligione jacent.
Regis amor domat effrænos, animosque rebelles;
Justus adulantes donivorosque terit.
Cum regit imperium sapiens, sine luce sedebunt
Stultitia, atque hujus numen inanis honor.

Beside these verses, there were placed in every voide rome of the pageant, both in Englishe and Latin, such sentences as advaunced the seate of governaunce upholden by vertue. The ground of thys pageant was, that like as by vertues (whych doe aboundantly appere in her grace) the quenes majestie was established in the seate of governement; so she should sette fast in the same so long as she embraced Vertue and helde Vice under foote. For if Vice once gotte up the head, it would put the seate of governement in peryll of falling.

The quenes majestie, when she had heard the childe, and understode the pageant at full, gave the citie also thankes there, and most graciouslie promised her good endeavour for the maintenaunce of the sayde vertues, and suppression of vyces; and so marched on till she came againste the great conduite in Cheape, which was bewtified with pictures and sentences accordinglye against her graces coming thether.

Against Soper-lanes ende was extended from thone side of the streate to thother a pageant, which had three gates, all open. Over the middlemost whereof wer erected three severall stages, whereon sate eight children, as hereafter followeth: On the uppermost one childe, on the middle three, on the lowest foure, eche having the proper name of the blessing that they did represent written in a table, and placed above their heades. In the forefront of this pageant, before the children which did represent the blessings, was a convenient standing, cast out for a chylde to stande, which did expownd the sayd pageant unto the quenes majestie, as was done in thother tofore. Everie of these children wer appointed and apparelled according unto the blessing which he did represent. And on the foreparte of the sayde pageant was written, in fayre letters, the name of the said pageant, in this maner folowing:

The eight Beatitudes expressed in the v chapter of the gospel of St. Matthew, applyed to our Soveraigne Lady Quene Elizabeth.

Over the two syde portes was placed a noyse of instrumentes. And all voyde places in the pageant were furnished with prety sayinges, commending and touching the meaning of the said pageant, which was the promises and blessinges of Almightie God made to his people. Before that the quenes highnes came unto this pageant, she required the matter somewhat to be opened unto her, that her grace might the better understand what should afterward by the child be sayd unto her. Which so was, that the citie had there erected the pageant with eight children, representing theyght blessinges touched in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew. Whereof every one, upon just consideracions was applyed unto her highnes; and that the people therby put her grace in mind, that as her good doinges before had geven just occasion why that these blessinges might fall upon her; that so, if her grace did continue in her goodnes as she had entered, she shoulde hope for the

fruit of these promises due unto them that doe exercise themselves in the blessinges; whiche her grace heard merveilous graciously, and required that the chariot myght be removed towardes the pageaunt, that she might perceyve the chyldes woordes, which were these; the quenes majestie geving most attentive eare, and requiring that the peoples noyse might be stayde:

Thou hast been viii times blest, O Quene of worthy fame,
By mekenes of thy spirite, when care did thee besette,
By mourning in thy griefe, by mildnes in thy blame,
By hunger and by thyrst, and justice couldst none gette.
By mercy shewed, not felt, by cleanes of thyne harte,
By seking peace alwayes, by persecucion wrong.
Therefore trust thou in God, since he hath helpt thy smart,
That as his promis is, so he will make thee strong.

When these woordes were spoken, all the people wished, that as the child had spoken, so God woulde strengthen her grace against all her adversaries: whom the quenes majestie did most gently thanke for their so loving wishe. These verses wer painted on the left syde of the said pageant; and other in Latin on thother syde, which wer these:

Qui lugent hilares fient, qui mitia gestant
Pectora, multa soli ingera culta metent.
Justitiam esuriens sitiensve replebitur, ipsum
Fas homini puro corde videre Deum.
Quem alterius miseret, Dominus miserebitur hujus;
Pacificus quisquis, filius ille Dei est.
Propter justitiam quisquis, patietur habetque
Demissam mentem, cœlica regna capit.
Huic hominum generi terram, mare, sidera vovit
Omnipotens, horum quisque beatus erit.

Besides these, every voide place in the pageant was furnished with sentences touching the matter and ground of the said pageant. When all that was to be said in this pageant was ended, the quenes majestie passed on forward in Chepesyde.

At the Standarde in Cheape, which was dressed fayre agaynste the tyme, was placed a noyse of trumpettes, with banners and other furniture. The Crosse lykewyse was almost made fayre and well trimmed. And neare unto the same, uppon the porche of Saint Peter's church door, stode the waites of the citie, which did geve a pleasant noyse with their instrumentes as the quenes majestie did passe by, whiche on every syde cast her countenaunce, and wished well to all her most loving people. Soon after that her grace passed the Crosse, she had espyed the pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might signifye. And it was tolde her grace that there was placed Tyme. *Tyme?* quoth she, *and Tyme hath brought me hether.* And so furth the hole matter was opened to her grace; as hereafter shal be declared in the descripcion of the pageaunt. But in the opening, when her grace understode that the

Byble in Englyse shoulde be delivered unto her by Trueth, which was therin represented by a chylde; she thanked the citie for that gyft, and sayde that she would oftentymes reade over that booke, commaunding sir John Parrat, one of the knightes which helde up her canapy, to goe before, and to receive the booke. But learning that it should be delivered unto her grace downe by a silken lace, she caused him to staye, and so passed forward till she came agaynste the aldermen in the hyghe end of Cheape tofore the little conduite, where the companies of the citie ended, whiche beganne at Fanchurche, and stood along the streates, one by another, enclosed with rayles, hanged with clothes, and themselves well apparelled with many riche furres, and their livery whodes uppon their shoulders, in comely and semely maner, having before them sondry persones well apparelled in silkes and chaines of golde, as wyflers and garders of the sayde companies, beside a number of riche hanginges, as well of tapistrie, arras, clothes of golde, silver, velvet, damaske, sattin, and other silkes, plentifullye hanged all the way as the quenes highnes passed from the Towre through the citie. Out at the windowes and pent-houses of every house did hang a number of ryche and costlye banners and streamers, tyll her grace came to the upper ende of Cheape. And there, by appoyntment, the right worshipfull maister Ranulph Cholmely, recorder of the citie, presented to the quenes majestie a purse of crimeson sattin richely wrought with gold, wherin the citie gave unto the quenes majestie a thousand markes in gold, as maister recorder did declare brieflie unto the quenes majestie; whose woordes tended to this ende, that the lorde maior, his brethren, and comminaltie of the citie, to declare their gladnes and good wille towardes the quenes majestie, dyd present her grace with that golde, desyering her grace to continue theyr good and gracious quene, and not to esteme the value of the gift, but the mynd of the gevers. The quenes majestie, with both her handes, tooke the purse, and aunswered to hym againe merveylous pithilie; and so pithilie, that the standers by, as they embraced entirely her gracious aunswer, so they merveiled at the cowching thereof; which was in wordes truely reported these:

"I thanke my lord maior, his brethren, and you all. And wheras your request is that I should continue your good ladie and quene, be ye ensured, that I will be as good unto you as ever quene was to her people. No wille in me can lacke, neither doe I trust shall ther lacke any power. And perswade your selves, that for the safetie and quietnes of you all, I will not spare, if need be, to spend my blood. God thanke you all."

Whiche aunswere of so noble an hearted pryncesse, if it moved a mervaylous showte and rejoysing, it is nothyng to be mervayled at, since both the heartines thereof was so wonderfull, and the woordes so joyntly knytte. When her grace hadde thus aunswered the recorder, she marched toward the little conduit, where was erected a pageaunt with square proporcion, standyng directlye before the

same conduite, with battlementes accordyngelye. And in the same pageaunt was advaunced two hylles or mountaynes of convenient heyghte. The one of them beyng on the north syde of the same pageaunt, was made cragged, barreyn, and stonye; in the whiche was erected one tree, artificiallye made, all withered and deadde, with braunches accordinglye. And under the same tree, at the foote thereof, sate one in homely and rude apparell, crokedlye, and in mournyng maner, havynge over hys headde, in a table, written in Laten and Englyshe, hys name, whiche was, 'ruinosa respublica,' 'A decayed commonweale.' And uppon the same withered tree were fixed certayne tables, wherein were written proper sentences, expressing the causes of the decaye of a common weale. The other hylle, on the south syde, was made fayre, freshe, grene, and beawtifull, the grounde thereof full of flowers and beawtie; and on the same was erected also one tree very fresh and fayre, under the whiche stoode uprighte one freshe personage, well apparaylled and appoynted, whose name also was written bothe in Englyshe and Laten, whiche was, 'Respublica bene instituta,' 'A florishyng commonweale.' And uppon the same tree also were fixed certayne tables, conteyning sentences which expressed the causes of a flourishing common weale. In the middle, between the sayde hylles, was made artificiallye one hollowe place or cave, with doore and locke enclosed; oute of the whiche, a little before the quenes highnes commynge thither, issued one personage, whose name was Tyme, apparaylled as an old man, with a sythe in his hande, havynge wynges artificiallye made, leadinge a personage of lesser stature then himselfe, whiche was fynely and well apparaylled, all cladde in whyte silke, and directlye over her head was set her name and tytle in Latin and Englyshe, 'Temporis filia,' 'The daughter of Tyme.' Which two so appoynted, went forwarde toward the south syde of the pageant. And on her brest was written her propre name, whiche was 'Veritas,' Trueth, who helde a booke in her hande, upon the which was written, 'Verbum Veritatis,' the Woorde of Trueth. And out of the south syde of the pageaunt was cast a standynge for a childe, which should enterprete the same pageant. Against whom when the quenes majestie came, he spake unto her grace these woordes:

This olde man with the sythe, olde Father Tyme they call,
And her his daughter Truth, which holdeth yonder boke;
Whom he out of his rocke hath brought forth to us all,
From whence for many yeres she durst not once out loke.

The ruthful wight that sitteth under the barren tree,
Resembleth to us the fourme, when common weales decay:
But when they be in state tryumphant, you may see
By him in freshe attyre that sitteth under the baye.

Now since that Time again his daughter Truth hath brought,
We trust, O worthy Quene, thou wilt this Truth embrace,
And since thou understandst the good estate and nought,
We trust wealth thou wilt plant, and barrennes displace.

But for to heale the sore, and cure that is not seene,
Which thing the boke of Truth doth teache in writing playn:
She doth present to thee the same, O worthy Quene,
For that, that wordes do flye, but wryting doth remayn.

When the childe had thus ended his speache, he reached his booke towards the quenes majestie, whiche a little before Trueth had let downe unto him from the hill; whiche by sir John Perratt was received, and delivered unto the quene. But she, as soone as she had receyved the booke, kissed it, and with both her handes held up the same, and so laid it upon her brest, with great thankes to the citie therefore. And so went forward towards Paules churchyarde. The former matter which was rehersed unto the quenes majestie was written in two tables, on either side the pageant eight verses, and in the middest these Latin:

Ille, vides, falcem læva qui sustinet uncam,
Tempus is est, cui stat filia vera comes;
Hane pater exesa deductam rupe reponit
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.
Qui sedet a læva cultu male tristis inepto,
Quem duris crescens cautibus orbis obit
Nos monet effigie, qua sit respublica quando
Corruit, at contra quando beata viget.
Ille docet juvenis forma spectandus amictu
Scitus, et æterna laurea fronde virens.

The sentences written in Latin and Englishe upon both the trees, declaring the causes of both estates, were these:

Causes of a ruinous commonweale are these:

Want of the feare of God.
Disobedience to Rulers.
Blindness of Guides.
Briberie in Majestrats.
Rebellion in Subjectes.
Civill disagreement.
Flattring of Princes.
Unmercifulnes in Rulers.
Unthankfulnes in Subjects.

Causes of a florishing commonweale.

Feare of God.
A wise Prince.
Learned Rulers.
Obedience to Officers.
Obedient Subjectes.
Lovers of the Commonweale.
Vertue rewarded.
Vice chastened.

The matter of this pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the first declared her grace to come out of the house of unitie, the second that she is placed in the seat of government, staied with Vertue, to the suppression of Vice; and therefore in the third the eight blessings of Almighty God might well be applyed unto her: so this fourth now is to put her grace in remembrance of the state of the commonweale, which Time, with Truth his daughter, doth revele, which Truth also her grace hath received, and therefore cannot but be mercifull and careful for the good government thereof. From thence the quenes majestie passed towarde Paules

churchyard; and when she came over against Paules scole, a childe appointed by the scolemaster thereof pronounced a certein oration in Latin, and certein verses, which also wer there written, as foloweth:

'Philosophus ille divinus Plato, inter multa præclare ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit, rempublicam illam felicissimam fore, cui princeps sophiæ studiosa, virtutibusque ornata contigerit. Quem si vere dixisse censeamus (ut quidem verissime) cur non terra Britannica plauderet? cur non populus gaudium atque lætitiam agitaret? immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? quo princeps talis nobis adest, qualem priores non viderunt, qualemque posteritas haud facile cernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis undique felicissima. Casti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ sunt, ut oratione non egeant. Animi vero tot tantæque, ut ne verbis quidem exprimi possint. Hæc nempe, regibus summis orta, morum atque animi nobilitate genus exuperat. Hujus pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britannicam virtutibus illustrabit, clipeoque justitiæ teget. Hæc literis Græcis et Latinis eximia, ingenioque præpollens est. Hæc imperante, pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea secula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli, tot commoda accepturi, Elizabetham reginam nostram celeberrimam, ab ipso Christo hujus regni imperio destinatam, honore debit prosequimini. Hujus imperiis animo libentissimo subditi estote, vosque tali principe dignos præbete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus officium prestare possunt, nos alumini hujus scholæ, ab ipso Coleto olim Templi Paulini Decano extructæ teneras palmas ad cœlum tendentes Christum Opt. Max. precaturi sumus ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoreos summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matremque pignoribus charis beatam reddat. Amen.

Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, lætare, resulta
Presto jam vita est, præsidiumque tibi.
En tua spes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne
Venit jam solidam quæ tibi præstat opem.
Succurretque tuis rebus quæ pessum abiere:
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet:
Omnia florebunt, redeunt nunc aurea secla;
In melius surgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam,
Cujus in accessu commodat tot capies.
Salve igitur dicas, imo de pectore summo
Elizabeth regni non dubitanda salus.
Virgo venit, venialque optes comitata deinceps,
Pignoribus charis, læta parens veniat,
Hoc Deus omnipotens ex alto donet Olympo,
Qui cœlum et terram condidit atque regit.

Which the quenes majestie most attentivelye harkened unto: and when the childe had pronounced, he did kisse the oration, which he had there faire written in paper, and delivered it unto the quenes majestie, which most gently received the same. And when the

quenes majestie had heard all that was there offred to be spoken then her grace marched toward Ludgate, where she was received with a noyse of instrumentes, the forefront of the gate being finelie trimmed up against her majesties comming. From thence by the way as she went down toward Fletebridge, one aboute her grace noted the cities charge, that there was no cost spared: Her grace answered, that she did well consyder the same, and that it should be remembred.—An honorable aunswere, worthie a noble prince, which may comforte all her subjectes, considering there can be no point of gentlenes or obedient love shewed towarde her grace, whych she doth not most tenderlie accepte, and graciously waye. In this maner, the people on either side rejoysing, her grace wente forwarde, towarde the conduite in Fleete-street, where was the fifte and last pageaunt erected, in forme folowing: From the conduite, which was bewtified with painting, unto the north side of the strete, was erected a stage, embattelled with foure towres, and in the same a squre platte rising with degrees, and uppon the uppermost degree was placed a chaire, or seate royall, and behynde the same seate, in curious and artificiall maner, was erected a tree of reasonable height, and so farre advaunced above the seate as it did well and semelye shadow the same, without endomaging the syght of any part of the pageant: and the same tree was bewtified with leaves as greene as arte could devise, being of a convenient greatnes, and conteining therupon the fruite of the date, and on the toppe of the same tree in a tablet was set the name thereof, which was 'A palme tree;' and in the aforesaide seate, or chaire, was placed a semelie and mete personage, richlie apparelled in parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand, as a quene, crowned with an open crowne, whose name and title was in a table fixed over her head, in this sort; 'Debora the judge and restorer of the house of Israel, Judic. iv.' And the other degrees, on either side, were furnished with vi personages; two representing the nobilitie, two the clergie, and two the comminaltye. And before these personages was written, in a table, 'Debora, with her estates, consulting for the good governement of Israel.' At the feete of these, and the lowest part of the pageant, was ordeined a convenient rome for a childe to open the meaning of the pageant. When the quenes majestie drew unto this pageant, and perceived, as in the other, the childe readie to speake, her grace required silence, and commaunded her chariot to be removed nigher, that she might plainlie heare the childe speake, whych said as hereafter foloweth:

Jaben of Canaan king had long, by force of armes,
Oppressed the Israelites, which for God's people went:
But God minding at last for to redresse their harmes,
The worthy Debora as judge among them sent.

In war she, through God's aide, did put her foes to fright,
And with the dint of sworde the hande of bondage brast.
In peace she, through God's aide, did alway mainteine right;
And judged Israell till fourty yeres were past.

A worthie president, O worthie quene, thou hast,
A worthie woman judge, a woman sent for state.
And that the like to us endure alway thou maist,
Thy loving subjectes will with true hearts and tonges praie.

Which verses were written upon the pageant; and the same in Latin also:

Quando Dei populum Canaan rex pressit Iaben,
Mittitur a magno Debora magna Deo;
Quæ populum eriperit, sanctum servaret Iudan,
Milite quæ patrio frangeret hostis opes.
Hæc, Domino mandante, Deo lectissima fecit
Fœmina, et adversos contudit ense viros.
Hæc quater denos populum correxerat annos
Judicio, bello strenua, pace gravis.
Sic, O sic populum bel-oque et pace guberna,
Debora sis Anglis Elizabetha tuis!

The voide places of the pageant were filled with pretie sentences concerning the same matter. Thys ground of this last pageant was, that forsomuch as the next pageant before had set before her graces eyes the florishing and desolate states of a commonweale, she might by this be put in remembrance to consult for the worthy government of her people; considering God oftimes sent women nobly to rule among men; as Debora, whych governed Israell in peas the space of xl years: and that it behoved both men and women so ruling to use advise of good counsell. When the quenes majestie had passed this pageant, she marched toward Templebarre; but at St. Dunstones church, where the children of thospitall wer appointed to stand with their governours, her grace perceiving a child offred to make an oration unto her, stayed her chariot, and did caste up her eyes to heaven, as who should saye, 'I here see thys mercifull worke towarde the poore whom I muste in the middest of my royaltie nedes remembre!' and so turned her face towarde the childe, which, in Latin, pronounced an oracion to this effecte: 'That after the quenes hyghnes had passed through the citie, and had sene so sumptuous, rich, and notable spectacles of the citizens, which declared their most heartie receiving and joyous welcomming of her grace into the same: thys one spectacle yet rested and remained, which was the everlasting spectacle of mercy unto the poore membres of Almighty God, furthered by that famous and most noble prince king Henry the eight, her gracious father, erected by the citie of London, and advaunced by the most godly, verteous, and gracious prince kyng Edwarde the VI. her grace's dere and loving brother, doubting nothing of the mercy of the quenes most gracious clemencie, by the which they may not onely be releved and helped, but also stayed and defended; and therfore incessauntly they would pray and crie unto Almighty God for the long life and raigne of her highnes, with most prosperous victory against her enemies.'

The childe, after he had ended his oracion, kissed the paper wherein the same was written, and reached it to the quenes majestie, whych received it graciouslye both with woordes and countenance, declaring her gracious mynde towarde theyr reliefe. From thence her grace came to Temple Barre, which was dressed fynelye with the two ymages of Gotmagot the Albione, and Corinèus the Briton, two gyantes bigge in stature, furnished accordingly; which held in Latin verses, theffect of all the pageantes which the citie before had erected, which verses wer these:

Ecce sub aspectu jam contemplaberis uno,
O princeps, populi sola columna tui.
Quicquid in immensa passim perspexeris urbe,
Quæ cepere omnes unus hic arcus habet.
Primus te selio regni donavit aviti.
Hæres quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppressis vitiis, domina virtute, secundus
Firmavit sedem, regia virgo, tuam.
Tertius ex omni posuit te parte beatam,
Si, qua cœpisti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, respublica lapsa quid esset,
Quæ florens staret, te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora, missam
Cœlitus in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo, regina, tuæ spes unica gentis,
Hæc postrema urbis suscipe vota tuæ.
Vive diu, regnaque diu virtutibus orna
Rem patriam, et populi spem tucare tui.
Sic, o sic petitur cœlum, sic itur in astra,
Hoc virtutis opus, cætera mortis erunt.

Which versis wer also written in Englishe meter, in a lesse table, as hereafter foloweth:

Behold here in one view thou may'st see all that playne,
O princesse, to this thy people the onely stay:
What echewhere thou hast seen in this wide town, again
This one arche whatsoever the rest conteynd doth say.

The first arche, as true heyre unto thy father dere,
Did set thee in the throne where thy graundfather satte:
The seconde did confirme thy seate at princesse here,
Vertues now bearing swaye, and vyces bet down flatte.

The third, if that thou wouldst goe on as thou began,
Declared thee to be blessed on every syde,
The fourth did open trueth, and also taught thee whan
The commonweale stood well, and when it did thence slide.

The fifth, as Debora, declared thee to be sent
From Heaven, a long comfort to us thy subjectes all:
Therefore goe on, O quene, on whom our hope is bent,
And take with thee this wishe of thy town as finall.

Live long, and as long raygne, adourning thy countrie
With vertues, and mayntayne thy peoples hope of thee;

For thus, thus Heaven is won; thus must you pearce the skye,
This is by Vertue wrought, all other must nedes dye.

On the south side was appoynted by the citie a noyse of singing children; and one childe richely attyred as a poet, which gave the quenes majestie her farewell, in the name of the hole citie, by these wordes:

As at thyne entraunce first, O prince of high renown,
Thou wast presented with tonges and heartes for thy fayre;
So now, sith thou must nedes depart out of this towne,
This citie sendeth thee firm hope and earnest prayer.

For all men hope in thee, that all vertues shall reygne,
For all men hope that thou none errour wilt support,
For all men hope that thou wilt trueth restore agayne,
And mend that is amisse, to all good mennes comfort.

And for this hope they pray, thou mayst continue long,
Our quene amongst us here, all vyce for to supplant:
And for this hope they pray, that God may make thee strong,
As by his grace puissant, so in his trueth constant.

Farewell, O worthy quene, and as our hope is sure,
That into Errour's place thou wilt now Truth restore;
So trust we that thou wilt our Soveraigne Quene endure,
And loving lady stand from hencefurth evermore.

Whyle these woords were in saying, and certeine wishes therein repeted for maintenaunce of trueth, and rooting out of errour, she now and then helde up her handes to heavenwarde, and willed the people to say, Amen.

When the childe had ended, she said, 'Be ye well assured I will stande your good quene.'

At which saying, her grace departed forth through Temple Barre towarde Westminster, with no lesse shoutyng and crying of the people, then she entred the citie, with a noyse of ordinance whiche the Towre shot off at her graces entraunce first into Towre-streate.

The childes saying was also in Latin verses, wrytten in a table, which was hanged up there:

O Regina potens, cum primam urbem ingredereris,
Dona tibi, linguas, fidaque corda dedit.
Discedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit;
Omina plena spei, votaque plena precum.

Quippe tuis spes est, in te quod provida virtus
Rexerit, errori nec locus ullus erit.
Quippe tuis spes est, quod tu verum omne reduces
Solatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.

Hac spe freti orant, longum ut, Regina, gubernes
Et regni excindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac spe freti orant, divina ut gratia fortem,
Et veræ fidei te velit esse basin.

Jam, Regina, vale, et sicut nos spes tenet una,
Quod, vero inducto, perditus error erit.
Sic quoque sperames quod eris Regina benigna
Nobis per Regni tempora longa tui.

Thus the quenes hyghnesse passed through the citie, whiche without any forreyne persone, of itselfe beawtifyed itselfe, and receyved her grace at all places, as hath been before mentioned, with most tender obedience and love, due to so gracious a quene and soveraigne ladie. And her grace likewise of her side, in all her graces passage, shewed herselfe generally an ymage of a woorthye ladie and governour; but privately these especiall poyntes wer noted in her grace as sygnes of a most princelyke courage, whereby her loving subjects maye ground a sure hope for the rest of her gracious doinges hereafter.

Certain notes of the QUENES MAJESTIES *great mercie, clemencie, and wisdom, used in this passage.*

Aboute the nether end of Cornehyll, towarde Cheape, one of the knightes about her grace had espyed an auncient citizen, whiche wepte, and turned his head backe; and therewith said this gentleman, 'yonder is an alderman (for so he tearmed him) whiche wepeth and turneth his face backeward: How may it be interpreted, that he so doth for sorrowe or for gladnes?' The quenes majestie heard hym, and said, 'I warrant you it is for gladnes.' A gracious interpretation of a noble courage, which would turne the doutefull to the best. And yet it was well known, that, as her grace did confirme the same, the parties cheare was moved for verye pure gladnes for the sight of her majesties person, at the beholding whereof he toke such comforte, that with teares he expressed the same.

In Cheapeside her grace smiled, and being thereof demaunded the cause, aunswered, 'For that she had heard one say, Remember old King Henry theyght.' A naturall childe, which at the very remembrance of her father's name toke so great a joy, that all men may well thinke, that as she rejoysed at his name whom this realme doth hold of so woorthy memorie; so in her doinges she will resemble the same.

When the cities charge withoute parcialitie, and onely the citie, was mentioned unto her grace, she saide it shoulde not be forgotten. Whiche saying myght move all Englishmen heartelye to shewe due obedience and entiernes to so good a quene, which will in no poynt forgeat any parcell of duetie lovingly shewed unto her.

The answer which her grace made unto maister recorder of London, as the hearers know it to be true, and with melting heartes heard the same: so may the reader thereof conceive what kinde of stomacke and courage pronounced the same.

What more famous thing doe we reade in auncient histories of olde tyme, then that mightye prynces have gentlye receyved presentes offered them by base and low personages? If that be to be wondred at (as it is passingly) let me se one princes lyfe is able to recounte so manye presidentes of this vertue, as her grace shewed

in this one passage through the citie. How many nosegayes did her grace receive at poor womens handes; how ofttimes stayed she her chariot, when she sawe any simple body offer to speake to her grace: a branche of rosemary geven to her grace with a supplication by a poore woman about Flete bridge, was seen in her chariot til her grace came to Westminster, not without the marveylous wondring of such as knew the presenter, and noted the quene's most gracious receiving and keeping the same.

What hope the poore and nedy may looke for at her graces hande, she as in all her journey continuallye, so in hearkenyng to the poore chyldren of Christes Hospitall with eyes cast up into heaven, did fullye declare, as that neither the welthier estate could stande without consideracion had to the povertie, neither the povertie be duelye considered, unles they were remembered, as commended to us by Goddes owne mouth.

As at her first enterance she as it were declared herselfe prepared to passe through a citie that most entierly loved her, so she at her last departing, as it were, bownde herselfe by promis to continue good ladie and governor unto that citie, whiche, by outward declaracion, did open their love to their so loving and noble prince, in such wyse as she herselfe wondered thereat.

But because princes be set in their seate by God's appoynting, and therefore they must first and chiefly tender the glory of him from whom their glory issueth, it is to be noted in her grace, that forsomuch as God hath so wonderfully placed her in the seate of government over this realme, she in all doinges doth shew herselfe most myndfull of his goodnes and mercie shewed unto her, and amongest all other, two principall sygnes thereof were noted in thys passage. First in the Towre, where her grace, before she entred her chariot, lifted up her eyes to heaven, and said:

'O Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, I geve thee most hearty thankes that thou hast been so mercifull unto me as to spare me to beholde this joyfull daye. And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy true and faithfull servant Daniel thy prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the denne from the cruelтie of the gredy and rageing lyons: even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered. To thee, therefore, onely be thankes, honor, and prayse, forever. Amen.'

The second was the receiving of the Byble at the Little Conduit in Cheape. For when her grace had learned that the Byble in Englishe should there be offered, she thanked the citie therfore, promysed the reading thereof most diligentlye, and incontinent commaunded that it should be brought. At the receit wherof, how reverently did she with both her handes take it, kisse it, and lay it upon her breast, to the great comfort of the lookers-on. God will undoubtedly preserve so worthy a prince, which at his honor so reverently taketh her beginning. For this saying is true, and written in the boke of truth: 'He that first

seketh the kingdome of God, shall have other thinges cast unto him.'

Now therfore all English hertes, and her naturall people, must nedes praise God's mercy, which hath sent them so woorthy a prince, and pray for her graces long continuance amongest us

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On the 7th of April, peace was proclaimed in London between the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and France, with the usual solemnities, by Garter and Norroy, kings at arms, assisted by the lord mayor and aldermen in their scarlet robes.

On the 2nd of July, the twelve principal corporations of London sent out twelve companies, consisting of 1,400 men, to be mustered in Greenwich-park before the queen; 800 whereof were pikemen in bright armour, 400 harquebusses in coats of mail and helmets, and 200 halberdiers in German rivets. These troops were attended by 28 whifflers, richly dressed, and led by the 12 principal wardens of the aforesaid corporations, well mounted, and dressed in black velvet, with six ensigns in white satin, faced with black sarsnet and black scarves

The populace at this time not only destroyed all the statues and portraitures of their saints in the popish churches, but likewise most of their rich robes, altar-cloths, books, and sepulchral banners.

The mayor at this time was that eminent citizen and clothworker sir William Hewet, the son of Edmund Hewet, of Wales, in Yorkshire. This knight was possessed of an estate value 6,000*l.* per annum at his death, and was blessed with an issue of three sons and one daughter; of which daughter we have the following tradition from the most noble family of the duke of Leeds. Sir William, her father, living at that time on London-bridge, it happened that the maid-servant, as she was diverting the infant miss on the edge of an open window, accidentally let her fall into the Thames, and, to all appearance without hope of being saved; but a young gentleman, named Osborne, then apprentice to sir William, the father, and one of the ancestors of the duke of Leeds in a direct line, seeing the accident, immediately leaped into the river after her boldly, and brought the child out safe, to the great joy of its parents and admiration of the spectators. This brave and friendly action so engaged the affections of sir William, the infant's father, that when she was grown to woman's estate, and asked in marriage by several persons of quality, especially the earl of Shrewsbury, the knight rejected all their advantageous proposals, and with a deep sense of gratitude betrothed his daughter, with a very great dowry, to her deliverer, and with this emphatical declaration: Osborne saved her, and Osborne shall enjoy her. Part of the estate given with her in marriage was the estate of sir Thomas Fanshaw, late of Barking in Essex, and several other lands now enjoyed by the most noble family of the duke of Leeds, in the parishes of Harthil and Wales, in the county of York. This remarkable story is represented in a painting, carefully preserved by that most noble family. Sir William was buried

nder a very magnificent tomb, between that of dean Collet on the west, and that of sir William Cockain, knight and baronet, on the east, and on the north side of the south aisle in St. Paul's cathedral.

Richard Hills, merchant taylor, 1560, gave 500*l.* towards the purchase of an house, called the Manor of the Rose, wherein the merchant taylors founded their free-school in London. He also purchased a plot of ground and some cottages, on Tower-hill, where he built alms-houses for fourteen old women; which he vested in the same company.

In the year 1561, there was such a scarcity of grain of all sorts, that sir William Chester, mayor of London, and the principal magistrates, were obliged to procure a supply of wheat and rye from the continent; by which means the citizens were greatly relieved from the calamity.

On Wednesday, the 4th of June, there fell a prodigious quantity of rain, attended with dreadful claps of thunder. St. Paul's steeple was struck by a thunderbolt, within a yard of the top: at first a little fire appeared, resembling the light of a torch, which so soon communicated itself to the weathercock, that it fell down in eight minutes after: the wind being high, within an hour, the fire destroyed the whole steeple, down to the battlements; there, receiving the timber that fell from the spire, it burnt so violently, that the iron and bells were melted, and fell down upon the stairs in the church; and the roof catching fire, was entirely destroyed before twelve o'clock at night: to stop its progress, many houses were pulled down in the church-yard, near the north door; and a pinnacle, on the east end, fell on a house, in which were many people, but luckily no one received any hurt.

In the year 1563, the plague again broke out violently in London; and, on the 5th of July, the lord mayor, by her majesty's command, ordered the master and wardens of the company of clerks to inquire the number of those who died of this dreadful distemper within their respective parishes, and to make a certificate thereof; and that the curates and churchwardens should give notice to them of such houses where the plague appeared, and to forbid every person in such a house coming to church for the space of one month following after the plague had been in it; and to fix a blue cross on the door of every house where the plague was, with a writing underneath, signifying that the infection was there, and to avoid it. It was further ordered, on the 9th of July, that every housekeeper, in each street or lane, should make bonfires three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, till the infection should cease. In the beginning of August the lord mayor issued a proclamation for killing all dogs that should be found in the streets either by night or day. The number of people that died in this year in the hundred and eight parishes within the city of London, was twenty thousand three hundred and seventy-two: whereof seventeen thousand four hundred and four died of the plague; and in the eleven out pa-

rishes the whole number of deaths amounted to three thousand two hundred and eighty-eight, and of these, two thousand seven hundred and thirty-two died of the plague.

In addition to this dreadful evil, the citizens of London were also afflicted with a temporary stoppage in the Flemish trade, which involved them in great pecuniary embarrassments.

The author of the 'Present State of England,' says, that 'the first making of knives in England was begun in this year (1562), by one Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, in London.' But this is an erroneous assertion, and, as is probable, was only a new branch of the manufacture, since Sheffield was famous for knives in the days of Chaucer; who says, in his Reve's Tale, 'A Sheffield whittle (knife) bare he in his hose.

The English company of merchant-adventurers, who had prevailed on Edward VI. to revoke the privileges of the Hanseatic company, obtained, in the year 1564, a charter from queen Elizabeth, which constituted them a corporation or body politic. She hereby granted them a common seal, perpetual succession, liberty to purchase lands, and to exercise their government in any part of England. In this charter, however, was the following clause: 'But if any freeman of this company shall marry a wife from beyond sea, in a foreign country, or shall hold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, Germany, or other places near adjoining, he shall be, *ipso facto*, disfranchised of and from the said fellowship of merchant-adventurers, and be utterly excluded from the fellowship thereof.'

This year an act of common council was passed, in which it was ordained, That all such citizens as should thenceforth be constrained to sell their household goods, leases of houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cried through the city by a man with a bell, and then to be sold by the common outcrier appointed for that purpose; and he to receive one farthing in the pound for his trouble.

At the earnest request of the armourers, part of the ceremony of the city watch was this year renewed, on St. Peter's eve; 'which,' says Howes, 'did only stand in the highest streets, as Cheape, Cornehill, and so foorth, to Algate; which watch was, to the commons of the citie, as chargeable, as when, in times past, it hadde beene commendablie done.'

On the 20th of September, there was a great flood in the river Thames, by which all the adjacent marshes were overflowed, and many cattle drowned. And on the 21st of December a frost began, which was so severe, that by New-year's da[illegible] all sorts of ded. diversions were practised upon the ice, and the Thames was more crowded with foot passengers than the most public street in London.

In July, 1566, the foundations of the Bourse, or Royal Exchange,

were laid by the munificent sir Thomas Gresham, and the buildings were completed in the following year.

Though mutual jealousies were daily arising between the English and Spanish nations, yet some of the latter continuing to arrive in this city, gave umbrage to the queen, that they were come upon no good design; therefore, to provide against all attempts they might make against the public tranquillity, it was judged necessary to come at the number of them residing in London, in order to make a suitable provision to defeat all the dangerous measures they might enter into. Wherefore, orders were given to take the names, quality, and professions of the respective strangers that resided in the several wards of the city; whose numbers, upon enquiry, were found to be forty Scots, four hundred and twenty-eight French, forty-five Spaniards and Portuguese, one hundred and forty Italians, two thousand and thirty Dutch, forty-four Burgundians, two Danes, and one Liegeois.

Sir Thomas Rowe, knight, lord mayor of the city of London in 1568, a worthy brother also of the merchant taylor's company, besides his charitable cost and charges in building the new churchyard in Bethlehem, now Old Bedlam burial ground, containing near one acre of ground, and enclosed with a wall of brick, for the burial of the poor citizens gratis, and a sermon to be preached every Whitsunday in the morning, in the presence of the lord mayor and aldermen; as also giving 100*l.* to be lent to eight poor men; gave to the merchant taylors lands or tenements, out of them to be given 40*l.* yearly, to maintain ten poor men for ever, such as were not brethren of his own society, but chosen out of five several companies, viz. clothworkers, armourers, carpenters, tylers, and plaisterers; as considering, that by overtoiling, labour, dangers, falls, bruises, and such like inconveniences, they were soonest like to become impotent, and unable to help or maintain themselves. Therefore to each of these ten men he freely gave the sum of four pounds, quarterly, to be paid them at merchant taylors'-hall, during their lives; and then to succeed to other men in the same companies, according to the due consideration of just cause, and most necessity.

In this year, for the better supplying the city with water, a conduit was erected at the corner of Wallbrook, for the reception of Thames water.

In the year 1569, a lottery was set on foot in St. Paul's churchyard, where it was begun to be drawn at the west door of the church, on the 11th of January, and continued incessantly drawing day and night till the 6th of May following. The prizes were of plate, and the profits were appropriated to the repair of [illegible]-ports.

The city being at this time greatly pestered by sturdy beggars, and loose, idle, disorderly people of both sexes, the following orders were devised and executed with rigor: Sixteen beadles

belonging to the hospitals were enjoined to take up all vagrants, &c. and to carry them to Bridewell; all sick, lame, blind, aged, and to carry them to St. Bartholomew's; and all children beggars under the age of sixteen, to Christ's hospital. These orders were made in April, 1569, in this form:

'*The Circuite appointed to the four beadles of Christ's Hospital.*

Cheap Ward,
Cripplegate, Within and Without,
Aldrichegate,
Farringtonnne within, and so moche of Farringtonne without, under the Deputy of Saincte Sepulcres.

The Circuite appointed to the four beadles of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

Cornhill Ward,
Coleman-Streate
Byshopegate,
Broad-Streate,
Basinghall,
Allgate,
Lyme-Streate,
Portsoken.

The Circuite appointed to the four beadles of St. Thomas's Hospital.

Towre Ward,
Dowgate,
Candellweke-Streate,
Bridge.
Byllingsgate,
Walbroke,
Langbourne.

The Circuite appointed to the four beadles of Bridewell.

Castle Baynard Ward,
Queenhith,
Bread-Streate,
Vintrie,
Cordwayner,
Farringtonne without, except the Precinct of the Deputy of St. Sepulchres.

All which are to be diligently attended, over and above these orders hereunder prescribed; that is to say,

First, That there do attend at all the gates of this cittie everie morninge from three of the clocke until seven in the forenone and from seven in the eveninge until eleven at nyght; and also at the tyde tymes fallinge in the nyght, as well at Byllingsgate as at Lyon's-Keye, one of the sayde xvj beadles, thear to watch the comeinge of all vagabonds, beggars, children, and masterless men and women, to the intent they may by them be apprehen- Provided allwais, that the said beadles so agree and accord together, that they indifferentlie appoynt themselves for the accomplishment of their attendance in this behalf, so that one attend as moch and as often as another.

Item, That the beadle (in whose circuit standeth anie of the gates of this cittie) faile not to see the same gates continually attended all the daie long, from vij of the clock in the forenone, untill vij at night; and soche other of them as be not occupied at the gates, to continue in walking the circuite whereunto they are appointed.

Item, In walking their circuites before-mentioned, that they faile not to go once every daie to the collectours houses, in every parish within the circuite, to understand of them, or some of their neighbours, if either vagabond, beggars, children, or masterless men or women, be in the streates of their parishes, that by them they may be apprehended.

Item, That one of the said beadles twyse everie daie (that is to saie, at vij o'clock in the morning and at one in the afternoon) shall repair to the treasurer of the howse where he serveth, to know his pleasure.

Item, For London-bridge, the barges of Gravesende, and other tide boates coming up in the daie tyme, the better to apprehend the vagabonds, beggars, children, and masterless men and women, and the bringers of them, whereuppon there is iiij beadles appoynted to attend every day; that is to say, ij of them from vij of the clock in the morninge untill one at afternone; and th' other twaine for to be ij of St. Thomas's hospital onlie, for that it is in their own circuit; and they to remaine from one of the clocke untill vij at night; and one of the twaine (when the tyde happeneth in tyme of their attendance, either in the forenone or afternone) shall repaire to Billengesgate, and to the Lyon-key, to the purpose before declared: Provided alwayes that one of the same ij beadles there appointed be one of them last admitted; to the intent that he may growe the more perfect in his dewtie, by the instruction of his fellowe: and the appointment of the forenones attendance shall be as followeth:

Uppon Mondaie, one of Christ's Hospital and one of St. Bartholomew's.

Tuesdaie, one of St. Thomas's Hospital, and one of Bridewell.

Wednesdaie, one of Christ's Hospital, and one of St. Bartholomew's.

Thursdaie, one of St. Thomas's Hospital, and one of Bridewell.

Fridaie, one of Christ's Hospital, and one of St. Bartholomew's.

Saturdaie, one of St. Thomas's Hospital, and one of Bridewell.

Sundaie, one of Christ's Hospital, and one of St. Bartholomew's.

Item, Those beadles which serve the said place fower tymes in one week shall serve but iij tymes the next week followynge.

Item, When the vagabonds be set on work abroade, the iiij beadles that shall attend dailie uppon them, shall be appoynted in the like order as the appoyntment is for London-bridge, saving that those who serve the bridge one day shall serve, in the attendaunce of the vagabonds the next followinge day, and to be one of every howse. And they shall conduct them from their lodginge to their worke, wheresoever it shall happen to be, and very diligentlie attend that they loyter not; and at night also conduct them to their appointed lodginge.

Item, That all the vagabonds and sturdie beggars, with all the masterless men or women by them apprehended, shall be carried to Bridewell, and to none other place, of what howse soever the beadles be that take them.

Item, That all the aged, impotent, sick, sore lame, and blind persons, taken by any of the said beadles, shall by them be apprehended and carried to St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's hospitals.

Item, That all the children taken by them (being under the age of xvj yeares) be brought to Christ's Hospital.

Furthermore, It is agreed by the saide courte, that yf anie of the said xvj beadles neglect anie part of their dutie which to them is appointed, either by these foresaid letters prescribed, or other for them appoynted, or hereafter to be appoynted, or at any tyme they take any manner of bribes, or the poore people's monie from them; the governoures of that house wheare they serve (by an ordre taken before the lorde maior and courte of aldermen) shall not only deprive the saide persone of his office, staffe, and livery, and place another at their discression, but further punish the said offender according to his deserts in that behalfe.'

But notwithstanding the former order, and the charges committed to the beadles of the hospitals to clear the city of vagabonds and beggars, it had not its full effect. For in the very next year, we read, that the city swarmed again with beggars; many whereof were valiant and sturdy rogues, and masterless men, and vagrants, and maimed soldiers. For the preventing the mischief occasioned by some of these, and the great annoyance they gave the city, the city took a more regular course, and appointed a committee to treat with some fit persons to be marshals of the city; who should take some good course with these wandering people for the clearing of the streets of them, and appointing them to their several places and punishments, if they deserved it. And these were to be armed and well assisted with servants for the safer execution of their office. These committees chose two able persons, viz. William Sympson and John Read, to take upon them this office, to be the city marshals, for the consideration of six shillings and eight-pence a day, for them and their horses, and six persons a-piece to attend on each day, at twelve-pence a-piece, which is twelve shillings a

day for either of them. The appointment of those men to be left unto the marshals themselves, to make the better choice of fit men for their purpose. They required, moreover, that one month's pay, amounting to 35*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* at twenty-eight days to the month, for them and their attendants, might be paid them beforehand, the better to furnish them in their preparation and want. And to help forward this work, tending to so notable a purpose, with all speed to be expedited, the committee thought convenient that this month's pay might, by way of loan, be supplied among the aldermen; and in that mean time, and upon the well proceeding therein, the commons might be moved to the establishment of a settled supply for the continuance thereof in some convenient manner; and that then after there might be a weekly payment of their salary by Mr. Chamberlain, and the aldermen's disbursements satisfied, when that contribution should be established. It was also thought convenient, twelve fair partizans, suitably and conveniently armed, should be presently provided by the chamberlain for this service, at the charge of the city; and coats or mandilions for the attendants upon the marshals.

It was also thought by the committees, that the name of marshal, for the disorderly persons in the city of London, would be most proper, and might be best used without offence. And this seems to have been the beginning of the office of city marshal, there being no mention of such an office in this corporation in former times.

The midsummer after, the pompous cavalcade of the city marching watch was entirely laid aside, for saving the vast expense of such an unnecessary procession, and in lieu thereof was substituted a standing watch as at present; which is more useful and less chargeable.

John Basiliowitz, emperor of Russia, having sent Andrew Gregoriwitz Saviana, his ambassador extraordinary to the court of England, he arrived at London, and landed at the Tower-wharf, on the 27th of August; where he was received by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, in their formalities, attended by the English company of Russia merchants, in black velvet, mounted on stately horses, magnificently accoutred, by whom he was conducted to a house, in Seeding-lane, appointed for his residence.

The plague beginning to rage in this city, it occasioned the adjourning of Michaelmas term to that of Hilary.

On this melancholy occasion, the court and city being greatly terrified by the frequent returns of this pestilential visitation, orders were made by the lord mayor and aldermen, for preventing its spreading, and for hindering idle persons going about, that might carry it among them, in this form:

ALDERMEN or their DEPUTIES were enjoined,

1. To gyve charge to churchwardens, constables, parish-clerkes, sextons, and bedells, to enquire what houses be infected.
2. To visit the ward often, to see orders observed, especiallie towching cleannes in the streets.
3. To appoint surveyors monthlie in everye parishe.
4. To appoint that certificat may be made to them what howses be infected.
5. To give charge to all teachers of children, that (as near as they can) they permit no children to come to their schols from infected howses, especiallie till such howses have been clere by the space of twenty-eight daies; and that none kep a greater number than their roomes shall be thought fit by the aldermen or their deputies to contayne.

Surveyours.

1. To sea the orders for the sick executed daylie and diligentlie, upon knowledge from the aldermen what howses be infected.
2. To appoynt purveyors of necessaries for infected howses (being of the same howses), and deliver them reed roddes to carry. and see that none other resort to their howses.

Constables.

1. To bring every daie notice in writing to the aldermen or their deputies, what howses be infected.

Constable and Churchwarden.

1. To provide to have in readiness women to be provyders and deliverers of necessaries to infected howses, and to attend the infected persons, and they to bear reed wandes, so that the sick may be kept from the whole, as nere as may be, needful attendance weyed.

Constable and Bedell.

1. To enquire what houses be infected.
2. To view dailie what papers remayne upon dores xxviij daies, or to place newe.

Clarkes and Sextons.

1. To understand what howses be infected.
2. To see bills set upon the dores of howses infected.
3. To suffer no corpes infected to be buried, or remayne in the churche, durynge prayer or sermon, and to kepe children from coming nere them.

Scavengers and Bakers

1. To see the stretes made cleane every daie, saving Sonday and the soil to be carried awaie.

2. To warne all inhabitants against their howses, to keep channels clere from fylth (by onlie turning yt asyde) that the water may have passage.

Common Hunt.

1. To kyll dogs, &c. or to loose his place.

Howsholders and Howses.

1. Howses having some sick, tho' none die, or from whence some sick have bene removed, are infected howses, and such are to be shutt up for a moneth.

2. The whole familie to tarrie in xxviij daies.

3. To kepe shut the lower romes for the like space.

4. One licensed to go for provision, &c.

5. No clothes hanged into the streets.

6. Such as have wells or pumps, every morning by six, and every evening after eight o'clock, shall cause then bucketts-full to runne into the stretes.

7. Every evening, at that howre, the streets and channells to be made cleane, the water not swept out of the channell, nor the streets over wet, but sprinkled, &c.

8. The howses infected, and things in them, to be ayred in the xxviij daies, and no clothes or things about the infected person to be geven awaie, or sould, but either destroyed or sufficientlie purified.

9. Owners of howses infected, with theire familie, maie, within the moneth, depart to any theire houses in the country, or to any other howse in the cittye, without being shutt up, so they absteyne from returning to the cittye, or from going abrode out of howse in the cittye for a moneth.

10. None shall keepe dogge or bitche abrode unled, nor within howling or disturbing theire neighbours.

11. To have no assemblie at funeral dinners, or usual meeting in howses infected.

12. None shall for a moneth come into infected houses, but such as be of the howse, and licensed to do service abrode.

13. No donghills out of stables, beare-houses, or other places, to be made in the strete.

14. To have dowble tyme of restraint for consenting to pull downe bills, and the taker-awaie suffer imprisonment for viij daies.

Two Vewers of Dead Bodies.

Two Vewers of Sick-suspected shall be appointed and sworne.

These vewers to reporte to the constable, he to the clarke, and he to the chiefe of clarke. All upon pain of imprisonment. A paine of standing on the pillorye for false reports by the vewers. A loss of pension to such as shall refuse.

Mending of Pavements.

That diligent care be had, that pavements be amended, where nede is: and that principall paviers be appointed to survey the wants of paving, especially in channels, and that the dweilers against such may be forced to amend them.

Interludes and Plays.

If the increase of the sickness be feared, that interludes and plaies be restreyned within the libertyes of the cittye.

Phisicions and Surgeons.

That skilful and learned phisicions and chirurgeons maie be provided to minister to the sick.

Vagrant Maisterless, and Poore People.

1. That all such as be diseased be sent to St. Thomas's or St. Bartylmew's hospital, there to be first cured and made cleane; and afterwards, those which be not of the cittye, to be sent awaie, according to the statute in that case provided; and the other to be sett to worke in suche trades as are least used by the inhabitants of the cittye; for the avoyding all such vagrant persons, as well children male and female, soldiers lame and maymed, as other idle and loyteringe persons that swarme in the stretes, and wander upp and downe begginge, to the great danger and infecting of the cittye, for the increase of the plague, and annoyance to the same.

2. That all maisterlesse men, who live idelie in the cittye, without any lawfull calling, frequenting places of common assemblies, as interludes, gaming-howses, cockpitts, bowling-allies, and such other places, may be banished the cittye, according to the laws in that case provided.

3. All which orders abovesaid the aldermen and their deputies are every one in their place to see performed, both in themselves and others; and in cases of doubt, to yeld their opinions, and give direction.

In this same year, for cleansing the city ditch between Aldgate and the postern, and making a new sewer and wharf of timber, from the head of the postern into the Town-ditch, the sum of 814*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* was laid out. Before which time the ditch lay

open, without either wall or pale; having therein great store of very good fish of divers sorts. This charge of cleansing was soon after spared, and great profit made by letting out the banks, and the whole soil of the ditch.

Our intercourse with the city of Antwerp, which was formerly in a manner the treasury of the kings of England, from whence, upon any emergency, they could have what sums of money thee had occasion for immediately advanced, being stopped by the duke of Alva, and the queen in great want of money, she was obliged to apply to the company of merchant adventurers of thy city of London for a loan; who, through great inadvertency, were thought to have spurned at the message, by bringing the affair before a general court, where, to her majesty's great dishonour, her demand was rejected by the holding up of hands. But this proceeding being highly resented by the privy council, as appears by a letter sent by one of the secretaries of state to the said company, importing, 'How this offer of the queen's was a matter of great grace and favour, not much used before this time by any prince; and therefore, in right, to have been very thankfully received;' divers of the aldermen and merchants, to the number of thirteen, and lady Joan Laxton, lent the queen, for the term of six months, sixteen thousand pounds, at six per cent. and each of them received a bond for the money by him or her advanced; which was then prolonged on the same terms for six months longer.

On the 23d of January, in the year 1570, her majesty, attended by the nobility, went into the city, and dined with sir Thomas Gresham, knight, at his house in Bishopsgate-street. After dinner, her majesty returned through Cornhill, went into the Bourse, newly built by sir Thomas, and, after viewing it in all parts, commanded proclamation to be made by a herald, with sound of trumpet, that thenceforth it should go by the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

A dispute arose about this time between the lord-mayor of this city, and the bishop of Ely's tenants in Holborn, concerning the exercise of his authority among them, they alledging they were not within the city jurisdiction. To compose this difference in an amicable manner, the lord-mayor and bishop agreed to refer the point in controversy to the arbitration of the lord-keeper earl of Leicester, the two chief justices, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and, after divers hearings of both sides, the arbitrators agreed to refer the farther consideration thereof to the two chief justices, who were to report their opinion to the other referees touching the same: when, after having seriously and deliberately considered the proofs and allegations of both parties, in presence of all the other gentlemen concerned, they declared the right to be in the lord-mayor and citizens of London; and that, for the future, the mayor might as justly exercise his authority in the bishop's rents in Holborn, as in any other part of the city.

On the three first days of May, 1571, a "solemn *Just* was holden at Westminster before the queene's maiestie, at the tilt, turney, and barriers."* The challengers were Edward, earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton, esq. "who all did very valiantly, but the chiefe honor was given to the earle of Oxford."† In this and the following year, several persons were executed in London for high treason; among whom was Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded on Tower-hill.

Upon the petition of the lord-mayor and citizens of London, it was by parliament enacted, That, for the greater convenience and advantage of the city, a navigable canal should be made from the river Lea, at Ware, to London, at the charge of the citizens, within the space of ten years. But this design was never put in execution, as hereafter will appear.

Queen Elizabeth, by her letters to the lord-mayor, commanded him to cause a considerable number of the strongest and most robust young men in the city to be selected from among the citizens, in order to their being instructed in the military art, that upon all emergencies they might be ready for the defence of the city. The mayor, in obedience to the royal precept, summoned the masters and assistants of the several companies to meet in their respective halls, for chusing a certain number of such young men out of their respective corporations. In obedience to the mayor's order, the several fraternities assembled on the 25th and 26th of March, and chose out of all their several societies three thousand of the most sizeable and active young citizens; part whereof being appointed musketeers, and the rest pike-men, they were armed with breast-plates and head-pieces; over whom were appointed officers of great experience, to instruct them in the military art; wherein they soon became such proficients, as to have the honor of being reviewed by the queen in Greenwich park about the beginning of May.

About the same time the poulterers of London, by a combination, greatly inhanced the prices of poultry, to the great grievance of their fellow-citizens: wherefore the court of lord-mayor and aldermen, on the 4th of April, ascertained the prices of poultry ware, as appears in the following table:

	s.	*d.*
The best swan at	6	8
The best cygnet at	6	0
The best crane at	6	0
The best storke at	4	0
The best heron at	2	6
The best bittern at	2	0

* Stow's Annals, p. 1141

† Ibid

	s.	d.
The best shoveler or pelican at	2	0
The best wild mallard at	0	6
The best widgeon at	0	3
The best teal at	0	3
The best capon at	1	8
The second sort of capons, each at	1	4
The best hen at	0	9
The best green geese, till May-day, each at	0	2
The best green geese, after May-day, each at	0	6
The best rabbets at	0	4
The rabbet-runner, after May, each at	0	2
The best pigeons, a dozen at	1	2
The best pullets, each at	0	6
The best chickens, each at	0	4
The smaller sort of chickens, each at	0	2½
The best woodcocks, each at	0	6
The best green plover at	0	4
The best grey plover at	0	3
The best snipe at	0	2
The best blackbirds, a dozen at	1	0
The best larks, a dozen at	0	8
The best knot at	0	4
The best gulls, each at	1	8
The best goose at	1	2
The best butter, till Allhallows, the pound at	0	3
The best eggs, till Michaelmas, five for	0	1
The best eggs, till Ash-Wednesday, four for	0	1

At Market.

The best wild mallard, at	0	5
The best capon, at	1	0
The second sort of capons, each at	0	10
The best hen, at	0	7
The best pigeons, a dozen at.	1	0
The best chickens, each at	0	3
The smaller sort of chickens, each at	0	1½
The best woodcock, at	0	5
The green plover, at	0	3
The best blackbirds, a dozen at	0	10
The best larks, a dozen, at	0	6
The best goose, at	1	0

The queen, intending a progress, strictly enjoined the lord mayor to have a special regard to the good government and peace of the city during her absence; and, for the better accomplishing of which, gave him, as assistants, the archbishop of Canterbury,

bishop of London, &c. and upon that occasion wrote to him the following letter:

To the Lord Mayor of London.

'Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Altho' we doubt not, but that, by the authority you have as lord mayor of our city of London, with the assistances and advices of your brethren of the same, you may and will see our said city well governed, and, by our good and faithful subjects, ordered and continued in quietness, as others your predecessors and yourself have commonly done; yet, for the special care we have for our said city, and weale of our good subjects, thinking it convenient for your own ease to have you assisted by other persons of great trust, wisdom, and experience, during this time of our progress and absence in remote parts from thence; and especially that no disorder should arise in the suburbs, or other places adjoining to the city, out of your jurisdiction. We have, for that purpose, made choice of the most reverend Father in God the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Cook, sir Thomas Wroth, sir Owyen Hopton, sir Thomas Gresham, Dr. Wylson, and Thomas Wilbraham; and have appointed that they or some convenient number of them, shall join with you to devise, by all good means, from time to time as occasions may give cause, for quiet order to be continued in our said city, and among our subjects, and to prevent and stay disorders, both there and in other parts near to the same, being out of your jurisdiction. For which purpose, and for the better understanding of our desire and intention, we have caused our privy-council to confer with some of the afore-named persons, as you shall understand by them, willing and requiring you (when you shall meet together, or some of them with you) for the better doing thereof, to agree upon some certain place and time, once every week, or oftener, as the cases may require, and there to meet, for the due execution of our good meaning and pleasure.'

In the year 1573, an excessive dearth raised the price of wheat to two pounds six shillings the quarter, of pease to one pound twelve, and of oatmeal to one pound seventeen shillings and four pence; whereby the price of meat was so much affected, that beef was sold for one shilling and ten pence the stone. This scarcity extended to butter and all sorts of victuals, and was chiefly occasioned by the secret exportation of them, and all sorts of grain, to the Netherlands, then laid waste by a civil war, as sir Lionel Ducket, lord mayor at that time, signified in a remonstrance to the lord treasurer of England; and suggested that, unless the ministry would see redress thereof in time, the scarcity must be felt more powerfully, even by those in the highest station of life. *

* Holins. Chron. Engl. A. D. 1573.

On the 4th of September, such a great and violent shower of rain fell, that the channels were so swelled, that a youth of eighteen years of age endeavouring to leap over that on Dowgate-hill, was seized by the torrent, which, maugre all assistance, carried him away, and put a period to his days.*

The plague having again broke out in this city, the queen, out of her tender regard to the welfare of her people, and care to prevent the spreading of the infection, enjoined the lord mayor not to give any entertainment at Guildhall, on the anniversary of his going to Westminster, thereby to prevent the vast resort of people from all parts, which usually assembled there on such an occasion, whereby the pestilential malady might be carried into all parts of this great metropolis. And the citizens in common-council observing, that the ancient and innocent recreation of stage-plays, or interludes, which, in former days, ingenious tradesmen and gentlemens' servants sometimes practised, to expose vice, or to represent the noble actions of their ancestors, at certain festival times, or in private houses at weddings, at other splendid entertainments, for their own profit, was now in process of time become an occupation; and that many there were that followed it for a livelihood; and, which was worse, that it was become the occasion of much sin and evil; great multitudes of people, especially youth, in queen Elizabeth's reign, resorting to these plays; and being commonly acted on Sundays and festivals, the churches were forsaken, and the playhouses thronged, and great disorders and inconvenience were found to ensue to the city thereby, forasmuch as it occasioned frays, and evil practices of incontinency. Great inns were used for this purpose, which had secret chambers and places, as well as open stages and galleries; where maids, especially orphans, and good citizens' children under age, were inveigled and allured to privy and unmeet contracts; and where unchaste, uncomely, and unshamefaced speeches and doings were published; where there was an unthrifty waste of the money of the poor; sundry robberies, by picking and cutting purses, uttering of popular and seditious matter, many corruptions of youth, and other enormities; besides sundry slaughters and maimings of the queen's subjects, by falling of scaffolds, frames, and stages, and by engines, weapons, and powder, used in the plays; and believing that in the time of God's visitation by the plague, such assemblies of the people in throngs and presses were very dangerous for spreading the infection; they regulated these plays, lest the people, upon God's gracious withdrawing of the sickness, should, with sudden forgetting of the visitation, without fear of God's wrath, and without some respect of those good and politic means (as the words of the act ran) that were ordained for the preservation of the commonwealth and people in health and good order,

* Stow's Ann. Eng. 1574.

return to the undue use of such enormities. Therefore, for the lawful, honest, comely use of plays, pastimes, and recreations in good sort permitted, by the authority of the common council, it was enacted, "I. That no play shall be openly played within the liberty of the city, wherein should be uttered any words, examples, or doings of any unchastity, sedition, or such like unfit and uncomely matter, upon pain of imprisonment for the space of fourteen days, and 5*l.* for every such offence. II. That no innkeeper, tavern-keeper, or other person whatsoever, within the liberties of the city, shall shew or play, or cause to be shewn or played, within his house or yard, any play, which shall not first be perused and allowed by the lord mayor and court of aldermen's order. III. No person shall suffer any plays to be played in his house or yard, whereof he shall then have rule; but only such persons, and in such places, as upon good consideration, shall be thereunto permitted and allowed by the lord mayor and aldermen. IV. Nor shall take and use any such benefit or advantage of such permission, until such person be bound to the chamberlain of London, in certain sums, for the keeping of good order, and avoiding of discords and inconveniencies. V. Neither shall use or exercise such licence or permission at any time, in which the same shall be by the lord mayor and aldermen restrained, or commanded to stay and cease, in any usual time of divine service on the Sunday or holiday, or receive any to that purpose in time of service, to the same, upon pain to forfeit for every offence 5*l.* VI. And every person to be licensed shall, during the time of such continuance of license, pay to the use of the poor in hospitals of the city, or of the poor visited with sickness, such sums and payments, as between the mayor and aldermen, and the person to be licensed, shall be agreed upon, upon pain that, on the want of every such payment, such licence shall be utterly void. VII. All sums and forfeitures to be incurred for any offence against this act, and all forfeitures of bonds shall be employed to the relief of the poor in the hospitals, or of the poor infected or diseased of the city. And the chamberlain, in his own name, shall have and recover the same, to the purposes aforesaid, in the court of the outer chamber of Guildhall, London, called the Lord Mayor's Court.

Provided, that this act shall not extend to plays shewed in private houses, lodgings of a nobleman, citizen, or gentleman, which shall have the same then played in his presence for the festivity of any marriage, assembly of friends, or other like cause, without public or common collection of money of the auditors or beholders."

The public players petitioned the queen and council for license to act as usual; but, after due consideration, and a full hearing of argument for and against them, they could obtain no permission, except on condition that they hold them content with playing in

private houses, at weddings, &c. without public assemblies. That if it were thought good they should be tolerated, that then they be restrained to the order in the act of common council, made in the time of Hawes, mayor. That they play not openly till the whole deaths have been, by twenty days, under fifty a week, nor longer than shall so continue. That no plays be on the sabbath. That no plays be on holidays, but after evening prayer, nor any received into the auditory till after evening prayer. That no playing be in the dark, nor continue any such time, but as any of the auditors may return to their dwellings in London before sunset, or at least before it be dark. That the queen's players only be tolerated; and of them their number and certain names to be notified in the lord treasurer's letters to the lord mayor, and to the justices of Middlesex and Surrey; and those her players not to divide themselves into several companies. And that for breaking any of these orders their toleration cease.

But all these prescriptions were not sufficient to keep them within due order; but their plays, so abusive oftentime of virtue, or particular persons, gave great offence, and occasioned disturbances; whence they were now and then stopped and prohibited. So in the year 1589, Hart, mayor, complaint was made of them to the lord treasurer, who signified the same to the mayor; and he sent for all the players in town, (and there were some companies of them, as one belonged to the lord admiral, and another to the lord Strange) and charged them to forbear till further order.

On the 6th of November following, an exceeding high tide happened in the river Thames, which, after high water, having ebbed about an hour, a preternatural reflux returned with such an amazing impetuosity, that it soon overflowed its banks, and, filling all the neighbouring cellars, subterraneous warehouses, and vicinal marshes, occasioned incredible damage.

The lord chancellor Bacon, in the Star-chamber, having taken minutes of several regulations to be made for reforming of public grievances, among which was that of suppressing a number of superfluous alehouses, he communicated the same to the lord mayor; who, calling to his assistance the recorders of Southwark and Lambeth, set about a reformation, by putting down above two hundred alehouses in their several jurisdictions: which example was quickly followed by those of Westminster, Duchy of Lancaster, Liberty of Tower Hamlets, and other parts of Middlesex contiguous to London.

At this time, the lord mayor, recorder, and other magistrates, did so effectually exert themselves in putting the laws in execution against vice and immorality, that, at the assizes then held for the city of London, there was not one criminal to be tried; the reason whereof is set forth in the following letter from Willian Fleetwood, recorder of London, to the lord treasurer, the

with the court at Buxton, viz. "The only cause that this reformation taketh so good effect here about London, is, that when, by order, we have either justly executed the law, or performed the council's commandment, we were wont to have either a great man's letter, a lady's ring, or some other token from such other inferior persons, as will devise one untruth or other to accuse us of, if we perform not their unlawful requests. The court is far off; here we are not troubled with letters, neither for the reprieve of this prisoner, nor for sparing that fray-maker. These secretaries, chamber-keepers, and solicitors in the court, procure many letters from their lords and ladies upon untrue suggestions; the which letters do great hurt."

In 1576, upon digging the well in Leadenhall-street, wherein the present pump is placed, near the end of Lime-street, about the depth of thirteen feet, upon the virgin earth, was discovered a hearth built of Roman bricks, with charcoal thereon; but what use the said hearth was appropriated to is unknown.

Under the date 1576, Stow records the following extraordinary examples of ingenuity. "A strange peece of worke, and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an Englishman borne within the citie of London, and a clarke of the Chancerie, named Peter Bales, who, by his industrie and practize of his pen, contrived and writ, within the compasse of a penie, in Latin, the Lord's Prayer, the Creede, the Ten Commandements, a prayer to God, a praier for the queene, his poste, his name, the day of the month, the yeere of our Lorde, and the reigne of the queene; and at Hampton-court, hee presented the same to the queenes majestie, in the heade of a ringe of golde, covered with a chrystall, and presented therewith an excellent spectacle, by him devised, for the easier reading thereof, wherewith hir majestie reade all that was written thereon, and did weare the same upon hir finger.

"Also about the same time, Marke Scaliot, blacksmith, borne in London, for trial of workmanship, made one hanging locke of yron, steele, and brasse, a pipe key filed three square, with a pot upon the shafte, and the bowe with two esses, al cleane wrought, which weied but one grain of golde, or wheat corne: he made also a chain of gold of 43 links, to which chaine the locke and key being fastned, and put about a fleas neck, shee drew the same; all which locke, key, chaine and flea, weied but one graine and a half, as is yet to be seene upon Corne-hill, by Leaden-hall, at the sayde Marke's house."

William Lamb, some time a gentleman of the chapel to Henry VIII. citizen and clothworker, having drawn together several springs of water into a head, now from him denominated Lamb's Conduit near the Foundling Hospital, at the upper end of Red Lion-street, in High Holborn; whence, in a leaden pipe two thousand yards long, he conveyed the same to Snow-hill; where having re-edified a ruinous conduit long in disuse, and now en-

tirely demolished, he laid his water into the same, to the great advantage and convenience of that neighbourhood. This conduit, finished March 26th, 1577, though removed a little from its place, still retains the name of its rebuilder; which, together with that of the other parts of the work, amounted to 1500*l.* He also founded a free grammar school, at Sutton Valence, the place of his nativity, in Kent, with a master at 20*l.* and an usher at 10*l.* per ann. and an almshouse for six poor people, endowed with 10*l.* yearly. He gave 10*l.* per annum to the free school, at Maidstone, in Kent, for the education of needy mens' children; 300*l.* to the poor clothiers in Suffolk, Bridgnorth and Ludlow, in Shropshire. He left to the Clothworkers' company his dwelling-house, a little to the south-west of Cripplegate, with lands and tenements to the value of 30*l.* per annum, for paying a minister to read divine service on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, every week, in the chapel adjoining to his house, called St. James, in the wall by Cripplegate; and for clothing twelve men with a frize gown, one lockram shirt, and a good strong pair of winter shoes; and twelve women with a frize gown, a lockram smock, and a good pair of winter shoes, all ready made for wearing; to be given to such as are poor and honest, on the 1st of October. He also gave 15*l.* towards the bells and chimes of St. Giles's without Cripplegate; 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly to the company of Stationers, for the relief of twelve poor people of the parish of St. Faith, under St. Paul's, at the rate of 12*d.* in money, and 12*d.* in bread, to each of them, on every Friday during the year; 6*l.* per annum, and 100*l.* to purchase land, for the relief of children in Christ's hospital; 4*l.* to St. Thomas's hospital in Southwark; besides some other charities to the prisons, and for portioning poor maids.

At this time John Casimir, son to the elector palatine, arrived in England; and landing at the Tower of London, on the 22nd of January, at night, he was received by many of the principal nobility, the lord mayor, aldermen, and leading citizens, who conducted him by torch light to the house of sir Thomas Gresham, in Bishopsgate-street; where he was received by sound of trumpet and other musical instruments, and on the 3rd of February was magnificently entertained by sir Thomas Ramsey, the lord mayor.

William Kympton, an alderman of this city, was, by the lord chancellor, committed prisoner to the Fleet-prison, for concealing a letter sent him by the vicar of Hadley in Middlesex, which advised him of an insurrection at Northall, where the people had tumultuously pulled down some pales; which offence being deemed a misprision of treason, the alderman was, by the court of Star-Chamber, amerced in the sum of five hundred marks, and imprisoned during the queen's pleasure.

On the 4th and 5th of February, 1579, " fell such abundance

of snow," in London, that "the same was found to lie two feete deepe in the shallowest," and when driven by the wind, "an ell or yard and halfe deepe." The snow continued to fall till the 8th, and "freezed till the tenth, and then followed a thawe with continuall raine a long time after, which caused such high floods, that the marshes and low grounds being drowned for a time, the water was so high in Westminster-hall, that after the fall thereof, some fishes were found there to remaine." In 1580, on the 6th of April, an earthquake was felt in London, and though its duration did not exceed a minute, the shock was so severe that many churches and houses were much shattered, and several people killed and hurt. "The great clocke bell in the palace at Westminster," says Stow, "spoke of itself against the hammer with shaking, as divers clockes and belles in the city and elsewhere did the like." This earthquake extended into many parts of England: in Kent there were three shocks, and much damage was done.

On the seventh of July, in the same year, by a proclamation dated at Nonsuch, all persons were prohibited from building houses within three miles from any of the city gates of London; and various other regulations were ordered to be enforced to prevent any further resort of people to the capital from distant parts of the country. This ordinance was issued from the three-fold consideration of "the difficulty of governing a more extended multitude without device of new jurisdictions and officers for the purpose: of the improbability of supplying them with food, fuel, and other necessaries at a reasonable rate; and of the danger of spreading plague and infection throughout the realm." In the following November, when the lord mayor elect went to the exchequer to take the official oaths, he was strictly enjoined by the lord treasurer to enforce the proclamation.

The cross in Cheapside having been frequently presented by the inquest as a public nuisance, in obstructing carriages, to the great detriment of the inhabitants of that street, but without redress; it was so highly resented by the neighbourhood, who were likewise offended at the figures wherewith the cross was decorated, that in the night-time it was almost demolished by persons unknown; who not only stripped it of its puppets, but likewise robbed the Virgin Mary of her son; and breaking both her arms, had by the assistance of a rope, almost destroyed her body, which they left in a tottering condition. Upon which a proclamation was published for discovering and apprehending the person or persons concerned in this deformation, with a reward of ten pounds upon conviction.*

The Turkey company was incorporated in this year, and the first governor was sir Edward Osborne, an alderman of London. The ambassador who was sent by Elizabeth to negociate their friendly reception in Turkey, sailed on board the ship Susan, of London,

* Maitland, i. 266.

mounting thirty-four guns; a vessel of considerable magnitude at that period.

In the year 1582, the luxury of the times having greatly prevailed among people of all degrees, in their apparel, particularly apprentices, the lord mayor and common-council enacted, "That no apprentice whatsoever should presume, 1. To wear any apparel but what he receives from his master. 2. To wear no hat, nor any thing but a woollen cap, without any silk in or about the same. 3. To wear neither ruffles, cuffs, loose collars, nor any thing than a ruff at the collar, and that only of a yard and a half long. 4. To wear no doublets but what are made of canvass, fustian, sackcloth, English leather, or woollen, without any gold, silver, or silk trimming. 5. To wear no other coloured cloth, or kersey, in hose or stockings, than white, blue, or russet. 6. To wear no other breeches, but what shall be of the same stuffs as the doublets, and neither stitched, laced, or bordered. 7. To wear no other than a plain upper coat, of cloth or leather, without pinking, stitching, edging, or silk about it. 8. To wear no other surtout than a cloth gown or cloak, lined or faced with cloth, cotton, or baize, with a fixed round collar, without stiching, guarding, lace, or silk. 9. To wear no pumps, slippers, or shoes, but of English leather, without being pinked, edged, or stitched: nor girdles, nor garters, other than of crewel, woollen, thread, or leather, without being garnished. 10. To wear no sword, dagger, or other weapon but a knife: nor a ring, jewel of gold nor silver, nor silk in any part of his apparel, on pain of being punished at the discretion of the master for the first offence; to be publicly whipped at the hall of his company for a second offence; and to serve six months longer than specified in his indentures for a third offence." And it was further enacted, "That no apprentice should frequent or go to any dancing, fencing, or musical schools; nor keep any chest, press, or other place for keeping of apparel, or goods, but in his master's house, under the penalties aforesaid."

In the year 1583, one day in the month of July, there were two great feasts at London, one at Grocer's hall and the other at Haberdashers' hall, (as perhaps there was in all the rest upon some public occasion). Sir Edward Osborne, mayor, and divers of his brethren, with the recorder, were at Haberdashers' hall; where the said mayor, after the second course was come in, took the great standing cup, the gift of sir William Garret, being full of hypocrase, and silence being commanded through all the tables, all men being bare-headed, my lord, openly, with a convenient loud voice, used these words: "Mr. recorder of London, and you my good brethren, the aldermen, bear witness that I do drink unto Mr. alderman Massam, as sheriff of London and Middlesex, from Michaelmas next coming, for one whole year; and I do beseech God to give him as quiet and peaceable a year, with as good and gracious favor of her majesty, as I myself, and my brethren the sheriffs now being

have hitherto had, and as I trust shall have." This spoken, all men desired the same. The sword-bearer in haste went to the Grocers' feast, where Mr. alderman Massam was at dinner, and did openly declare the words that my lord mayor had used; whereunto silence made, and all being hush, the alderman answered very modestly in this sort: "First, I thank God, who, through his great goodness, hath called me from a very poor and mean degree unto this worshipful state. Secondly, I thank her majesty for her gracious goodness, in allowing to us these great and ample franchises. And thirdly, I thank my lord mayor for having so honourable an opinion of this my company of grocers, as to make choice of me, being a poor member of the same." And this said, both he and all the company pledged my lord, and gave him thanks.

On the 17th of September following, the citizens held a very splendid shooting-match, under the direction of the captain of the London archers, who was stiled the duke of Shoreditch, on the following occasion: king Henry the eighth having appointed a great shooting-match at Windsor, it happened that towards night, when the diversion was almost over, one Barlow, a citizen of London, and inhabitant of Shoreditch, out-shot all the rest; wherewith Henry was so exceedingly pleased, that he told Barlow, that thenceforth he should be called the duke of Shoreditch: which appellation the captain of the London archers enjoyed for ages after.

This captain of the band of London archers summoned his nominal nobility to accompany him with their several companies on so solemn an occasion, under the following titles, viz. The marquisses of Barlow, Clerkenwell, Islington, Hoxton, and Shacklewell, and the earl of Pancras, &c. who being met at the time and place prefixed, the pompous march began from Merchant-Taylors' hall, consisting of three thousand archers, sumptuously apparelled, nine hundred and forty-two whereof having chains of gold about their necks. This splendid company was guarded by whifflers and billmen, to the number of four thousand, besides pages and footmen; and marching through Broad-street, the residence of the duke, their captain, continued their march through Moorfields, by Finsbury to Smithfield; where, after having performed their several evolutions, they shot at the target for glory.

The queen, after her progress, being returned to St. James's palace, was attended by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and many of the principal citizens, to the number of two hundred, mounted on stately horses, and dressed in velvet, with golden chains about their necks, accompanied by a thousand citizens on foot, belonging to the several corporations, attended by the same number of servants, with each a torch (it being by night) or flambeau in his hand; by whom her majesty, in a congratulatory address, was welcomed to her capital and residence.

Elizabeth, being greatly apprehensive of an invasion from Spain, not only by repeated advices, but likewise by the prodigious naval

preparations making in that country, took all the precautions necessary, such as fitting out of ships of war for sea service, and raising and disciplining of men for that of the land, to keep the nation prepared against any unforeseen attack. The several corporations of this city sent a handsome body of men into the field at their own expense; who, assembling on Blackheath in May, about five thousand in number, completely armed, encamped thereon about a week; during which time, they had the honour of being reviewed divers times by the queen. The companies of grocers, haberdashers, and merchant-taylors, on this occasion sent each three hundred and ninety-five men; the mercers two hundred and ninety-four; and the other companies according to their several abilities.

In the August following, a considerable body of soldiers were fitted out, by and at the expense of the aforesaid companies; who, being completely armed, and clothed in red, were sent to the assistance of the Dutch against the Spaniards.*

At a sessions in July, 1585, this may be worthy to be related, as it was written by Fleetwood, the recorder, to the lord treasurer: that he, and some others that were then upon the bench, spent a day about searching out sundry that were receivers of felons, and a great many were found in London, Westminster, Southwark, and places about the same. And they got the names of forty-five masterless men and cut-purses, whose practice was to rob gentlemen's chambers and artificers' shops in and about London; and seven houses of entertainment for such in London, six more in Westminster, three more in the suburbs, and two in Southwark. Among the rest, they found one Wotton, a gentleman born, and some time a merchant of good credit, but fallen by time into decay. This man kept an alehouse at Smart's Key, near Billingsgate, and after, for some misdemeanor, put down, he reared up a new trade of life, and in the same house he procured all the cut-purses in the city to repair to his house. There was a school-house set up to learn young boys to cut purses. Two devices were hung up: one was a pocket, and another was a purse; the pocket had in it certain counters, and was hung about with hawk's bells, and over the top did hang a little sacring bell. The purse had silver in it; and he that could take out a counter without any noise, was allowed to be a public *foyster*; and he that could take a piece of silver out of the pocket without noise of any of the bells, was adjudged a judicial *nypper*, according to their terms of art. A *foyster* was a pickpocket, a *nypper* was a pick-purse, or cut-purse.

It gave great encouragement to evil-doers about these times, and good men complained of it, that thieves and malefactors condemned were so frequently and commonly spared: and this evil came from the court, insomuch that the recorder aforesaid, a wise and honest

* Stow's Ann. p. 1202.

man, observed to the lord treasurer that it was grown a trade in the court to make means for reprieves.

In 1586, a conspiracy was entered into by the apprentices and other ill-designing persons of this city, for a general insurrection to be made against foreigners, but especially against those of the French nation; which wicked design was founded upon the same principles with those of Evil May-day, in the year 1517; but by a timely and happy discovery, the innocent were saved from destruction, and many of the conspirators were apprehended and committed to Newgate.*

The same year was productive of Babington's memorable conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth, and free the queen of Scots from a captivity in which she had now passed almost eighteen years. Six persons had engaged to kill the queen, and were all drawn in one picture, with Babington in the middle, and a Latin motto annexed, (*Quorsum hæc alio properantibus*) obscurely hinting their design. Through the watchfulness of sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary, the plot was discovered; and he contrived to get the picture shown to the queen before the arrest of any of the conspirators. At length, however, they were seized, about the middle of July, to the number of fourteen; 'for joy of whose apprehension, the citizens of London, the 15 of the same moneth, at night, and on the next morrow, caused the bels in the churches to be rung, and bonefiers in their streetes to be made, and also banqueted every man according to his abilitie, with singing of psalmes, and praysing God.' These proofs of attachment were so acceptable to the queen, that she addressed the following letter to the lord mayor and aldermen:

'Right trustie and wel-beloved, we greet you well. Being given to understand how greatly our good and most loving subjects of that citie did rejoyce at the apprehension of certaine divelish and wicked-minded subjects of ours, that through the great and singular goodnesse of God have been detected, to have most wickedly and unnaturally conspired, not onely the taking away of our owne life, but also to have stirred, as much as in them lay, a general rebellion throughout our whole realme. Wee could not but by our own letters witnes unto you the great and singular contentment wee received upon the knowledge thereof, assuring you that wee did not so much rejoice at the escape of the intended attempt against our owne person, as to see the great joy our most loving subjects took at the apprehension of the contrivers thereof, which, to make their love more apparent, they have (as we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no outward show, that by any externall act might witnesse to the world the inward love and dutiful affection they beare towards us.

'And as we have as great cause with all thankfulnesse to acknowledge God's great goodnesse towards us, through the infinite

* Stow's Ann. Engl.

blessings he layeth upon us, as many as ever prince had, yea, rather as ever creature had: yet do we not, for any worldly blessing received from his divine majesty, so greatly acknowledge the same, as in that it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our subjects, even from the first beginning of our raygne, to carrie as great love towards us, as ever subjects carryed towarde prince, which ought to move us (as it doth in very deede), to seeke with all care, and by all good meanes that appertaine to a Christian prince, the conservation of so loving and dutiful subjects; assuring you, that we desire no longer to live than while we may, in the whole course of our government, carry ourselfe in such sort, as may not only nourish and continue their love and goodwill towards us, but also increase the same. Wee thinke meete, that these our letters should be communicated in some general assembly to our most loving subjects the commoners of that cittie.

'Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the 18th of August, 1586, in the 28th yeare of our reigne.'

In the September following, the conspirators were tried at Westminster, and seven of them were adjudged guilty on their own confessions; the others were condemned by the jury. They were all 'hanged, bowelled, and quartered in Lincolnes Inne Fields, on a stage or scaffolde of timber, strongly made for that purpose, even in the place where they used to meete and to conferre of their traiterous practices.'* The ill-starred Mary, whose imprisonment had given rise to various attempts against the queen's life, is said to have been implicated in Babington's conspiracy; and this, whether true or false, furnished a plausible pretext for those proceedings, which soon afterwards condemned her to the block. The sentence against her was proclaimed with particular ceremony at different places in London and Westminster, on the 6th of December, 'to the great and wonderful rejoicing of the people of all sorts, as manifestly appeared by the ringing of bels, making of bonfiers, and singing of psalmes, in every of the streetes and lanes of the citie.'† The city magistracy, with divers earls, barons, &c. attended this judicial promulgation.

On the 16th of February, 1587, the remains of the gallant and accomplished sir Philip Sydney, who was mortally wounded at Zutphen, in Flanders, were conveyed, with great funeral pomp, from the convent of the Minorites, without Aldgate, to St. Paul's cathedral, and solemnly interred. These obsequies were attended by the lord mayor and aldermen 'in murreie,' by the Grocers' company, of which sir Philip was a member, and by many of the citizens 'practised in armes.'‡

This year a general scarcity of corn happened in England: and the scarcity increasing, the dearth became so excessive, that wheat

* Stow's Ann. p. 1236. † Ibid. p. 1260.

‡ Ibid. p. 1257.

was sold in this city the spring following at three pounds four shillings the quarter, and in divers places of the kingdom at five pounds four shillings.

The queen, continuing to make the most formidable preparations for securing the kingdom against the attempts of the Spaniards, sent the following letter to the lord mayor:—

'Trusty and well-beloved, we greete you well.

'Whereas, upon information given unto us of great preparations made in foreign parts, with an intente to attempte somewhat against this our realme, wee gave present order that our said realme should be put in order of defence; which wee have caused to be performed in all partes accordingly, savinge in the cittie of London.

'Wee, therefore, knowinge your readiness by former experience, to performe any service that well-affected subjects ought to yealde to theire prince and sovereigne, do lett you understand, that within our sayde cittye our pleasure is, that there be forthwith put in a readiness to serve for defence of our own person, upon such occasions as may fall out, the nomber of ten thousand hable men, furnished with armour and weapons convenient; of which nomber, our meaning is, that six thousand be enrolled under captaines and ensignes, and to be trained at tymes convenient, according to suche further direction as you shall receive from our privye councell, under six of their handes, which our pleasure is you do follow from tyme to tyme, in the ordringe and traininge of the said nombres of men. And theis our letters shall be your sufficient warrante for the doing of the same.

'Given under our signet, at our mannor of Greenwich, the 8th of Marche, 1587, in the thirtieth year of our raigne.'

Two days after, the queen's letter was followed by the subjoined from the privy council:

'After our harty commendations.

'Whereas the queenes majestie having received divers advertisements of preparations in forreine partes, with intent and purpose to attempte somewhat on this realme, did very providently give speedy order for to provide all things necessarye to withstande any invasion or attempte that might be offered; and, to that end, did direct her letters to you, thereby willinge and requiringe you to put in a readiness the nomber of ten thousand armed men within the cittye, and the liberties of the same, being the principal and chief cittye in all the realme, to serve as well for the defence of the same, as for the safe-garde of her majestie's person, if neede should so require; whereof six thousand were to be enrolled, and to be reduced under captaines and ensignes.

'And for the better orderinge and disposing of the said souldiers, you were required to follow such directions as you should from tyme to tyme receive from us. Theis are, therefore, to let you understand, that we have thought good to require our loving friendes sir Francis Knowles, knt. treasurer of her majestie's housholde, and

sir John Norris, knt. to conferre with you in that behalf, to appointe convenient tyme for the better trayninge of the said six thousand, and for the better ordringe and sorting them with armour and weapons, and reducing the same under captaines and ensignes, to the ende that they may be trayned and made experte to use their weapons, and disciplined, whereby they may be the more serviceable, and better instructed to serve either for the defence of the said cittye, or to joyne with that armye that shall be appointed for the defence of her majestie's persone, as occasion shall serve.

'And that the other four thousand men also have their severall armour and weapons appoynted unto them, and to be commanded to be in a readiness to serve also in case of necessitie for like purposes as is aforesaid; wherein wee are to praye you, that you will use the aide and help of Mr. Treasurer, and omit no care and diligence to see this her majestie's pleasure put in execution, tending to your owne preservation and safe-garde, as becometh all good subjects to do; and to advise us of the order you shall have taken, as well in trayning of the six thousand, as having in a readiness the residue.

"So we bid you hartely farewell. From the courte at Greenwich, the 10th of March, 1587.

Your very loving friends,

CHRIST. HATTON, Canc, FRA. WALSINGHAM,
W. BURGHLEY, T. HENAGE,
R. LEYCESTER, J. WOOLEY.'

These letters being read in the common council, it was unanimously resolved to grant her majesty the desired number of troops, which were to be raised in the several wards of the city, by the aldermen and common-councilmen thereof respectively. And for the more effectually supplying the aforesaid number of men, with all the necessaries of war, the common-council appointed a committee of twenty-six of their members, to consider of ways and means for that purpose.

And the better to enable the citizens to raise the sum necessary for this great undertaking, a deputation was sent by the common council to the privy council, to entreat that right honourable board, that the inhabitants of the several pretended privileged places within the city and liberty thereof, together with all strangers, might be obliged to contribute towards the said necessary charges; and that the city might appoint officers duly qualified to train and command the said troops, as should be approved by the court of lord mayor and aldermen.

The danger of an invasion from Spain still approaching, the lords of the privy council sent the following letter to the lord mayor:

'After our harty commendations to your lordship.

'Whereas her majestie hath thought it convenient, that as well such nombers of trayned bandes and others, as by former orders

have been erected in the several counties in the realme, should be disposed and divided, some to repaire to the sea coastes, as occasion may serve, to impeache the landinge, or withstandinge of the enemie upon his first descent; some other parte of the said forces to joine with suche nombers as shall be thought convenient to make heade to the enemie after he shall be landed, yf it shall so fall out; and another principal parte of the said trayned nombers to repair hither, to joyne with the armye that shall be appointed for the defence of her majestie's person.

'Theis shall be to praye your lordshipe to give present order, that of those nombers which were appoynted to be levyed, you commit the nomber of ten thousand men sorted with weapones, according to such proportion as hath been heretofore set downe unto you, and reduced into bandes, may be in a readiness with convenient armour, furniture, and other necessaryes, agreeable with the directions heretofore given, upon an houres warninge, to repaire either to the courte to attende on her majestie's person, or to suche place as shall be appoynted, to joine with the armye which shall be specially assembled for the making heade to the enemies, upon notice given to you, either from her majestie or from us, or from such person of qualitie as shall be notified unto you to be appoynted by her majestie to be the generall of the armye, either to attende upon her highnesse person, or to goe against the enemies; wherein nothinge doubtinge but that your lordshipe will give spedye and speciall direction, we bid your lordshipe very hartely farewell.

'From the court at Grenewich, the 27th of June, 1588.'

According to a manuscript in the royal library, the London quota of troops were raised and armed in the several wards of the city, according to the following proportions:

Farringdon Ward within 757 *men.*		*Aldgate Ward,* 327 *men.*		*Coleman-street Ward* 229 *men.*	
Shot or Fire-arms	242	Shot or Fire-arms	98	Shot or Fire-arms	67
Corslets with pikes	194	Corslets with pikes	80	Corslets with pikes	53
Corslets with bills	48	Corslets with bills	18	Corslets with bills	20
Callivers -	46	Callivers -	40	Callivers -	27
Bows -	65	Bows -	26	Bows -	18
Pikes -	128	Pikes -	58	Pikes -	35
Bills -	34	Bills -	12	Bills -	9

Bassishaw Ward, 177 *men.*		*Billingsgate Ward,* 365 *men*		*Broad-street Ward,* 373 *men.*	
Shot or Fire-arms	36	Shot or Fire-arms	110	Shot or Fire-arms	112
Corslets with pikes	30	Corslets with pikes	87	Corslets with pikes	89
Corslets with bills	7	Corslets with bills	22	Corslets with bills	23
Callivers -	15	Callivers -	44	Callivers -	45
Bows -	65	Bows -	29	Bows -	30
Pikes -	20	Pikes -	58	Pikes -	60
Bills -	4	Bills -	15	Bills -	14

Bread-street Ward, 386 *men.*		*Aldersgate Ward*, 232 *men.*		*Bridge Ward, Within*, 383 *men.*	
Shot or Fire-arms	116	Shot or Fire-arms	69	Shot or Fire-arms	115
Corslets with pikes	92	Corslets with pikes	56	Corslets with pikes	92
Corslets with bills	24	Corslets with bills	14	Corslets with bills	22
Callivers -	47	Callivers -	27	Callivers -	46
Bows -	31	Bows -	18	Bows -	31
Pikes -	15	Pikes -	10	Pikes -	61
Bills -	61	Bills -	38	Bills -	16

Dowgate Ward, 384 *men.*		*Cornhill Ward*, 191 *men.*		*Castle Baynard Ward*, 561 *men.*	
Shot or Fire-arms	116	Shot or Fire-arms	57	Shot or Fire-arms	165
Corslets with pikes	84	Corslets with pikes	36	Corslets with pikes	132
Corslets with bills	24	Corslets with bills	21	Corslets with bills	32
Callivers -	46	Callivers -	22	Callivers -	66
Bows -	62	Bows -	16	Bows -	44
Pikes -	16	Pikes -	31	Pikes -	88
Bills -	36	Bills -	8	Bills -	24

Lime-street Ward, 99 *men.*		*Cheap Ward*, 358 *men.*		*Queenhithe Ward*, 404 *men.*	
Shot or Fire-arms	29	Shot or Fire-arms	108	Shot or Fire-arms	121
Corslets with pikes	24	Corslets with pikes	86	Corslets with pikes	96
Corslets with bills	6	Corslets with bills	21	Corslets with bills	25
Callivers -	12	Callivers -	44	Callivers -	48
Bows -	8	Bows -	28	Bows -	33
Pikes -	16	Pikes -	58	Pikes -	64
Bills -	4	Bills -	13	Bills -	17

Farringdon Ward Without, 1264 *men.*		*Cordwainer Ward*, 301 *men.*		*Tower-street Ward* 444 *men.*	
Shot or Fire-arms	398	Shot or Fire-arms	99	Shot or Fire-arm	133
Corslets with pikes	318	Corslets with pikes	79	Corslets with pikes	107
Corslets with bills	18	Corslets with bills	20	Corslets with bills	26
Callivers -	159	Callivers -	11	Callivers -	53
Bows -	106	Bows -	26	Bows -	36
Pikes -	212	Pikes -	53	Pikes -	71
Bills -	53	Bills -	13	Bills -	18

Walbrook Ward, 290 *men.*		*Portsoken Ward*, 243 *men.*		*Cripplegate Ward*, 925 *men.*	
Shot or Fire-arms	87	Shot or Fire-arms	73	Shot or Fire-arms	278
Corslets with pikes	69	Corslets with pikes	59	Corslets with pikes	222
Corslets with bills	17	Corslets with bills	13	Corslets with bills	55
Callivers -	35	Callivers -	30	Callivers -	111
Bows -	24	Bows -	20	Bows -	74
Pikes -	47	Pikes -	38	Pikes -	148
Bills -	11	Bills -	10	Bills -	37

Vintry Ward 364 *men.*		*Candlewick Ward*, 215 *men.*		*Bishopsgate Ward*, 326 *men.*	
Shot or Fire-arms	109	Shot or Fire-arms	64	Shot or Fire-arms	98
Corslets with pikes	88	Corslets with pikes	51	Corslets with pikes	78
Corslets with bills	21	Corslets with bills	13	Corslets with bills	19
Callivers -	44	Callivers -	26	Callivers -	40
Bows -	29	Bows -	18		
Pikes -	58	Pikes -	35		
Bills -	15	Bills -	8		

Bishopsgate Ward continued.			*Langbourn Ward 349 men.*				
Bows	-	26	Shot or Fire-arms	104	Bows	-	28
Pikes	-	53	Corslets with pikes	84	Pikes	-	56
Bills	-	12	Corslets with bills	21	Bills	-	14
			Callivers -	42			

The citizens, on this extraordinary occasion, being willing to exert themselves to the utmost, on the 3rd of April in the same year, the common council passed a resolution to grant the queen a supply of sixteen of the largest ships in the river Thames, and four pinnaces or light frigates. Pursuant to which, they took the said ships into their service, fitted them out with the greatest expedition, and plentifully supplied them with all the necessaries of war; and, during the time of their being in the service of the public, defrayed the charge thereof, as well as that of the ten thousand men above-mentioned.

On the defeat of the armada, Elizabeth, in grateful piety, ascribed all the glory to Providence. *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur* was the motto she adopted for her medals, and she commanded a day of solemn thanksgiving to be observed over the whole kingdom. She herself set the example, and, on the 24th of November, rode in great state to St. Paul's cathedral on a triumphal car, from which was suspended the standards and streamers taken from the Spaniards.* She was accompanied by all the chief officers of state, the members of both houses of parliament, the female nobility, and 'other honorable persons, as well spiritual as temporal, in great number.' The procession set out from Somerset-house, and was received at Temple-bar by the lord mayor and his brethren in scarlet, whilst the city companies, in their liveries, lined the way on each side within a double railing covered with blue cloth. At the great west door of the cathedral, Elizabeth dismounted from her chariot, and was received, says Stow, 'by the bishop of London, the deane of Paules, and other of the clergy to the number of more than fifty, all in rich coapes, where hir highness on her knees made hir hartie praiers to God.' She then attended divine service in the choir, and was afterwards conducted to a closet 'of purpose made out of the north wall of the church,' towards the 'pulpit crosse,' where she heard a sermon preached by Dr. Pierce, bishop of Salisbury. This ended, she 'returned through the church to the bishop's palace, where she dined,' and she was afterwards reconveyed 'in like order as afore, but with great light of torches,'† to Somerset-house.

The fleet sent by the queen, under the command of Norris and Drake, to the assistance of Don Antonio, late king of Portugal, against the Spaniards, being returned, and the soldiers and sailors, who had been inured to plunder, disbanded, they confedereted themselves to the number of five hundred, with an intent to pillage Bar-

* Thuan's Hist. Lib. lxxxix. † Stow's Ann. p. 1282.

tholomew-fair, and, for the execution of their villainous design, assembled at Westminster; which Sir Richard Martin, the mayor, receiving intelligence of, he, with the utmost expedition, raised about two thousand citizens completely armed, and marched against those freebooters; which they being advised of, instantly dispersed, and shifted for themselves after the best manner they could. Whereupon the citizens returned to their several habitations without striking a blow.*

Soon after, the city lent the queen fifteen thousand pounds, for which she allowed ten per cent interest; and on the 21st of September following, they supplied her with a thousand men, whom she sent into France to the assistance of Henry, King of Navarre, who then claimed that crown.

In 1590, a combination being entered into by the owners of the coal-works at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the price of coals in this city thereby enhanced to an excessive rate of nine shillings the chaldron; whereas the common price, for several years before this iniquitous confederacy, was only four shillings.

In the succeeding year, according to Stow, the Thames was almost empty of water for the space of two days. And this same year, a contest arose between the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, and the Lord High Admiral of England, in respect to the right of coal meterage; but on the mayor and citizens shewing their indubitable right to the same, the admiral receded from his pretensions, and acknowledged the property to be in them. Wherefore, to prevent all controversies in that respect for the future, the citizens had this right confirmed by the queen, at the intercession of their fast friend, the lord treasurer Burleigh.

Soon after a few wild enthusiasts and wicked impostors appeared in this city; William Hacket, the chief whereof, gave out that he was Jesus Christ come to judge the world; which was soon proclaimed throughout the city of London by Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington, two of his disciples; who, going from Hacket's lodgings at Broken-wharf, through Watling-street and the Old Change, amidst an excessive multitude to Cheapside, they mounted an empty cart near the end of Gutter-lane, and entering into particulars, declared themselves the prophets of mercy and vengeance, called to assist Hacket in his great work; affirming, that all who believed them not, and 'especially the city of London' were 'condemned bodie and soule.'† The queen's council, alarmed at the tumult, and probably apprehending some deeper design than appeared openly, had all the three visionaries immediately arrested and examined. Hacket was soon brought to trial 'before the Lord Maior and other justices, at the Sessions-house neere Newgate,' and was condemned to die, for having spoken 'divers most false and trayterous words againste hir maiestie;' and for mali-

* Maitland i, 274. † Stow's Ann.

ciously thrusting 'an iron instrument into that part' of a picture of the queen 'that did represent the breast and hart.'* Two days afterwards, he was drawn upon a hurdle to a gibbet raised near the 'crosse in Cheap,' and was there 'hanged, bowelled, and quartered,' though all his words and whole demeanour exhibited the raving maniac. On the day following, Coppinger died in Bridewell, 'as was said,' from having 'wilfullie abstayned from meate;' and Arthington died shortly after in the Wood-street compter.†

The plague having again broke out in this city, it raged with such violence, that application was made to the queen and council, that, upon the infection of any house, the sound might be removed from the infected to proper places for their preservation; and that provision might be made for the poor, who were reduced to the greatest extremities. And to prevent the spreading of the contagion, the term was adjourned to Hertford.

The plague continuing to increase and rage in this city, it occasioned the publishing a proclamation for the more effectual preventing the spreading of the contagion, as will appear by the following extracts:

"And therefore, to prevent those daungers, her majestie doth nowe commande, that in the usual place of Smythfeilde there be no manner of market for any wares kepte, nor any stalles or boothes for any manner of merchandize, or for victualls, suffered to be set up; but that the open place of the grounde called Smythfeilde be only occupied with sale of horses and cattle, and of staule wares, as butter, cheese, and such like, in grosse, and not by retaile; the same to continue for the space of two dayes onely.

"And for vent of woollen clothes, kerseis, and linnen clothe, to be all solde in grosse, and not by retaile, the same shall be all brought within the close-yard of St. Bartholomew's, where shoppes are there contynued, and have gates to shut the same place in the nightes, and there such clothe to be offered to sale, and to be bought in grosse, and not by retaile; the same market to continue but three dayes, that is to say, the even, the daye of St. Bartholomew, and the morrow after.

"And that the sale and vent for leather be kepte in the outside of the ringe in Smythfeilde, as hath been accustomed, without erecting any shoppes or boothes for the same, or for any victualler or other occupier of any wayes whatsoever."

Notwithstanding all the salutary measures taken for stopping the plague in its destructive progress, it nevertheless in this year swept away ten thousand six hundred and seventy-five of the citizens.

Some time after, the number of strangers residing in the city and liberties of London was again taken; which, by the certificates

* Stow's Ann † Ibid

brought in from the several wards, appeared to be five thousand two hundred and fifty-nine: among whom, were two hundred and sixty-seven Denizens born.

About the year 1593, and before, the city, as well as other parts of the kingdom, were grievously pestered with beggars; and they, many of them poor disbanded soldiers, become poor and maimed by the wars in the low countries, and with Spain; and many more that pretended to be so, who committed many robberies and outrages. This caused the queen to set forth a proclamation in the month of February, for the "suppressing of the multitudes of idle vagabonds, and avoiding mischievous, dangerous persons from her majesty's court," and commanded the lord mayor to see the same properly executed within three miles of London.

The following year, on the 15th of July, in obedience to the queen's desire, the lord mayor and common council fitted out six ships of war, with two frigates, and stored the same with ammunition and proper provisions for six months; two days after which, they added four hundred and fifty soldiers; and the expence of maintaining the whole was defrayed by a fifteenth raised from the citizens.

About the same time, for the better supplying the city with Thames water, a large horse engine of four pumps was erected at Broken-wharf, in Thames-street, by Bevis Bulmar, for the convenience of the inhabitants in the western parts; which engine has been laid aside on account of the great charge of working it, whereby the proprietors were rendered unable to furnish their tenants at so easy a rate as other companies did. On the 18th of October following, the aforesaid engineer presented the Lord Mayor, for the use of the city, a very large silver cup and cover, weighing one hundred and thirty-seven ounces, which he had extracted from English ore.

By the great rains that fell in the spring and autumn of this year, a great scarcity and dearth of corn ensued; however, by the industry of the merchants, a famine was prevented, who imported great quantities from divers countries; which occasioned the Lord Mayor strictly to enjoin those companies, who had neglected to lay in their proportions of corn according to the constitutions of the city, now to supply themselves, for preventing a scarcity before the coming of the new corn.

In the interim, Sir John Hawkins, one of her majesty's admirals, demanded of the mayor the use of the Bridge-house, then the common granary of the city; which he intended not only to make use of as a store-house for the royal navy, but likewise the bake-houses and ovens therein (which were erected by the city for supplying the poorer sort of citizens, in case of a dearth, with bread at a low price) for baking of biscuits for the use of the fleet. Upon this unseasonable and unreasonable demand, Sir John Spencer, the mayor,

complained thereof to the great patron of the city the worthy lord treasurer Burleigh, in the following remonstrance:

"That, according to the care that his place required at his entrance therein, by his means, it was ordered, that the several companies of the city should presently make provision, and furnish themselves of wheat and rye brought from foreign parts, according to the several portions allotted to them; wherein they had not been so forward as they ought to have been, and were yet unprovided of the greatest part thereof. That he had therefore ten days past enjoined them to furnish their wants of these, that were then brought in from foreign parts, and to have the same laid up in the bridge-house, in their several garners [granaries] and before the 8th of January next coming.

"But that hereupon Sir John Hawkins, by his men desired, or rather commanded, room in the bridge-house to lay in wheat, and also the ovens for baking; but that he answered, that they could with no convenience spare the same, alleging truly to him, that if the same should be yielded unto, that the companies would thereby take occasion to neglect their provision, and allege that they could not do the same, for that he had lent away their garners: and that so thereby the city, which in that time of dearth was furnished only from foreign parts, should be unprovided, and the fault wholly laid upon him. And that then, either that which should be brought for the provision of the city, of force must have been tolerated to be brought up by the badgers, and carried from the city, as it had been; or else the merchants discouraged from bringing any more. The which he hoped his lordship would well consider.

"And that for the ovens, it was told them, the same were used for baking bread for the poor, that they might have the more for their money; and that therefore they could not be spared. And also, that he was informed her majesty had garners about Tower-hill, and Whitehall, and Westminster; and also that, if they would not serve, her majesty had in her hands Winchester-house, wherein great quantities might be laid."

This proceeding of the mayor's being by some greatly disliked, he was told, "That he should hear more to his further dislike. And he told them, that if they did procure letters for the same, he doubted not but to answer them to their lordships (of the privy council) good acceptance. And that how, having received letters for the same from some of the council, he humbly prayed the lord treasurer's good favour, that the same garners, being the city's, might be employed for the use of the same; that there might be no want or outcry of the poor for bread; or else, that if there fell out a greater want and dearth of grain than yet there was, and that the city were unprovided, his lordship would be pleased to hold him excused; and so most humbly submitted to his honour's good pleasure."

Corn arose to such an excessive price, that wheat was sold at three pounds four shillings the quarter, and rye at forty shillings.

On Sunday, the 29th of June, a difference happened between certain warders of the Tower of London, and some city apprentices; who, imagining themselves highly injured in being reprimanded by the said warders, to revenge themselves for so great an affront, with vollies of stones they obliged their enemies to seek for safety in a precipitate flight; which the lord mayor was no sooner apprised of, than he repaired thither attended by his officers and many of the citizens on horseback, to suppress the tumult. But being arrived on Tower-hill, he was, by divers of the warders and others belonging to the Tower, who were returned in a formidable condition, in a very rude and insolent manner, told, that his sword ought not in that place to be carried erect, and, seizing upon the same, endeavoured to wrench it out of the hands of the bearer; whereupon a smart scuffle ensued, wherein the sword-bearer and divers others were wounded: yet, nevertheless, the lord mayor, by his good conduct, not only appeased the fray, but likewise dispersed the populace.

In the year 1595, the common council granted a levy of two fifteenths upon the citizens for the reparation of the town-ditch; but only a small part of it, viz. between Bishopsgate and Moorgate, was cleansed, and made somewhat broader than it was before; yet, filling again very fast by overraising the adjoining ground, it was nothing the better for this repair.*

About this time insurrections being very frequent, they were chiefly occasioned by a number of incorrigible rogues, who, artfully drawing in the city apprentices to join them, were come to such a pitch of insolence, that the mayor was of opinion, that there was no other way of quelling them but by martial law, and the masters of the said apprentices to be exemplarily punished for suffering them to go abroad, contrary to his several injunctions; which, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, he set down at large, and which soon after occasioned the publishing a proclamation to the following purport:

"That the queen was informed of sundry great disorders committed in and about her city of London, by unlawful great assemblies of multitudes of a popular sort, of base condition, whereof some were apprentices and servants to artificers, and to such like as are not able, or not disposed, to rule their servants as they ought to do. And some attempting to rescue out of the hands of public officers such as have been lawfully arrested, whereby her majesty's peace hath been of late notably broken, to the dishonor of her majesty's government; and chiefly for lack of due correc-

* City Rec. Guildhall.

tion in time of such manifest offenders, by the officers of her city, and others in places round about it.

"For reformation whereof, she had conference with her council of the most ready means for their punishment, and for the stay of the like. And for that purpose straightly charged all her officers, both in the city and places near it, in the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Essex, that had authority to preserve the peace, and to punish offenders, that they should more diligently, to the best of their powers, see to the suppression of all such offenders, and especially of all such unlawful assemblies.

"And because such assemblies and routs were compounded of sundry sorts of base people; some known apprentices, such as were of base manual occupations; some others, wandering idle persons, of condition rogues and vagabonds; and some colouring their wandering by the name of soldiers returning from the wars, &c. therefore, she had notified her pleasure to her council, to prescribe certain orders to be published in and about the said city, which she would have straightly observed; and, for that purpose, that she meant to have a provost-marshal, with sufficient authority to apprehend all such as should not be readily reformed and corrected by the ordinary officers of justice, and them without delay to execute upon the gallows by order of martial law.

"At our manor of Greenwich, the 4th of July, 1595."

In pursuance of this proclamation, Sir Thomas Wilford was appointed provost-marshal; who, patrolling the city with a numerous attendance on horseback, armed with pistols, apprehended many of the rioters, and carried them before the justices appointed for their examination; who having committed many of them to prison, they were, on the 22nd of July, tried at Guildhall, where five being condemned, were two days after, according to their sentence, executed upon Tower-hill: which effectually put a stop to rioting for several years after.

The dreadful dearth of corn still continuing, wheat was sold at two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence the quarter; and other provisions so excessively dear, that butter was at sevenpence the pound, eggs one a penny, and the prices of fish and flesh in proportion.

For the more effectually providing for, and preventing the sufferings of the poor, during the late dreadful dearth, Sir Stephen Slany, the mayor, caused the number of poor housekeepers in each ward to be taken, in order to be relieved according to their several necessities; and whose numbers, according to their several lists, appear to have been as follows:

A table of poor housekeepers in the several wards of London.

Aldersgate - - -	241
Aldgate - - - -	132

Bassishaw	50
Billingsgate	83
Bishopsgate	447
Bread-street	48
Bridge	32
Broad-street	177
Candlewick-street	114
Castle Baynard	216
Cheap	29
Coleman-street	117
Cordwainer-street	33
Cornhill	35
Cripplegate	446
Dowgate	80
Farringdon Within	232
Farringdon Without	831
Langbourn	18
Lyme-street	72
Portsoken	218
Queenhith	64
Tower	237
Vintry	100
Wallbrooke	60
Total	4132

The queen, by the lord keeper, acquainted the citizens of London of her having preferred their recorder; therefore, desired the lord mayor, (not with a design, as was said, of encroaching upon the city liberties) to send her the names of such persons as they intended to put in nomination for that office. The citizens, alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding, and suspecting it to be an attempt of the court to get the appointment of the recorder out of their hands, prudently nominated only one person for that office, Mr. James Altham, of Gray's-inn. With this nomination, Sir John Spencer, the mayor, sent a letter to the lord treasurer, in recommendation of this gentleman, as residing in the city, and explaining the inconveniences arising from recorders who were absentees from their trust; and concluded, with his earnest request, that her majesty would be pleased to approve this nomination. How the affair ended does not appear, only that another name stands on the list as elected at this time.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this city being at a sermon at St. Paul's cross, they received a message from the queen, commanding them forthwith to raise a certain number of able-bodied men in the city, fit for immediate service: wherefore, having instantly left the church, they set so heartily about the work, that before eight at night, they had pressed a thousand men; which

being the number required, they were with an unparallelled expedition, completely fitted with all martial accoutrements before the next morning, and ready to march to Dover, and from thence to assist the French in defence of Calais; but unexpectedly, in the afternoon, they received orders to return to their respective habitations; so that this petty army, phantom-like, no sooner appeared than it disappeared, having not been full four and twenty hours on foot.

Soon after, the court, seemingly in the greatest commotion, sent a message on Easter-day in the morning, to the lord mayor and aldermen, strictly commanding them, with the utmost expedition, to raise again the same number of men that were lately disbanded: wherefore, in obedience to the royal precept, those worthy magistrates, assisted by their deputies, constables, and other officers, repaired to the several churches within their respective jurisdictions; where, after having caused the doors to be shut, they took from out of those places of public worship, during the time of divine service, the number of men required; who, being immediately armed, began their march the night after for Dover, in order for their embarkation to France; but, in the interim, the queen having received advice of the reduction of Calais by the Spaniards, they were countermanded, and returned about a week after their departure from the city.

In August this year, the harvest failing by the vast quantity of rain that fell in England, there ensued such an excessive dearth, that wheat was sold in this city for four pounds the quarter, rye at two pounds eight shillings, and oatmeal at the same price.

As the dreadful famine continued, the unparallelled dearth encreased, insomuch that wheat was sold at London for five pounds four shillings the quarter, and rye at three pounds twelve shillings; which occasioned a very melancholy scene in this city.

Elizabeth being apprehensive of an impending storm, which, if not timely dissipated, might terminate in her destruction; but from what quarter, the public were entirely ignorant: however, to prepare them for the burthen they were soon to be loaded with, it was artfully given out, that the Spaniards intended a second expedition against England, whereas, in truth, it was the Earl of Essex's coming from Ireland without her majesty's permission, with a formidable army, to suppress his enemies at court; which, firing the people with resentment, they resolved to part with any thing to baffle the attempts of their implacable enemies. This soon after appeared to be one of the greatest preparations that ever was made in England; for, on that occasion, the quota of the city of London was six thousand soldiers and sixteen ships of war; a moiety of which troops were to take the field, and the other, composed of eminent citizens, to attend the queen as

her body guard, at their own and the city's expence. During this time of public danger, by the queen's special command, strong guards were kept in all quarters of the city, the chains at the ends of all streets and lanes nightly drawn across, and a candle and lanthorn hung out at every door, upon pain of death.

On the 23rd of December, a terrible hurricane happened, which occasioned a great deal of damage in the city, by the blowing down of chimnies and trees, stripping of churches and houses, and the loss of the Gravesend tilt-boat, wherein nineteen persons were drowned.

In 1600, the city of London, at its own expence, raised five hundred soldiers; who, being furnished with all the necessaries of war, were sent into Ireland.

Though the Earl of Essex had partially regained the queen's favour, by assuming that humbleness of deportment, which corresponded with her determination to 'bend his proud spirit,' and had even been restored to full liberty, his disgrace had not sufficiently chastened his impetuosity of temper, and on Elizabeth's refusing to continue to him a grant 'of the farm of sweet wines,' from which he had previously derived much profit, he exclaimed so passionately against the queen, that he again excited her anger; and this was shortly afterwards ripened into deep resentment, on being informed that Essex, in his rage, had said that 'she was grown an old woman, and no less crooked and distorted in her mind than body.' The enemies of the earl had now every advantage over him; they set spies upon his actions, and reported even accidental occurrences so unfavourably, that the queen was incensed to vengeance.

The daring mind of Essex could but little brook the constraint in which he had been forced to live during the past twelvemonth, and he conceived the desperate project of seizing the queen's person in her own palace of Whitehall; with intent to drive his enemies from the court, and invite the Scottish king to ascend the throne. His measures, however, were taken with so little prudence, that the queen, 'upon jealousie that the Earle intended some practise,' had him summoned to attend the council, which he refused to do, on pretence of being indisposed. On the same night, February 7th, 1601, he held a conference with his partizans at Essex house,* and it was resolved that on the next morning, he should attempt to raise the city, where he was thought to have great influence; he had also been told that one of the sheriffs, named Smith, who commanded a body of 1000 of the trained-bands, was ready to join him.

Pursuant to this scheme, the Earls of Southampton and Rut-

* In the Strand, on the spot now occupied by Devereux Court and Essex Street.

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land, with 300 gentlemen, assembled at Essex-house on the morning of the 8th, and the earl putting himself at their head, sallied *forth, and entering the city*, cried out, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life! arm, arm, my friends, or you can do me no good;" but not a man stirred to join him, though numbers collected to see him pass. Still the earl proceeded towards Fenchurch, near which the Sheriff resided whose aid he had been promised; yet Essex was doomed to be deceived; whilst 'the earle dranke,' says Stow, 'the sheriffe went out at a back doore unto the lord maior, offering his service, and requiring directions.'

Meanwhile the queen's council exerted themselves with great activity to defeat the earl's designs. The 'court was fortified and double guarded, and the streetes in divers places sette full of emptie carts and coaches to stoppe his passage if he should attempt to come that way.'* The lord mayor had also received orders to look 'to the cittie, and by 11. of the clock the gates were shut and strongly guarded."†

Whilst Essex was at the sheriff's, he was informed that an herald had proclaimed him a traitor. On this he "went into an armourer's house, requiring munition, which was denied him: from thence the earl went to and fro, and then came backe to Gracechurch-street by which time the Lord Burghley was come thither, having there, in the queen's name, proclaymed the earle, and all his company traytors, as he had done before in Cheapside. At hearing whereof, one of the earles followers shot a pistoll at the Lord Burghley, whereupon hee well perceiving the stout resolution of the earles followers, together with the peoples great unwillingness, eyther to apprehend the earl or ayde him, returned to the court."‡

Essex finding that all his endeavours to get the citizens to declare in his favor were fruitless, and 'being forsaken of divers his gallant followers, hee resolved to make his nearest way home, and comming towards Ludgate, hee was strongly resisted by divers companies of wel armed men, levyed and placed there by the Lord Bishop of London: then he retyred thence, Sir Christopher Blunt being fallen and sore wounded in the head. From thence the earl went into Fryday streete, and being faynt, desired drinke, which was given him, and at his request unto the citizens, the great chaine which crosseth the streete was held up to give him passage; after that he took boat at Queenehith, and so came to his house, which he fortified with full purpose to die in his owne defence."§

Shortly after, the earl's house was completely invested by the queen's forces, assembled under the Lord High Admiral, the Earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, the lords Thomas Howard, Effingham, Burghley, Cobham, Gray, and Compton, Sir William Raleigh, &c. and the earl and his partizans were summoned to surrender. To

* Howe's Stow, p. 792.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.

this it was answered that 'they would die sword in hand;' and the Lord Sands particularly pressed the earl to fight his way through, observing that 'it was more honourable to fall by the sword than the axe.' Essex, however, being sore vexed with the cryes of ladies, and convinced probably of the impossibility of the escape, surrendered about ten o'clock the same night, together with the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, and the Lords Sands, Cromwell, Monteagle, and others; all of whom were put into boats and sent to the Tower.* On the following day, the queen, by proclamation, thanked the Londoners for their fidelity, and warned them withal to have a watchful eye on whatever passed in the city. Within a few days afterwards, all vagabonds were ordered to leave the city upon pain of death; the court having received information, that a great number of persons lay hid, with intent to rescue the earl, should they find opportunity.

On the 19th of February, Essex and his friend Southampton were condemned for high treason in Westminster-hall, and the former was beheaded in the Tower, on Ash-Wednesday, being the sixth day after. He died with a firm, but penitent spirit; and was still held in such regard by the populace, that his executioner was beaten as he returned homewards, and would have been 'murthered,' had not the sheriffs of London been called to 'assist and rescue him.'† In the following month, Sir Christopher Blunt and Sir Charles Danvers were beheaded on Tower-hill, for their concern in Essex's conspiracy, and Sir Giles Mericke, and Henry Cuff, gent. were 'hanged, bowelled, and quartered at Tyburn.' The former had been the earl's steward, the latter his confidential secretary.‡

The trade and navigation on the English coasts being greatly interrupted by the depredations of Spanish privateers, the queen in 1601, ordered a number of ships to be fitted out to cruize against them; and on this occasion, no less than five fifteenths were assessed upon the citizens of London, towards defraying the expence of the armament; and a proclamation was issued for discharging all such debtors in the goals of London as were willing to enter on board the said ships.

In the year 1602, the trade of the city of London having been greatly injured by the increase of hawkers and pedlars, the common council enacted, "That no citizen, or other inhabitant of London, for the future, should, under any pretence whatsoever, presume to let, before his, her, or their house, any stall, stand, or perpresture, upon the penalty of twenty shillings. And that all hawkers offending against the tenor of this act, not only to forfeit all their goods so

* Camb. Eliz. "From this time," says Stow, "untill all arraynments and executions were past, the citizens were exceedingly troubled, and charged with double watches, and warding, as well about the court as the cittie." *Howe's Stow, p.* 192.

† Howe's Stow, p. 794.

‡ Brayley's London, i. 302.

offered to sale, but likewise pay a fine of twenty shillings for every such offence."

In the Fœdera* is another proclamation of Elizabeth, for restraining the increase of buildings in the metropolis, by which she commands all persons to desist from any new building of any house or tenement within three miles of London; only one family to live in any house; empty houses erected within seven years not to be let; and unfinished buildings on new foundations to be pulled down: with many other articles of less importance.

On the 24th of December, a slight shock of an earthquake was felt 'even at noone.'† In May, 1602, 'great pressing of soldiers was made about London, to be sent into the Low Countries;' and in the following month, another proclamation was made for restraining the increase of buildings, and for the 'voyding of inmates,' in the cities of London and Westminster, and 'for the space of three miles distant.'‡ In August, the city furnished two hundred soldiers for service in Ireland; and in the ensuing January, fitted out two ships and a pinnace 'to lye before Dunkerke,' at an expence for manning and victualling of 6000l. per annum. This was the last demand made by Elizabeth on the citizens; and it is remarked by historians, that during the long reign of that princess, and considering the readiness with which the citizens of London always answered her demands, she did not grant them any new charter of privileges, or even so much as confirm those which had been given by her predecessors. During the three last years, many seminary priests suffered in different parts of London.

On the 24th of March, 1663, the queen expired at Richmond. On the same day, James the Sixth of Scotland was proclaimed her successor at the accustomed places in the city; the privy council, with the Lord Mayor and aldermen attending the ceremony. The proclamation had been drawn up with much form, and was 'most distinctly and ablie read by Sir Robert Cecil,' secretary of state to the late queen.

Elizabeth was buried at Westminster on the 28th of April, "at which time, that cittie was surcharged with multitudes of all sorts of people in their streetes, houses, windows, leads, and gutters, that came to see the obsequie; and when they beheld her statue or picture lying upon the coffin, set forth in royal robes, having a crown uppon the head thereof, and a ball and sceptre in either hand, there was such a generall syghing, groaning, and weeping, as the like hath not beene seene or knowne in the memorie of man, neyther doth any historie mention any

* Vol. xvi. p. 448.
† Howe's Stow, p. 797.
‡ Howe's Stow p. 812.
§ Ibid, p. 812.
‖ Ibid.

people, time, or state, to make like lamentation for the death of their soverayne."*

CHAPTER XI.

History of London during the reign of James the First.

On the 7th of May, the new king made his public entry into London. At Stamford-hill, he was met by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in scarlet robes, and '500 grave citizens in velvet coats, and chaynes of golde, being all very well mounted like the sheriffes and their trayne; the serjeants at armes, and all the English heraulds in their coates of armes, &c. and multitudes of people swarming in fields, houses, trees, and high wayes to beholde the king. Albeit, these numbers were no way comparable unto those he mette neare London."† About six in the evening, he was conducted to the Charter-house, where he 'and all his trayne were treated with a most royall entertainment,' by the Lord Thomas Howard, for four days, after which he removed to Whitehall, and from thence to the Tower.

The preparations that were making by the citizens to do honour to the king's coronation, were interrupted by a dreadful plague, which spread its ravages through the capital with more merciless virulence, than any similar calamity that had happened since the time of Edward the Third. Their majesties, however, were crowned on the 25th of July, but 'they rode not through the citty in royall manner, as had beene accustomed, neither were the citizens permitted to come to Westminster, but forbidden by proclamation, for fear of infection to be by that means increased, for there died that week in the city and suburbs 857 of the plague.'‡ This prohibition, however, did not extend to the lord mayor and principal citizens, who officiated at the coronation dinner, as usual, as chief butlers. On the day following, the king, who by his readiness to bestow honors, seemed to regard nobility as a jest, knighted all the city aldermen who had not previously undergone that ceremony.

The plague continuing to increase, occasioned the issuing of a proclamation against the keeping of Bartholomew-fair, or any other fair within fifty miles of London; and about the same time, the statutes against rogues, vagabonds, sole, and dissolute persons, was

* Howe's Stow, p. 812. † Ibid, p. 823

‡ Ibid. 327.

ordered to be enforced: 'multitudes of dwellers in straight roomes' were prohibited, and 'newly-erected houses commanded to be pulled down.'* Several other proclamations against new buildings in London were made in this reign. A conceit or a pun passed with James as an argument, and he acted accordingly. 'The growth of the capital,' he remarked, 'resembled that of the head of a rickety child, in which an excessive influx of humour drained and impoverished the extremities, and at the same generated distemper in the overloaded part.'

The number that died of the plague in the course of this year was 30,578. During its continuance, the Michaelmas term was held at Winchester, and the courts of exchequer, &c. at Richmond in Surrey. At length, its ravages having ceased, the citizens resumed the preparation of their pageantry, and the king and queen, with the young prince Henry, 'passed triumphantly from the Tower to Westminster,' on the 15th of March, 1604. The king rode on a 'white gennet under a rich canopie' sustained by six gentlemen of the privy council. Seven triumphal arches or gates were raised in different parts of the city; and in the Strand was 'erected the invention of a rainbow, with the moone, sunne, and starres, advanced between two pyramids.'† In short, the whole city and suburbs displayed a 'continued scene of pageantry; and all the city companies were arrayed in their formalities, and marshalled in their order of precedence, from the upper end of Mark-lane to the conduite in Fleet-street; the 'stremers, engines, and banners of each particular company being decently fixed.'‡ On the 19th of March, James opened his first parliament, at Westminster, by a long speech from the throne, in which good sense and pedantry were pretty equally blended. In the July following, this parliament was prorogued in displeasure, for having dared to remind the monarch of the privileges of the commons, after he had arbitrarily interfered in a contested election.§ James began early to stretch the prerogative unwarrantably, and to his endeavours to establish a blind deference to kingly authority, may be traced those events, which led his successor to the block.

In September, the king borrowed 'certain sums' of money, on 'privie seales, sent to the wealthiest citizens of London,' for that purpose.¶ These sums appear to have been punctually repaid, together with 60,000l. which Queen Elizabeth had borrowed of the citizens in February, 1598.

On the 24th of October, James was first proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, Ireland, &c. 'in most solemne manner, at the Great Crosse in West Cheape.' This was preparatory to the

* Howe's Stow, p. 827.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Among the Acts passed by this parliament, through the king's influence, was that against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits.
¶ Howe's Stow, p. 856.

Union with Scotland, a measure which the king had much at heart, though greatly against the inclinations of his English subjects.

The court of requests, which had been originally established by an act of common council, was found so beneficial, that an act of parliament was obtained in 1604, to confirm the power and jurisdiction of it; but many ill-disposed persons having attempted to wrest some ambiguous words in to cloak their own sinister purposes, a second act was found necessary in the following year; by which the former one was confirmed, and the authority of the court extended to non-freemen resident in the city.*

In August, 1605, the king granted to the city a charter confirmatory of its right to the metage of all coals, grain, salt, fruits, eatable roots, and 'other merchandizes, wares, and things measurable,' brought within the limits of the city jurisdiction of the river Thames; and which had been several times questioned by the lieutenants of the Tower.

About this period, the horrible conspiracy, known in history by the name of the Gunpowder Plot, the grand object of which was to prepare the way for the restoration of the Catholic religion, was carrying on by its daring contrivers, with every possible precaution that seemed necessary to ensure its success. The destruction of the king and parliament was the preliminary measure through which the conspirators thought to accomplish their design; and the blowing up the Parliament-house with gunpowder, at the moment when the sovereign should be commencing the business of the session by the accustomed speech from the throne, was the dreadful means by which that destruction was intended to be accomplished. All the principal conspirators were bigotted Catholics, who had for many years been plotting the downfall of Protestantism in this country, and had even sent messengers for foreign aid both to Spain and Flanders. Being disappointed, however, in the assistance they required, they resolved to depend upon their own efforts; and about Easter 1604, Winter and Catesby conceived the infernal idea of the Gunpowder plot; and this scheme having been communicated to several others, under the strongest oaths of secrecy and the solemnity of the eucharist, was agreed to be carried into effect on the meeting of parliament in the ensuing February. Some scruples of conscience, which even this hardened band could not help feeling, were soon removed by Jesuitical casuistry; and Henry Garnet, the provincial of the English Jesuits, is stated to have administered the sacrament to the five principal conspirators, Percy, Catesby, Winter, Guy Fawkes, and Wright, in a house at the back of St. Clement's church in the Strand, immediately after they had sworn fidelity to each other, and to the cause, upon a primer.

In the beginning of December, Percy, who was cousin to the Earl of Northumberland, and one of the gentlemen-pensioners,

* Lambert's London, ii. 29.

hired a house immediately adjoining to that part of the parliament house appropriated for the assembly of the lords. Here the conspirators commenced their operations by digging a hole in the foundation wall, which was of great strength, and about nine feet in thickness. At their first entrance they had 'made competent provision for twentie days, of wine, beare, and baked meates, because their being there should neyther been seene, nor suspected of any, neyther came they forth untill Christmas-eve:—they had also furnished themselves with weapons, shot, and powder, being determined rather to die there in their owne defence, than to be apprehended. About Candlemasse, they had wrought the wall halfe through, and as they were at worke, they heard a rustling of sea coales in the next roome, which was a cellar right under the Parliament-house, and then they feared they had been discovered."* This alarm, however, was of short duration; for, on enquiry, they found that the adjoining vault had been made a depositary for coals, that the coals were then under sale, and that the cellar was to be let. As nothing could be more favourable for their purpose, Percy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals, as if for domestic use, and without any appearance of concealment.

The prorogation of parliament from February to October, 1605, gave the conspirators sufficient leisure to further their design; and, at convenient oppportunities, about thirty barrels and four hogsheads of gunpowder, which had been brought from Holland, were conveyed into the cellar by night, and covered with billets and faggots of wood, great iron bars, stones, &c.† All this was done without exciting any suspicion; and though the parliament had again been prorogued, the long expected day at length drew nigh, and every thing wore the aspect of success. The conspiracy had now been on foot upwards of eighteen months, and the important secret had been confided to near twenty persons; yet neither fear, nor pity, nor remorse had cooled the ardor of any of the associates, nor had the least indiscreet hint or expression led a single step towards a discovery. "But God," says Rapin, "abhorring so detestable a plot, inspired one of the conspirators with a desire to save [William Parker] Lord Monteagle, son of the Lord Morley."‡

About ten days before the time appointed for the Parliament to assemble, this nobleman received a letter in 'an unknown and somewhat unlegible hand,'§ which, in ambiguous, yet strong language, recommended him to absent himself from parliament, on account of a great, yet hidden, danger to which he would otherwise be exposed. "Think not slightly of this advertisement," said the writer, "but retire yourself into your country, where you may ex-

* Howe's Stow, p. 875
‡ Rapin's Hist. ii, 171.
† State Trials, i, p. 190, et seq.
§ Discourse of the Treason.

pect the event in safetie; for though there be no appearance of any stirre, yet I say, *they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, yet they shall not see who hurts them.*" After some reflection, Monteagle carried the letter to Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State, who, finding the contents to agree with various obscure intimations of a Catholic conspiracy, which he had received from abroad, judged it of sufficient importance to be communicated to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, and some others of the Privy Council. Whether Cecil and the Lord Chamberlain had, at this time, actually divined the plot, as would seem from a letter of Cecil's to Sir Charles Cornwallis, published in Winwood's Memorials,* or that the discovery was afterwards made by the superior sagacity of the sovereign, as commonly believed, it was determined to proceed with the most cautious secrecy, and that nothing should be done till the king returned from Royston, where he then was on a hunting party.

James came to London on the thirty-first of October, and on the next day it was resolved that "a very secret and exact search should be made in the Parliament-House, and in all other rooms and lodgings near adjoining."† Yet, to prevent any needless alarm, as well as to avoid 'giving suspicion unto the workers of this mischievous mystery,'‡ it was thought prudent to delay the search till the eve of the day, (November the fifth) on which the Parliament was to meet; and that it should then be made by the Lord Chamberlain, as if only in virtue of his office.

When the Lord Chamberlain entered the cellar, where the ammunition of the conspirators was deposited, and saw the 'great store of faggots, billets, and coals,'§ that was there piled up, he inquired of Whinyard, keeper of the wardrobe, to 'what use he had put those lower rooms?'‖ and was then informed that the cellar had been let to Percy, and that the fuel which he saw there was probably for that gentleman's winter consumption. The earl heard this with seeming inattention, but perceiving a man standing in an obscure corner of the cellar, 'he asked who he was?' and was answered, 'a servant of Percy's, and keeper of that place for him.' The figure and deportment of this pretended menial, "who, indeed, was the afore-named Fawkes, sole agent for this tragedy,"** (that is, the setting fire to the powder), made a deep impression on the mind of the Lord Chamberlain; yet he "still carried a seeming careless survey of things, though with a very serious and heedful eye," and quitted the cellar with affected negligence.

When the earl had made his report to the council, it was agreed that a further search should take place about midnight, and that the billets and faggots should be removed under pretence of seeking for "certaine robes and other furniture of the kinges, lately stolen

* Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 171. † Howe's Stow, p. 877

‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid. ** Ibid p. 878.

out of the wardrobe."* Sir Thomas Knevet, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and a magistrate for Westminster, was appointed to this business, and he going at the hour assigned, with proper attendants, first apprehended Guy Fawkes, who was found standing at the door, and then causing the fuel in the cellar to be removed, discovered the concealed gunpowder. Fawkes, who was wrapped in a cloak, and booted and spurred, was afterwards searched, and "there was founde in his pocket a piece of touchwood, a tinder-boxe to light the touchwood, and a watch which Percy and Fawkes had bought the day before to try conclusions for the long or short business of the touchwood which he had prepared to give fier to the trayne of powder."† He was also provided with a dark lanthorn, and when questioned as to his purpose, "instantly confessed his own guiltiness, saying, that if he had beene within the house, when they first layed hands upon him, hee would have blowne up them, himself, and all."‡ On his examination before the privy council, he displayed the same daring impudence, affirming, that he only "repented that the deed was not done," and that "God would have concealed it, but the Devil was the discoverer." All that day he obstinately refused to discover who were his associates, but being committed to the Tower, and shewn the rack, he felt his spirit subdued, and on the next day "made a full disclosure of the conspiracy."§

For some days a general alarm spread over the metropolis, and the magistrates of London and Westminster were ordered to keep strong guards in their respective cities. At length the particulars of the plot being fully disclosed and made public, great rejoicings took place, and "there were as many bonefiers in and about London, as the streetes could permit, the people praying God for his most gracious delivery, wishing that day for ever to be held festivall."‖ This sentiment was so far complied with, that the parliament passed a statute, ordering that the anniversary of the discovery should be kept in perpetual remembrance, by a distinct religious service in all the churches of the establishment.**

After Fawkes was arrested, Percy, with most of the principal conspirators, "fled into Warwickshire, where they endeavoured to excite an immediate and general rising of the Catholics, but

* Howe's Stow, p. 878.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ King James s Works, p. 231.
‖ Howe's Stow, p. 879.
** Stat. at Lar. 3d Jam. I. c. I. The fifth of November is still one of the principal holydays of London, though of late years it has not been observed by the populace with so much festive diversion as formerly. The burning of Guy Fawkes, a figure made with old clothes, and stuffed with straw or rags, was a ceremony much in vogue with the lower classes, but is now chiefly confined to school-boys. The greater attention given by the police to prevent tumults, and restrain the letting off of fire-works, through which frequent accidents attended the commemoration of the gunpowder plot, are, perhaps, the leading causes of the disuse of ancient custom.—*Brayley's London*, i, 311.

without effect, though Sir Everard Digby was already in arms, with intent to seize the young Princess Elizabeth, who was then at Lord Harrington's, and who was to have been proclaimed queen had the plot succeeded." The whole number they could ever muster did not exceed fourscore, including attendants, and the country being instantly raised by the sheriffs, "they were obliged to take refuge at Holbeach, a house belonging to one of the conspirators, on the skirts of Staffordshire. There, though completely surrounded, they determined to defend themselves, but on the accidental ignition of some powder which had been put to dry before the fire, they opened the gate, and rushed out.* Percy, Catesby, Winter, and the two Wrights, fought desperately, and were all slain but Winter, who was taken alive after receiving several wounds. The two first fell by the same shot; "Catesby at his death saide, the plot and practise of this treason was only his, and that all others were but his assistants, chosen by himselfe to that purpose, and that the honor thereof only belonged unto himselfe."† Both their heads were afterwards "cut off, and sette upon the ends of the Parliament-House."‡ The other conspirators were mostly made prisoners on the spot, and were conveyed to the Tower.

On the thirtieth of January, 1606, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed as traitors, at the west end of St. Paul's Cathedral; and the next day Guy Fawkes, Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rockwood, and Robert Keys, underwent a similar fate in the Old Palace Yard, at Westminster. Their quarters were afterwards exposed on the different gates of the city, and their heads set upon poles on London Bridge. Garnet, the provincial of the jesuits, who had been condemned in March, for mis-prision of treason, was executed at St. Paul's, on the third of May; and several others suffered the just punishment of their guilt about the same time, in different parts of the country.

In June, Percy's cousin, the Earl of Northumberland, was fined 30,000l., deprived of all his posts, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, on suspicion of being privy to the conspiracy; and the Lords Mordaunt and Stourton were fined, the first 10,000 marks, and the latter 6000, and ordered to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. for the like offence, though the only shadow of proof exhibited against them was, their absence from the Parliament. These sentences were passed by that iniquitous court, the Star-Chamber. Shortly afterwards, the king granted crown

* As they were mending the fire in their chamber, a spark happened to fall upon two pounds of powder, which was drying a litle from the chimney, and it blowing up, so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of others, that they opened the gate.—*King James's Works* p. 244.

† Howe's Stow, p. 879.

‡ Ibid.

lands, to the value of 200l. per annum, in fee, and a yearly pension of 600l. to the Lord Monteagle, in reward for his "discreete, timely, and dutifull imparting to the council, the private letter, out of which they had the first ground, and only meanes that discovered the powder treason."*

In July, this year, Christian the Fourth, King of Denmark, came to England, on a visit to the Queen, his sister, and was treated with extraordinary magnificence. On his entry into London, a similar display of pageantry was made by the citizens, as had been customary at coronations. Both James and Christian rode through the city in grand procession, preceded by the Lord Mayor, bearing a golden sceptre, and followed by a most splendid train of British and Danish nobility: "upon the great fountain, in Cheapside, was erected the bower of the muses; and near the pageant, by the goldsmith's-row, where sat the great elders of the city, in scarlet robes, the Recorder made a solemn oration in Latin, and presented the King of Denmark with a curious cup of massy gold.†" Several of the conduits run with wine, and at that in Fleet-street was a pleasant pastoral device, with songs, wherewith the kings were much delighted. On the following day the royal Dane visited all the principal buildings in the metropolis.

James affected popularity, though his general conduct was such as very little to deserve it; he knew the advantage, however, of cultivating the good opinion of the citizens, and on this principle, in June 1607, after dining with the Lord Mayor, who presented him with "a purse of gold," he became a "brother" of the Cloth-worker's Company, and on that occasion made a grant to the company of two brace of bucks annually, for ever. In the following month the king partook of a splendid entertainment in Merchant Taylors' Hall, accompanied by Prince Henry, and "very many of the nobility, and other honourable personages;" there he was again presented with "a purse of gold," and the Prince, by his desire, was made free of the company, as were all the lords then present, who had not before received the freedom of the city. These courtesies were followed by a new confirmatory charter of all the accustomed rights and privileges of the citizens; and by the same instrument the precincts of Duke-place, St. Bartholomew's the Great and Less, Black and White Friars, and Cold Harbour, were all subjected in perpetuity to the jurisdiction of the city: this charter was dated from Hampton Court, on the twentieth of September.

In October another proclamation was issued respecting the increase of new buildings in the metropolis, and it was commanded that all new buildings "should have their utter walls, fore-fronts, and windows, either of brick or stone, by reason that all great

* Howe's Stow, p. 885.

† Howe's Stow, p. 886, and Stow Surv. of Lond.

and well-grown woods were spent and much wasted, so as timber for shipping waxed scarce."* In December, the king borrowed 120,000l. of "certain private citizens, farmers of the custom-house, for one whole year;" and in May 1608, he borrowed of "certain other citizens 63,000l. for fifteen months. These sums were punctually repaid at the appointed times, with full royall consideration for the same."†

King James, for the more effectual preventing rebellion in Ireland, was graciously pleased to make a tender of the province of Ulster, in the north part of that kingdom, to the lord mayor and citizens of London, for their settling an English colony therein: Which generous and advantageous offer being deliberated upon, the citizens unanimously resolved to send over four persons duly qualified to survey the said province; and who being accordingly appointed, they were accompanied thither and assisted by Sir Thomas Philips, the king's surveyor; and, having executed their commission, returned, and made report to the lord mayor and common council of their several transactions and observations in that country; by which the citizens were made sensible of the advantages that would result from such an undertaking. They gratefully accepted of his Majesty's gracious and bounteous offer; and having, by virtue of an act of Common Council, raised the sum of twenty thousand pounds for carrying on the enterprise they, for the government thereof, appointed a committee to be annually chosen, consisting of six aldermen and eighteen commoners, two whereof to be governor and deputy.

On the last day of May, Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales; on which occasion the lord mayor and aldermen, in the city barge, attended by fifty-four of the city corporations, in their respective barges, richly decorated, repaired by water to Chelsea, where they attended the return of the prince from Richmond; whence he arrived at four o'clock, and, continuing his voyage to Whitehall, was, by the citizens, entertained with the diversions of divers fluminous pageants; for which he returned thanks; and, taking leave of them, they returned to the city, where they sumptuously regaled themselves in their several halls upon that joyful occasion.

King James I. in the eighth of his reign, granted a commission to a great many persons of quality, in behalf of the archers; mentioning divers good statutes, ordinances, provisions and proclamations made by kings on their behalf. This commission was to stop a practice then began to be used, of enclosing the ground formerly used for this exercise, by making of banks and hedges in such fields and closes, as time out of mind were allowed to be shot in, and by plucking up the old marks of antient standing in the said closes, or where the banks and hedges being of indif-

* Howe's Stow, p. 892 † Ibid. p. 896.

ferent height, the ditches were made so broad and deep, that, wanting bridges, the archers were much hindered thereby. The commissioners therefore were empowered to go upon these places, and to view and survey in such grounds, next adjoining to the City of London, and the suburbs, within two miles compass; and the same to reduce into such order and state for the archers, as they were in the beginning of the reign of King Henry VIII. and to cause the banks, ditches, and quickless to be made plain and reformed.

The inhabitants of this city and suburbs being exceedingly increased, it was dreaded that such a multitude would occasion a famine: for the obviating of so great a misfortune, the mayor and citizens prudently resolved to increase the number of public granaries; to which end they caused twelve new ones to be erected at Bridewell, capacious enough to contain six thousand quarters of corn.

A marriage being concluded between Frederick the elector palatine, and the princess Elizabeth, only daughter to king James; for the solemnization of whose nuptials, the elector, on the 16th of October, arrived in this city; and on the 29th of the same month, being the lord mayor's day, he honoured the new mayor with his company at dinner in Guildhall; where he, with his attendants, the archbishop of Canterbury, duke of Lenox, bishop of London, and many other lords, were entertained in a very sumptuous manner; after which, the lord mayor, in the name of the citizens, presented his electoral highness with a very large bason and ewer, and two large pots or flagons of silver richly gilt, on each of which were engraven the words *Civitas London;* and upon the wedding-day, the lord mayor presented the electoral bride with a necklace of oriental pearl, of above 2,000l. in value. The marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel at Whitehall, with a degree of pomp that could hardly be exceeded, and in the evening "there was a very stately maske of lords and ladies, with many ingenious speeches, delicate devises, melodious musique, pleasant daunces, and other princely entertainments of tyme; all which were singularly well performed in the Banquetting House." * The expenses attending this most festive wedding, amounted to the enormous sum of almost 100,000l. of which 20,500l. was *aid-money*, collected from his subjects by the king's order, according to the ancient custom on the marriage of the eldest daughter of the sovereign. In April, the prince and his bride quitted the kingdom.

The king being informed of the dilatory proceedings of the citizens of London in settling the province of Ulster in Ireland, lately conferred upon them, and also of the many scandalous practices and abuses in the prosecution of that undertaking; he therefore commanded the governor and committee of direction in that affair to attend him at Greenwich, where he upbraided them with their

* Howe's Stow, p. 916.

neglect and careless management in the execution of so valuable and laudable a work. This reprimand occasioned the calling of a common council at their return; wherein Henry Montague, one of the king's serjeants, laid home to the lord mayor and citizens their several faults and omissions in the prosecution of so beneficial an enterprize, and acquainted them that it was his majesty's pleasure they should immediately send over a deputation from the common council to superintend the work of plantation, for the more effectual carrying on of the same.

The common council, highly approving of this proposition, chose an alderman and a commoner for their deputies; to whom were added, by the governor and committee of direction, three gentlemen of great knowledge and experience as assistants; who, arriving in Ireland, carefully surveyed every thing relating to the undertaking, and what was found amiss they rectified, and things defective immediately supplied: and having settled every thing belonging to the colony upon the best foundation, they returned and reported their proceedings to the common council; which, to their great honour, were unanimously approved of.

An order of the privy council was issued in the year 1613, in consequence of the complaints which were made of the decrease in the exportation of woollen goods, to take a general account of the exports and imports of all England, in order to know on which side the balance lay. Among other items of the account is the sum of 86,794l. 16s. 2d. for the customs outwards; of which sum London paid 61,322l. 16s. 7d.; which is nearly thrice as much as all the rest of England.

In 1613, sir Hugh Middleton completed his ever-memorable undertaking of supplying the metropolis with water, by means of the New River, which was first admitted into the reservoir in the Spa Fields, near Islington, on Michaelmas day, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of spectators. The spot where the reservoir was dug, was "in former times, an open idell pool, commonly called the Ducking-pond."

About this period the base intrigues of the king's favorite, Robert Carr, viscount Rochester, occasioned sir Thomas Overbury to be committed to the Tower, where, after some unsuccessful attempts to deprive him of life by poison, he was smothered in his bed, through the machinations of Carr's infamous paramour, the countess of Essex. Shortly afterwards the countess's marriage with the earl of Essex was declared a nullity, and James, who had been highly instrumental to this decision, gave his favorite permission to marry the divorced countess, though the adulterous intercourse in which she had lived with Carr, had been matter of notoriety to the whole court; and that the lady might not be disgraced by having a second husband inferior in rank to the first, he also bestowed the earldom of Somerset upon Carr previous to his nuptials! Still further to depart from every thing that is dignified in a sovereign, the king allowed

the marriage to be solemnized in his own palace at Whitehall, and was himself present, together with his queen, prince Charles, most of the nobility, and divers reverend bishops.* This was on the 26th of December: "that night was a gallant maske of lords," and such was the servile obsequiousness of the age, that, on the 4th of January following, the "bride and bridegroom," with the duke of Lenox, the lord privy seal, the lord chamberlain, and many earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen, were "entertained with hearty welcome, and feasted with all magnificence," by the lord mayor and aldermen, in Merchant-Taylors' Hall.†

The next year (anno 1614) Carr was made lord chamberlain, in place of his father-in-law, Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk, who was advanced to the dignity of lord treasurer; in these offices they disgusted the nation by the oppression and illegal measures which, under their auspices, were continually employed to fill the king's empty coffers; and among which was the sale of exclusive patents for monopoly, the issuing of commissions for reviving obsolete laws, the sales of honors of every degree at fixed prices, compositions for defective titles, excessive fines in the Star-Chamber, &c. Though very large sums were collected by these infamous arts, they proved insufficient to supply the incessant drain upon the treasury, which resulted from the monarch's lavish prodigality; and a parliament was therefore summoned to meet at Westminster, in April, though much against the king's will. Instead, however, of granting supplies so readily as courtly extravagance required, the Commons proceeded to state their grievances, and that in such forcible language, that James dissolved the parliament with indignation, before they had passed even a single statute; and immediately afterwards he committed several of the members to prison, without suffering them to be admitted to bail. The king had now recourse to a benevolence; yet this was so generally opposed by the people, that it produced but little more than enough to defray the charge of the entertainments given in welcome of the second visit of the King of Denmark, who arrived unexpectedly in London, on the twenty-second of July, and continued till the first of August.

During the course of the following year, the influence of the Earl of Somerset greatly declined. The king had now seen Villiers, and the charms of novelty superseded the claims of friendship. For a time, however, the sovereign seemed to maintain a sort of balance between the rival favorites, yet Carr easily penetrated that his fall was at hand, and in contemplation of the probable consequences, he besought the king to grant him a general pardon; that, whatever might be his situation, the malice of his

* Howe's Stow, p. 928. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had refused his assent to the annulling of the countess's first marriage, and had protested against the infamous proceedings which led to it, was disgraced, and deprived of his seat at the council table.—*Wel. Co. of King Jam.* p. 72.

† Howe's Stow, p. 928.

enemies should not affect him. By a strange oversight, Sir Robert Cotton, who drew the instrument, inserted in it a clause copied from a bull that had been granted to Cardinal Wolsey by the pope, which made the king say, that "he pardoned the earl not only all manner of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages, whatever, already committed, but also all those which he should hereafter commit; and in this state the king *actually signed it*; but when it was referred to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, that upright judge refused to seal an instrument in which was a clause so unconstitutional, and the business was dropped. Whether the king had been previously informed of Overbury's murder, is not quite certain, though subsequent events strongly imply that he was not unacquainted with it; yet the detail of circumstances perhaps might have been concealed from him.

Shortly afterwards, however, the particulars of the murder were communicated to James, both by Sir Ralph Winwood, who had been made Secretary of State through Somerset, and by Sir William Thrumball, the king's envoy at Brussels, who had obtained a knowledge of it from one of the inferior agents.* James commanded them to keep it private, and even afterwards endeavoured to conciliate the jarring interests of Carr and Villiers, expressing "no displeasure against Somerset, but living with him as he was wont, without the least signs of any alteration in his friendship."† Yet, on a sudden, he dispatched a messenger by night from Royston, whither he had been accompanied by Somerset, to the Lord Chief Justice Coke, ordering him to cause all the parties in the murder of Overbury to be apprehended; and when Carr was arrested in his own presence, he pretended ignorance of the matter, and said, jestingly, "Nay, man, there is no remedy; for if Coke sends for me, I must go."‡ With a depraved baseness of dissimulation also, of which human nature can furnish few parallel instances, he took leave of his fallen favourite with expressions of the fondest affection; yet no sooner was he in his coach, and out of hearing, than he exclaimed, "Now the de'el go with thee, I will never see thy face more."§ He afterwards commanded the strictest scrutiny to be made into all the circumstances of the murder, and, speaking to the judges, used the remarkable words, "If you shall spare any guilty of this crime, God's curse light upon you and your posterity; and, if I spare any that are found guilty, God's curse light upon me and my posterity for ever."‖ How the denunciation thus solemnly announced, was fulfilled, will presently be seen.

Somerset was committed to the Tower, where his countess, with

* Co. of K. James, p. 86—88; Wilson, p. 698. and Franklyn's Ann.
† Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 188.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.
‖ Co. of K. Jam. p. 93

Sir Gervase Elwayes, who was lieutenant of that fortress at the time of Overbury's murder, Sir Thomas Monson, Mrs. Turner, and the other participators in the crime, were already confined. This was in October, and during that and the following month, Elwayes suffered on Tower-hill, and Mrs. Turner, with Weston and Franklyn, who had administered the poison to Overbury, were executed at Tyburn. Sir Thomas Monson, though twice arraigned, was saved from trial by the direct interference of the king, who seems to have been fearful that Monson would have uttered something to his prejudice, had the trial proceeded.*

In the ensuing May, the earl and his countess were tried in Westminster Hall, on succeeding days, and both found guilty. Weldon tells us, that the king was greatly agitated during the whole day of the earl's trial, and that the earl had previously said to Sir George Moore, who had been made lieutenant of the Tower in the room of Elwayes, that "he would not appear, unless they carried him by force in his bed;" and that, "the king had assured him he should not come to any trial, neither durst the king bring him to trial." He was, however, prevailed on by an artifice, to submit to the judgment of his peers; and, though condemned, his life was spared, and, whatever might be the cause, both himself and his countess though confined till the year 1621, were then set at liberty; yet they were not released from their sentence till 1624, when the king granted them a full pardon, about four months before his decease.†

Smithfield, the public market-place for cattle, being as yet unpaved, was frequently, by rain, and the vast number of beasts brought thither for sale, rendered almost unpassable: for the remedying of which, the king, by his letter, enjoined the lord mayor to pave the same, thereby to remove the scandal the city was obnoxious to on account of its ruinous and dangerous condition; whereby, instead of being a service, it was rendered a common nuisance to the city.

* Co. of K. Jam. p. 104. One Simon Mason, who had been servant to Monson, and employed to carry jelly and tart to Overbury, "was likewise brought before the court, but saved his life by his shrewdness. The judge said to him, "Simon, you have had a hand in this poisoning business."—"No, my good lord," he replied, "I had but one finger in it, which almost cost me my life; and at the best almost cost me my hair and nails." The truth was, that "this Simon was somewhat liquorish, and finding the syrup swim from the top of a tart, as he carryed it he did with his finger skim it off," and it was concluded that he would not have tasted the syrup had he known it to be poisoned. Ibid. p. 98.

† The earl and his countess lived in the same house, but wholly estranged from each other, for many years after they were liberated from confinement. The countess died in 1636, of a most loathsome and peculiar disease. The earl lived till 1645, long enough to see his daughter married to the Duke of Bedford, who had by her the Lord Russel, that suffered in the time of Charles the Second.—*Brayley's London*, i. 322.

This letter had so good an effect, that the mayor and citizens immediately set about the work, and, in the space of six months, accomplished the same, at the expence of sixteen hundred pounds, to the honour of the city, and great convenience of the market-people.

Soon after, the king appointed a general muster of all the militia of the kingdom, both horse and foot: on which occasion this city mustered six thousand of her citizens completely armed; who, by their frequent exercises, performed their several evolutions with such an admirable dexterity, that it gained them the applause of all the spectators; which their children endeavouring to emulate, chose them officers, and, forming themselves into companies, with flying colours and beat of drum, often marched into the fields, where, by frequent practice, they became very expert in military exercises.

In October 1616, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and city companies, went in great pomp by water to Chelsea, whence they conducted Prince Charles to Whitehall, "with the most magnificent shews and curious diversions that had ever been seen upon the river Thames:" this was on the eve of the prince being created Prince of Wales.

In 1617, the citizens presented the king with 500 broad pieces of gold, on his return from his ill-advised journey into Scotland, where his measures were only efficacious in spreading the seeds of those troubles which distracted the kingdom in the following reign. Soon afterwards James published his famous Book of Sports, by which the populace were tolerated to exercise certain recreations and pastimes on the Sabbath-day, and all parochial incumbents were positively enjoined to read the same in their respective churches, on pain of the king's displeasure. Notwithstanding the licence given by this book, the lord mayor had the courage to order the king's carriages to be stopped, as they were driving through the city on a Sunday, during the time of divine service. This threw James into a great rage, and "vowing that he thought there had been no more kings in England but himself," he directed a warrant to the lord mayor, commanding him to let them pass; which the prudent magistrate complied with, saying, "While it was in my power I did my duty, but that being taken away by a higher power, it is my duty to obey."*

In October, 1618, the brave Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded in the Old Palace Yard, at Westminster, on a charge of high treason, for which he had been condemned on the unsupported testimony of the Lord Cobham, so long before as November, 1603. From that time till the year 1615, he had been imprisoned in the Tower, but he was then released, and had a private commission granted to him by the king, to proceed with a fleet

* Wil. Life of K. James, p. 709. The answer of the lord-mayor pleased the king, and the latter returned him his thanks.

to South America, in search of a gold mine. His voyage proving unsuccessful, he returned to Plymouth, where he was arrested by the king's orders, and re-conveyed to the scene of his former confinement, to come out no more but to the scaffold. In this instance James gave another proof of the base degeneracy of his soul, for Sir Walter having given to him, in confidence, a paper detailing the particulars of his design, number of ships, destined ports, &c. that very paper was communicated by the king to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador; and was sent by Gondomar to Spain, and thence to the Indies, before Raleigh had sailed from the Thames; and it was found in the Spanish governor's closet at St. Thomas's.

On Sunday, the twenty-sixth of March, the king, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and many of the chief nobility, came from Whitehall in great state to the city: he was received at Temple Bar by the lord-mayor, aldermen, recorder, and sheriffs in their formalities, and presented with the city sword and a purse of gold; the former of which being returned, it was carried by the mayor on horseback before his majesty to St. Paul's Church (the streets through which the cavalcade passed were on both sides lined by the city companies in their formalities), where the king alighting at the west door, he repaired to a brazen pillar, and, kneeling down, invoked the Almighty for a blessing upon his present design; thence he proceeded to the choir, where having heard an anthem, he repaired to St. Paul's Cross to sermon; whence he went to the bishop's palace, to concert measures for the more effectual repairing St. Paul's Cathedral.

In 1620, the king exacted the sum of 10,000l. from the citizens of London, in the way of benevolence. In the same year, he granted permission to Clement Cottrel, Esq. groom-porter of his household, to license gaming-houses in the metropolis and its suburbs, for cards, dice, bowling-alleys, tennis courts, &c. These, as the grant expressed it, were "for the honest and reasonable recreation of good and civil people, who, by their quality and ability, may lawfully use the games of bowling, tennis, dice, cards, tables, nine-holes, or any other game hereafter to be invented."

It is probable, that the torturing persons accused of crimes, to compel them to confess, or to discover their accomplices, was exercised, for the last time in London, about 1619, or 1620; for, when Felton assassinated the Duke of Buckingham, in 1628, a question being submitted to the judges, on the legality of the practice, they declared, that, consistently with law, torture could not be inflicted. The following authentic copy of a record,* relative to its application on suspicion of treason, is sufficient evidence that it was still resorted to at the period first named.

* Archæologia, vol. x

" To the Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

' Whereas Samuel Peacock was heretofore committed prisoner to the Marshalsea, and that now it is thought fit upon vehement suspicion of high treason against his majesty's sacred person, to remove him thence, and to commit him to the Tower; these shall be therefore, to will and require you to repair to the prison of the Marshalsea, and there to receive, from the keeper of that house, the person of the said Samuel Peacock, and him safely to convey under your custody unto the Tower of London, where you are to keep him close prisoner until further order. And whereas, we have thought meet to nominate and appoint Sir Henry Montagu, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the King's-bench; Sir Thomas Coventry, Knt. his majesty's Solicitor General, and yourself, to examine the said Peacock, for the better discovery of the truth of this treason. This shall be likewise to authorise you, or any two of you, whereof yourself to be one, to examine the said Peacock, from time to time, and to put him as there shall be cause, for the better manifestation of the truth, to the torture, either of the manacles, or the rack; for which this shall be your warrant. And so, &c. The 19th of February, 1619."

The officer, who received this command, was Sir Allen Apsley; and it was signed by Lord Chancellor Bacon; the Earl of Worcester, lord privy seal; the Earl of Arundell, Lord Carew, Lord Digby, Secretary Naunton, and Sir Edward Coke, who, it appears, sanctioned a measure as a privy councillor, which he, afterwards, condemned as a writer; for in the second institute, he says, that torture is prohibited by the following words of Magna Charta: " *Nullus liber homo aliquo modo destruatur nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, aut per legem terræ.*"

About the same time, the king, being in great want of money for the support of his son-in-law, the elector Palatine, had recourse to a method formerly practised upon the like emergencies, of raising money by way of benevolence, and to which end he issued out his letter, a copy whereof was sent to most of the nobility and bishops, as was also one to the lord mayor of London; and though no sum was therein specified, yet a demand was made upon the said mayor and citizens of the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which they upon deliberation imagining to be too exorbitant, agreed to the payment of one moiety thereof, which was raised by the several companies

The winter following, a very great frost happened, whereby the river Thames was so strongly frozen, that streets of booths were erected thereon, wherein were sold all sorts of goods as in a public fair; as were likewise all sorts of diversions practised as well as on land.

In the year 1621, Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, Lord Chancellor of England, was for bribery displaced and committed to the Tower; but after some days enlarged.

The several treaties that were negociating between the king, the emperor, and king of Spain, gave great uneasiness to the citizens of London, insomuch that they assaulted Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, as he was passing along the streets: this so highly enraged the king, that he came to Guildhall, and severely reprimanded the lord mayor and others the city magistrates for the insolence of the populace, threatening to restrain them by a military power from committing any such intolerable abuses upon the persons of ambassadors for the future; and at the same time strictly commanded the recorder diligently to enquire after the authors of that villainous attempt, in order to punish the aggressors in an exemplary manner. Pursuant to this order, a fellow was apprehended for reflecting upon the said ambassador, and, though no otherwise guilty, he was the next day, by the arbitrary command of the king, cruelly whipped from Aldgate to Temple Bar.

Some time after, a preternatural tide happened in the river Thames, which flowed and ebbed four times in the space of four hours.

On the twenty-fourth of October, a very melancholy accident happened in the house of the French ambassador in Black-Friars; where one Drury, a jesuit, preaching in the chapel (a large upper room) to an auditory of above three hundred persons, the floor giving way, it fell with the congregation, and broke down a lower; whereby the preacher and near a hundred of his hearers were killed, and about the same number miserably mangled, some whereof continued for some time under the ruins, with hideous groans and lamentable cries for help.

In the twenty-second year of James, warrants were issued for the immediate raising of ten thousand men, for the assistance of the elector Palatine, the king's son-in-law; on which occasion the city of London, to shew her hearty zeal for the interest of that protestant prince, immediately raised two thousand men for his relief.

In March, 1625, the king was seized with tertian ague, and he died, somewhat suddenly, on the twenty-seventh of that month, at Theobald's, not without suspicion of poison, though, according to some historians, "without the least colour or ground."* There were many circumstances, however, that gave probability to the surmise, not among the least of which was the speedy dissolution of the second parliament held in the next reign, after articles of impeachment had been voted against the Duke of Buckingham, one of which accused him of "applying a plaister to the late king's side in his last sickness, and of giving him a potion with his own hand at several times, in the absence, and without the order, of the physician."†

* Clarendon's Hist. of the Reb. vol. i. p. 24. 8vo. † Rush. Col. vol. i. p. 306

CHAPTER XII.

History of London during the Reign of Charles the First.

On the twenty-eighth of March, 1625, Charles was proclaimed king at the usual places in the city, and with the accustomed ceremonies. In the June following, Henrietta Maria, of France, the new queen, arrived in London; but the preparations that had been making for her reception, were obliged to be laid aside through a dreadful plague that had broke out in the metropolis, and carried off, in the course of the twelvemonth, upwards of 35,000 persons. Charles's first Parliament, which met at Westminster in the above month, was speedily adjourned to Oxford, for fear of this calamity; and though its sittings at both places had not exceeded three weeks, it was dissolved on the pretence of the spreading of the pestilence: "but the true reason," says Rapin, "was because the king found not in this Parliament a compliance and disposition fit for his purpose."*

On the second of February, 1626, Charles was crowned at Westminster. The lord-mayor and aldermen officiated, as customary, as chief butlers at the dinner; but the accustomed procession through the city from the Tower, was dispensed with on account of the plague.

Four days afterwards a new Parliament met at Westminster, in which the commons acted in the most stubborn manner, refusing supplies, and complaining of various grievances. The impeachment of Buckingham was resolutely proceeded with; and though the king endeavoured to awe the commons into obedience, by committing Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot to the Tower, for contemptuous words, untruly affirmed to have been spoken by them against the duke, who was highly in favour with Charles as he had been with his father, the attempt was unsuccessful, and he was presently obliged to release the imprisoned members. These compliances with the popular wish were so coupled with unconstitutional assumptions, that they had little effect in promoting the king's views, and the Parliament was dissolved in disgust on the fifteenth of June.

The measures that were immediately afterwards pursued by the king's council, evince a determination to reduce the state to a complete despotism. The royal prerogative was held forth as superior to all arrangements of convention; forced loans and benevolences were exacted under the penalty of martial law; taxes were illegally levied; and it was publicly asserted from the pul-

* Rapin, vol. ii, 243.

pit by Dr. Manwaring, that the "king was not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subjects' rights and privileges: but that his royal will and command, in imposing loans and taxes, without common consent in Parliament, doth oblige the subjects' conscience upon pain of eternal damnation." He was rewarded with a good benefice, and afterwards with a bishopric; and this after the lords had sentenced him to pay a fine of 1000l. and to be imprisoned.

Under the oppressive system of coercion that was now instituted, London particularly suffered; and to this cause perhaps the determined support that was given by the inhabitants to the parliament in the subsequent civil wars, may be more directly referred. The first attempt upon the city was to exact a loan of 100,000l.; but this having failed through the resolute opposition of the citizens, the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty were enjoined by precept from the council, immediately to fit out twenty of the best ships in the river Thames for public service, to be well manned, and stored with provisions and ammunition for three months; and no intercession could obtain any abatement in this command. Many of the principal citizens were also imprisoned for refusing to subscribe to the loan as individuals, whilst others in a lower sphere were "forced to serve in the King's ships then going forth."* Similar conduct was pursued generally throughout the country, "some being committed," and others "pressed for soldiers."† The strong disaffection excited by these unjust acts, became at length so violent, that Charles was content to remit his rigour from apprehension of the consequences; and on the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, he ordered writs to be issued for the assembling of another parliament, to meet on the 17th of March, 1628. An order of council was then made for the release of those gentlemen who had been imprisoned or confined for refusing to submit to the loan, and the king had the mortification to learn that twenty-seven out of the number were chosen by the people as representatives for the ensuing parliament.

It was not long, however, before a pretence was found for obtaining a sum of money from the city. One Doctor Lamb, a reputed conjuror, a favourite of the king, and the suspected adviser of these arbitrary proceedings, being discovered in the city, on the 18th June, 1628, was attacked by a mob, who loaded him with the most bitter invectives, and dragged him about the streets, beating and kicking him, till at length he died under their inhuman treatment. The king, hearing of the tumult, hastened into the city in time to have saved his life, had his authority been sufficiently great, or his body-guard strong enough to have rescued him from the exasperated citizens, who, in reply to the king's entreaties, and promises that he would suffer the law to take its course if he could be proven

* Whit. Mem. p. 8.

† Ibid. See more of these despotic proceedings in Rushworth, vol. i, p. 422—429.

guilty of any offence, said, 'they had judged him already,' and continued their outrageous conduct.

Finding he could neither chastise nor redress this insolence, he returned to his palace; and soon after the privy-council sent a letter to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, commanding them to make strict enquiry after the principal actors and abettors, and to bring them to justice; but so little attention was paid to this order, that an answer was returned that they could not discover any of them. On this, they were summoned to attend the privy-council, where they were threatened with the confiscation of their charter, if they did not apprehend and deliver up the principal actors in the riot. But this made no impression upon their resolution to screen the parties sought after; for their next report was 'that they could not be found.' The king was so incensed at this, that he amerced the city in a fine of three thousand pounds, which was afterwards mitigated to fifteen hundred marks, on the committal of several of the rioters. This was in the year 1632, four years after the murder had been committed.

A curious account of the mode of apprenticing at this time, is given in a letter from Mr. Howell to his father. "Our two younger brothers which you sent hither are disposed of; my brother Doctor Howell, (afterwards Bishop of Bristol) hath placed the elder of the two with Mr. Hawes, a mercer, in Cheapside, and he took much pains in it; and I had plac'd my brother Ned with Mr. Barrington, a silk-man in the same street, but afterwards, for some inconveniences, I remov'd him to one Mr. Smith, at the Flower-de-luce in Lombard-street, a mercer also; their masters are both of them very well to pass, and of good repute; I think it will prove some advantage to them hereafter, to be both of one trade; because when they are out of their time, they may join stocks together; so that I hope, Sir, they are well plac'd as any two youths in London; but you must not use to send them such large tokens in money, for that may corrupt them. When I went to bind my brother Ned apprentice in Drapers'-hall, casting my eyes upon the chimney-piece of the great room, I might spie a picture of an ancient gentleman, and underneath Thomas Howel; I ask'd the clerk about him, and he told me that he had been a Spanish merchant in Henry the Eight's time, and coming home rich, and dying a bachelor, he gave that hall to the Company of Drapers, with other things, so that he is accounted one of their chiefest benefactors. I told the clerk that one of the sons of Thomas Howel came now thither to be bound, he answered, that if he be a right Howel, he may have when he is free, three hundred pounds to help him to set up, and pay no interest for five years. It may be hereafter we may make use of this. He told me also that any maid that can prove her father to be a true Howel, may come and demand fifty pounds towards her portion, of the said hall.——Because Mr. Hawes of Cheapside is

lately dead, I have removed my brother Griffith to the Hen and Chickens in Paternoster-row, to Mr. Taylor's, as gentile a shop as any in the city, but I gave a piece of plate of twenty nobles price to his wife."

The use of hackney coaches was but very trifling in 1626; for, among the many monopolies granted by the king, was one which gave rise to the use of sedan chairs in London.* This grant was made to Sir Sanders Duncomb, and expressed in the following terms: "That whereas the streets of our cities of London and Westminster, and their suburbs, are of late so much incumbered with the unnecessary multitude of coaches, that many of our subjects are thereby exposed to great danger; and the necessary use of carts and carriages for provisions thereby much hindered: and Sir Sanders Duncomb's petition, representing that in many parts beyond sea, people are much carried in chairs that are covered; whereby few coaches are used among them:—wherefore we have granted to him the sole privilege to use, let, or hire a number of the said covered chairs for fourteen years."

This patent was followed by a proclamation against hackney coaches, strictly commanding, "That no hackney coach should be used in the city of London or suburbs thereof, other than carrying people to and from their habitations in the country; and that no person should make use of a coach in the city, except such persons as could keep four able horses fit for his majesty's service, which were to be ready when called for, under a severe penalty."†

Charles was not altogether so unsuccessful with his third parliament as he had been with his former ones; though, for the purpose of securing more devotion to his will, he sought opportunity to intimate at the opening of the session, "that in case the supplies he demanded were not granted, he could raise them other ways." He was obliged, however, after many evasions, to agree to the Petition of Right; yet that was nothing more than the 'confirmation of laws, which till then had passed for incontestible.'‡ Shortly afterwards, the king, understanding that the commons were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tunnage and poundage by royal authority alone, prorogued the parliament till October.

In the interval, the Duke of Buckingham, against whom the reprehensions of the commons had been principally directed, was stabbed at Portsmouth by John Felton, who had been a lieutenant in the army, and whose mind had been wound up to the deed, 'by frequently hearing some popular preachers in the city.'§

* Captain Bailey, an old sea officer, first set up four hackney coaches with the drivers in liveries, with directions to ply at the May-pole in the Strand, where now the new church is, and at what rate to carry passengers about the town.—*Gough's British Topography.*

† Hughson's London, i. 176.

‡ Rap. Hist. ii, 276.

§ Clar. Hist. i. 27.

On being threatened by Bishop Laud with the rack, unless he discovered his accomplices, he answered, that 'if he was put to that torture, he knew not whom he should accuse, perhaps the Bishop himself.'* Felton was executed at Tyburn in November, and afterwards hanged in chains.

The parliament, which had been prorogued from October, 1628, met on the 12th of January, 1629: previous to this time, various new acts of aggression against the laws, and in violation of the rights of the people, had been committed on the part of the crown. Several merchants of the city had had their goods seized, for refusing to pay the demand of the king's officers for tunnage and poundage; and one of them, named Vassall, who had defended his refusal before the Barons of the Exchequer, had judgment given against him, and was imprisoned. Similar abuses were practised during the very sitting of the parliament, and that upon the effects of John Rolls, Esq., a member of the house, and merchant of London, whose cause was immediately taken up by the commons, and argued with much vehemence. They even examined the officers of the customs, who answered that they acted in virtue of a commission under the great seal: one of them declared, that 'he had seized the goods for duties that were due in the time of King James,' and that 'his majesty had sent for him, and commanded him to make no other answer.'— This direct interference inflamed the house to the utmost, and, in a grand committee, they voted that Mr. Rolls 'ought to have privilege both in person and goods;' but when the house was resumed, the speaker refused to put the question, saying, 'He durst not, for the king had commanded to the contrary.'* On this the commons adjourned, with much indignation, till the twenty-fifth of February; and were then further adjourned, by the king's order, till the second of March. On that day they again assembled, yet the speaker still refused to put the deferred question, and saying he was commanded by his majesty to adjourn the house till the tenth of March; he endeavoured to "go forth of his chair,"† but was held in it by force, whilst the doors of the house were locked, and a strong protestation drawn up by Sir John Elliot, put to the vote, and approved by the majority,

* Whit. Mem. p. 11 The council, by the king's directions, required the opinion of the judges on the question, 'Whether Felton might be racked by the law?' They answered unanimously, that 'By the law he might not be put to the rack.'—*Ibid.* That this torture was in use for state purposes, within the preceding ten years, is proved by a warrant to the lieutenant of the Tower, dated in 1619, and signed by the Lord Chancellor Bacon, the Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Arundell, Lord Carew, Lord Digby, Secretary Naunton, and Sir Edward Coke, by which one Samuel Peacock was ordered to be put to the torture, 'either of the manacles or the rack.'—*Brayley's London*, i. 330.

† Whit. Mem. p. 12.

‡ Ibid.

though not without great tumult and confusion, and even some blows.*

On the same day the king, by proclamation, declared his intention to dissolve the parliament; and on the next, nine of the principal members were summoned before the council, to answer for their late conduct. Four of them, viz. Denzil Hollis, Sir John Elliot, William Coriton, Esq. and Benjamin Valentine, Esq. were all that appeared, and they refusing to answer out of parliament, for what was said in parliament, were committed close prisoners to the Tower.† Warrants were also issued for the apprehension of the other five, whose names were Sir Miles Hobert, Sir Peter Hayman, William Stroud, Esq. John Selden, Esq. and Walter Long, Esq. These severe measures increased the public discontents, and the ferment was not at all lessened by a proclamation issued by the king, in April, in which he declared that "he should account it presumption in any to prescribe to him the time for calling a parliament." This, as Lord Clarendon states, was "generally understood to inhibit all men to speak of another parliament;"‡ and Weldon observes, that it "was said the king made a vow never to call any more."‖

The imprisoned members were afterwards proceeded against in the Star-Chamber, by information of the attorney-general, and several of them were condemned in exorbitant fines. Some of them were afterwards released from confinement on petition, and giving "sureties for good behaviour:" Sir John Elliot, and the others who refused such an alternative, were kept in prison till they died.

In the year 1631, the principal streets of London having been greatly incumbered by stalls and stands for bakers, butchers, poulterers, chandlers, fruiterers, sempsters, grocers, and venders of oysters, herbs, and tripe, in defiance of the laws against such nuisances, it was judged necessary by order of common-council, to enact, "That no inhabitant whatever should presume to sell any thing in the streets or lanes of the city, upon pain of forfeiting

* Rap. Hist. vol. ii. p. 278. The protestation consisted of the three following articles. First: Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour, or countenance, seem to extend popery or arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the truth and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth.

Second: Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tunnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

Third: If any merchant or person whatsoever, shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tunnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy of the same.—*Rush. Col. vol. i. p.* 660.

† Whit. Mem. p. 12,

‡ Hist. Reb. vol i. p. 67.

‖ Co. of K. Charles, p. 194.

for the first offence twenty shillings, for the second offence forty shillings, for the third offence four pounds, and for each offence afterwards, the penalty to be doubled." And in 1633, the enormities of engrossers, victuallers, bakers, &c. had arisen to such a height, that the court of Star-Chamber issued a decree, "That no person whatsoever should presume to engross any sort of provision: and particularly, that no chandler should buy corn, grain, meal or flour to sell again at market or elsewhere: that no vintner should sell any thing but bread and wine, nor permit any flesh or any sort of provisions to be brought into his house, to be there eaten by any of his guests; that no baker should sell bread at any more than twelve, or at most thirteen loaves to the dozen: that the keepers of victualling-houses (in that dear time of scarcity), should take no more of each guest for a meal than two shillings, including wine and beer, and of a servant eight-pence: that no innholder within London and Westminster, and ten miles of the same, should take above six-pence in twenty-four hours, for hay for one horse, and no more than six-pence for a peck of oats: that to prevent the many inconveniencies that might arise from the increase of the number of livery stables in London, Westminster, and Southwark, it was decreed that the said stable keepers, after they had consumed their stocks of hay and oats, should not lay in any further provision, but lay the business entirely aside. And finally, that neither victuallers nor vintners should suffer cards, dice, tables, or other unlawful game in their houses, under penalty of losing their licence."

In 1632, William Prynne, Esq. was committed to the Tower, for publishing his *Histrio-Mastix*, a passage in the index of which was, by Archbishop Laud, and other prelates, "whom Prynne had angered by some books of his against arminianism, and the jurisdiction of the bishops," construed to reflect upon the queen, who had acted a part in a pastoral about "six weeks after" the objectionable words were published.* Prynne himself, after a long confinement, was rigorously prosecuted in the Star-Chamber, and fined 5000l., expelled from the University of Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, disabled from following his profession of the law, condemned to stand twice in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to be imprisoned for life: this cruel sentence was most severely executed.

On Candlemas-day, 1634, the four inns of court, "to manifest their opinion of Prynne's new learning, and serve to confute his *Histrio-Mastix*, against interludes," entertained their majesties with a splendid and expensive masque; the airs, lessons, and songs for which were composed by the celebrated Lawes, and the music was so performed, that, according to Whitelocke, to whom "the whole care and charge of" this part of the pageant was

* Whit. Mem. p. 18 The words were,—"*Women Actors Notorious Whores.*"

entrusted, " it excelled any music that ever before that time had been held in England." The theatre for the display of this exhibition, was the banquetting house, at Whitehall, to which the masquers and their company went in gorgeous procession from Ely-house, in Holborn. At the head of the cavalcade, " marched twenty footmen in scarlet liveries, with silver lace," each having "a sword, a baton, and a torch;" these were the marshals-men who cleared the streets—" the marshall himself was Mr. Darrel, of Lincoln's-inn, afterwards knighted by the king, an extraordinary handsome proper gentleman, mounted upon one of the king's best horses, and richest saddles, and his own habit was exceeding rich and glorious." After him followed about " a dozen trumpeters, preceding one hundred gentlemen of the inns of court, the most proper and handsome of their respective societies, gallantly mounted on the best horses, and with the best furniture that the king's stable, and the stables of all the noblemen in town, would afford," and all of them richly habited, and attended by pages, and lacquies bearing torches. " After the horsemen came the anti-masquers;" the first of which being " of cripples and beggars, on horseback, mounted on the poorest leanest jades that could be gotten, had their music of keys and tongues, and the like, snapping, and yet playing in a concert before them." Next came " men on horseback, playing upon pipes, whistles, and instruments sounding notes like those of birds of all sorts, and in excellent concert, followed by the anti-masque of birds:" this was " an owl in an ivy-bush, with many several sorts of other birds in a clustre about the owl." Then came " other musicians, on horseback. playing upon bag-pipes, horn-pipes, and such kind of northern music, speaking the following anti-masque of projectors, to be of the Scotch and northern quarters." Foremost in " this anti-masque rode a fellow on a little horse, with a great bit in his mouth, signifying a projector, who 'begged a patent that none in the kingdom should ride their horses but with such bits as they should buy of him." Then came a fellow with a bunch of carrots upon his head, and a capon upon his fist, describing a projector, who " wanted a monopoly for the invention of fattening capons with carrots." Other projectors were, " in like manner, personated in this anti-masque, and it pleased the spectators the more, because by it an information was covertly given to the king of the unfitness and ridiculousness of those projects; and the attorney Noy, who had most knowledge of them, had a great hand in this anti-masque of the projectors." Other anti-masques succeeded, and then came " six of the chief musicians, on horseback, habited as heathen priests, and followed by an open chariot, containing about twelve persons, representing gods and goddesses. Other musicians came next, both on horseback and in a chariot, playing upon excellent and loud music all the way;" after them came the chariots of the grand masquers;

"themselves proper and beautiful young gentlemen," most splendidly habited in "doublets, trunk-hose, and caps, of most rich cloth of tissue, thick studded with silver spangles, with sprigs in their caps, and large white silk stockings up to their trunk-hose." These chariots were built in the form of the "triumphant cars of the Romans," and were "carved and painted with exquisite art;" and drawn by four horses abreast, richly caparisoned. Each of them contained four persons, chosen from the different inns of court, attended by footmen carrying large flambeaux, "which, with the torches, gave such a lustre to the paintings and spangles, and habits, that hardly any thing could be invented to appear more glorious." The number of spectators was immense, and the banquetting-house "was so crowded with fine ladies, glittering with their rich clothes and fairer jewels, and with lords and gentlemen of great quality, that there was scarce room for the king and queen to enter." Their majesties, who stood at a window to see "the Masque come by," were so "delighted with the noble beauty of it," that they "sent to the marshall to desire that the whole shew might fetch a turn about the tilt-yard," that they might see it a second time. The masquers then alighted at Whitehall-gate, and were conducted to their assigned places.—The management was directed by a committee of eight persons, two for each inn, viz. "for the Middle Temple, Mr. Edward Hyde and Mr. Whitelocke; for the Inner Temple, Sir Edward Herbert and Mr. Selden; for Lincoln's-inn, Mr. Attorney General Noy and Mr. Gerling; and, for Gray's-inn, Sir John Finch and Mr. ———."* The "masque," says Whitelocke, was "incomparably performed in the dancing, speeches, music, and scenes;—none failed in their parts, and the scenes were most curious and costly." The queen joined in the dance, with "some of the masquers, and the great ladies of the court were very free and civil, in dancing with all of them." These "sports" continued till "it was almost morning," when their majesties having retired, the masquers and inns of court gentlemen were brought to a stately banquet, and after that was dispersed, every one retired to their own quarters. The splendour and expense of this spectacle, appear to have exceeded every thing of the kind that had ever before been exhibited in this country; the charges borne by the inns of court, and their individual members, were alone reckoned to amount to upwards of 21,000*l*. The queen "was so taken with this show and masque, that she desired to see it acted over again; whereupon an intimation being given to the lord mayor of London, he invited the king and queen, and the inns of court masquers, to the city, and entertained them with all state and magnificence, at Mer-

* Whit. Mem. p. 18—21.

chant Taylor's-hall, and at no less charges." The masquers afterwards received the particular thanks of their majesties.*

In 1634, writs were first issued for the levying of ship-money, a project contrived by the Attorney-General, Noy, for filling the king's coffers, by imposing a general tax upon the country, in form of a commutation for the neglect of supplying shipping for national service. These writs were, at first, confined to the port and maritime towns, but were afterwards extended to all inland places, every sheriff being "directed to provide a ship of war, or, instead of a ship, to levy the money upon his county, and transmit it to the treasurer of the navy for the king's use."† The first demand made upon the citizens of London was for seven ships of from three to nine hundred tons burthen, properly manned and equipped.

Upon the receipt of this arbitrary command, a common council was summoned to deliberate thereon; wherein it was resolved to present the following petition to the king, for relief against such an illegal and exorbitant demand:

"That whereas your majesty by writ, bearing *teste* 20 *Octobris* last, commanded your petitioners, at their charge, to provide seven ships of war, furnished with men, victual, and all warlike provisions, to be at Portsmouth by the first of March next, and to continue from thence by the space of twenty-six weeks, in your Majesty's service, upon the defence of the seas, and other causes in the said writ contained;

"Your petitioners do in all submissive humbleness, and with acknowledgment of your sacred majesty's favours unto your said city, inform your majesty, that they conceive, that by antient privileges, grants, and acts of parliament (which they are ready humbly to shew forth) they are exempt, and are to be freed from that charge:

"And do most humbly pray,

"That your majesty will be graciously pleased that the petitioners, with your princely grace and favour, may enjoy the said privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing of the said ships and provisions."

However, it does not appear that the exemption insisted on by the citizens, by virtue of their antient rights and privileges, proved of any service to them; for the king, instead of dropping his project, (which at first was only peculiar to the maritime towns) imposed it upon the whole kingdom.

The London clergy, imagining themselves not so rich as their predecessors, owing as alleged, to modern defalcations; they charged the citizens with various corrupt acts, as appears in the following petition:

* Brayley's London i. 336. † Clar. Reb. i. 68.

"That the benefices in London were an hundred years since very great; that the decree for tythes, now in force, provides that nine pence (should be two shillings and nine pence) be paid upon every pound rent without fraud; that, notwithstanding the said decree, (the variation of times considered) they are now very poor and mean; many of them not worth forty pounds per annum; the most not one hundred pounds; only one, Christ-church, a city impropriation, worth three hundred and fifty pounds.

"That the petitioners have not independent maintenance, and for want thereof, are daily thrust upon dangerous and great inconveniences; that this is because the petitioners have no means assigned in the said decree for the discovering the true value of their said rents by the oath of the parties, and for that many London landlords (to the defeating of the petitioners; and indangering their own souls) have and daily do contrive double leases, or make proviso's, wherein they call some small part of the true rent by the name of rent, and all the rest (which yet is quarterly paid) by the name of fine, income, or the like; which practice, in the year 1620, was signified to be unjust and sacrilegious, under the hands of the reverend bishops and heads of houses of both universities.

"And lastly, for that the lord mayor for the time being is our ordinary judge, and the petitioners generally want both ability and leisure to prosecute and appeal from him to the right honourable the lord-keeper, or otherwise to wage war with rich and powerful citizens.

"May it therefore please the great patron of the church, your royal majesty, to take into your princely consideration these pressures and grievances of your poor clergy of London, with the causes of the same; and to take such recourse for redress thereof, as to your majesty's great wisdom and clemency shall seem meet."

For inspecting into the pretended grievance, the king referred the petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Earl Marshal, Bishop of London, Lord Cottington, Secretary Windebank, and chief justice Richardson, or to any five or three of them, whereof the archbishop always to be one. While the referees were endeavouring to settle the tithes in controversy, divers citizens petitioned the king and council against their manner of proceeding; when, after sundry hearings, it was (upon the king's proposal) reciprocally agreed, between the citizens and their parsons, to submit the point in dispute to his majesty's arbitration. However, the king was afraid to make an absolute decision thereof, seeing it was against the general sense of the people.*

Some time after, the king, to prevent the spreading of the

* Maitland, i. 306

dreadful contagion raging in the city, which within the year carried off ten thousand and four hundred of the citizens, by proclamation of the 26th of July, prohibited the keeping of either Bartholomew or Southwark fairs.

The raising of ship money met with great opposition in most parts of the kingdom, but more especially in this city, where great numbers refused to pay; among whom was Richard Chambers, a merchant, who, for his peremptorily refusing to pay, was by Sir Edward Bromfield, the lord mayor, committed to prison; against whom he commenced a suit for false imprisonment, the legality whereof was to have been tried in Trinity term; but such was the iniquitous partiality of Robert Berkley, one of the justices of the King's Bench, that he would not suffer the lawfulness of ship money to be controverted by Chambers' counsel; but declared in court, that there was a rule of law and another of government, and that many things that could not be done by the rule of law, might be done by that of government.

This distinction was looked upon to be new and dangerous, and the quashing of the cause, instead of serving to promote the peaceable payment of the money demanded, had quite a different effect; for, by this proceeding, the citizens of London became more obstinate than ever, insomuch that the privy council thought proper to write to them to submit: but having received an answer not agreeable to their expectations, they wrote the following letter to the lord mayor and aldermen:

"We have received by some of you the aldermen a denial in the name of the city to our late letter, for the setting forth of shipping for the present and necessary defence of the kingdom; and the excuses which are made since upon the like occasions we cannot impute it truly to any thing but want of duty.

"We do therefore, in his majesty's name, and by his commandment, require you to see the directions of our said letter performed, upon your allegiance; and as you will answer the contrary at your perils. And so, &c."

The lord mayor and aldermen, perceiving by this threatening letter that they could not shake off the burden, drew up and presented a petition to the council, for an abatement of the number of ships rated upon the city, and that, instead of twenty, his majesty would be graciously pleased to accept of ten. Which petition being rejected, they were told that the pressing necessities and preservation of the state required their immediate submission, whereby they would happily obviate an occasion of shewing them more particularly what is due to those that disobey his majesty's commands on such an emergency.

In 1637, the grand question of the legality of ship money, brought forward by the patriot Hampden, was finally decided in the king's favour, in the courts at Westminster, only two of the judges, Croke and Hatton, declaring for Hampden. In this year

"the sickness began to increase in London, and it was thought fit to adjourn part of the Trinity term."* The convictions in the Star Chamber were this year carried to an excess of cruelty and extortion. Burton and Bastwick were each fined 5000l., condemned to lose their ears in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for life for writing against episcopacy: and Prynne, whose former sentence has been mentioned, was now tried for schism, in writing 'a book scandalous to the king and church.' On this occasion he was condemned to lose the remainder of his ears in the pillory, to pay 5000l. and to be branded with an S in both cheeks, for schismatic.†

Notwithstanding the discontent which prevailed at this time between the citizens and the king, yet, in October, 1638, he granted the corporation of London a charter, wherein he confirmed all their former privileges, the garbling of tobacco only excepted. The granting of this charter, however, must not be considered as a free gift; for the citizens paid very considerable sums to obtain that confirmation of their ancient privileges from Charles, which had been so readily granted by his predecessors.

These recently confirmed privileges were not long respected; for, in the next year, the ministry, in an arbitrary and illegal manner, commenced a suit in the court of Star-chamber, against the lord mayor and citizens, together with the governor and assistants of the new plantation in the province of Ulster, in Ireland, in order to deprive them of the improvements they had made, at a very considerable expence in that province; when, after a hearing of seventeen days, the defendants were condemned to lose all their lands and possessions, which had been granted them by his late majesty in that kingdom; and at the same time, the court amerced the citizens in a fine of 50,000l.: but this fine was remitted by the king.

In the year 1640, Charles once more felt it necessary to summon a parliament: it was therefore assembled at Westminster on the 13th of April, but requiring, as a condition to the granting of supplies, that the national grievances should be first redressed, the king dissolved it in anger on the 5th of May.

The meeting of this parliament, after a lapse of full twelve years, had created a strong ferment in the public mind; and the king's council had already ordered the lord mayor to call out 800 of the trained bands, to prevent tumult; yet, after its dissolution, that number was thought insufficient to maintain tranquillity, and the whole of the trained bands was ordered to be 'drawn forth in arms,' if necessity required. Three days before this, on May the 11th, Archbishop Laud, to whose advice the dissolving of the parliament was principally attributed, was attacked in Lambeth-palace, by a rabble of about '500 persons,' chiefly

* Whit. Mem. 24. † Ibid.

city-apprentices, who had assembled in consequence of an inflammatory paper having been posted up two days before at the Royal Exchange. As the Archbishop had provided for the defence of the palace, and had himself left it by water, no other mischief was done by the rioters than the breaking of a few glass windows, and the release of some prisoners: but the judges having resolved it to be treason, one of their captains, a cobler, was hanged, drawn, and quartered for it, and his limbs set on London-bridge.

These outrages greatly alarming the court, the privy council sent an order to the lord mayor, to provide a double watch, and to oblige every housekeeper to keep his apprentices and servants at home, and not suffer them to go out of their houses at any hour, till further orders.

The lord mayor strictly obeyed these orders; notwithstanding which, so turbulent and enraged were the citizens in general against the court and ministry for their despotic government, that they stuck up papers in various parts of the city, exciting the people to a general insurrection. This occasioned another order from the privy council, commanding the lord mayor to draw forth the city trained bands, the more effectually to suppress all disorderly and riotous meetings.

Notwithstanding these indications of general disaffection, the king continued firm to his infatuated purpose of subduing the spirit of the people. The privy council summoned the lord mayor and aldermen to attend in order to give in the names of such citizens in each ward, as were able to advance money for the service of the king. The sum demanded by the privy council was two hundred thousand pounds, which the lord mayor and aldermen were ordered to raise, according to the abilities of the respective wards. Several aldermen, who refused obedience, were committed to prison; and an order was afterwards issued by the privy council, to prosecute the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, for default in the prosecution of the writ of ship money.

Shortly after, the king ordered the citizens to raise four thousand men, to join the army intended to march against the Scots; which they complied with, on a promise that the expense should be repaid out of the exchequer.

The citizens, after this, advanced the king the sum of four thousand two hundred pounds; in consideration of which, he granted them another charter, confirming all their former privileges of package, scavage, bailage, &c; to which he now added that of the carriage and portage of all merchandize whatsoever; with a clause to prohibit every porter or other person from carrying, lading, or unlading any goods, without the special licence of the mayor and commonalty; and it concludes with giving power and authority to the said mayor and his proper officers, in the foresaid employments, "to give and administer the oath upon the holy evangelists, from time to time, to all such persons suspected, or to be suspected of withdrawings, concealments, colourings, frauds, covins. And that

it shall and may be lawful to the said mayor, his minister, and deputy, or officer for the time being, by all lawful ways and means, to compel all such persons suspected, or to be suspected, as shall refuse or deny to take the said oath, to take the same oath." This charter is dated the 5th of September, in the sixteenth year of his reign.

The grievances under which the nation had so long laboured continuing unredressed, the citizens of London drew up a petition to the king to call a new parliament, in the hope of being freed, by its means, from the many impositions which had been laid on them. As this petition contains a summary of the complaints which then agitated the people, and will throw great light on the short sketch of the civil war, which the limits of this work will admit of, it is inserted at length.

" Most gracious sovereign,

" Being moved with duty and obedience, which, by the laws, your petitioners owe unto your sacred majesty, they humbly present unto your princely and pious wisdom, the several pressing grievances following:

" 1. The pressing and unusual impositions upon merchandize, importing and exporting, and the urging and levying of ship-money; notwithstanding both which, merchant ships and goods have been taken and destroyed, both by Turkish and other pirates.

" 2. The multitude of monopolies, patents, and warrants, whereby trade in the city, and other parts of the kingdom, is much decayed.

" 3. The sundry innovations in matters of religion.

" 4. The oath of canons, lately enjoined by the late convocation; whereby your petitioners are in danger to be deprived of their ministers.

" 5. The great concourse of papists, and their habitations in London and the suburbs; whereby they have more means and opportunity of plotting and executing their designs against the religion established.

" 6. The seldom calling, and sudden dissolutions of parliaments, without the redress of grievances.

" 7. The imprisonment of divers citizens for non-payment of ship-money, and impositions; and the prosecution of many others in the Star-chamber, for not conforming themselves to committees in patents of monopolies, whereby trade is restrained.

" 8. The great danger your sacred person is exposed unto in the present war, and the various fears that seized upon your petitioners and their families, by reason thereof; which grievances and fears have occasioned so great a stop and distraction in trade, that your petitioners can neither buy, sell, receive, or pay, as formerly, and tends to the utter ruin of the inhabitants of this city, the decay of navigation and clothing, and the manufactures of this kingdom.

" Your humble petitioners, conceiving that the said grievances

are contrary to the laws of this kingdom, and finding, by experience, that they are not redressed by the ordinary course of justice, do therefore most humbly beseech your most sacred majesty, to cause a parliament to be summoned, with all convenient speed, whereby they may be relieved in the premises.

" And your petitioners and loyal subjects shall ever pray, &c."

The privy council, suspecting that disagreeable consequences might arise to them from the presenting this petition to the king, in order to prevent its being carried into execution, sent a letter to the lord mayor and aldermen, telling them, that such a petition was very dangerous, and unwarranted by the charter and customs of the city; and that it was unnecessary, as his majesty was already taking the said grievances into consideration. The citizens paid little attention to this letter from the ministry, but, on the contrary, sent the petition by a deputation from the court of aldermen and common-council to his majesty, who was at that time with his army at York.

This petition had so far the desired effect, that his majesty, in a letter dated the 25th of September, promised them a parliament should be immediately called, to redress their grievances; but a request was at the same time added, for a loan of 200,000l. on the security of the ' Peers' Bond.' This had its effect, and that sum was engaged to be furnished in four equal monthly payments.

Soon after the parliament had assembled, orders were issued by the commons, for the removal of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, from the places where they had been confined under the direction of the Star-chamber court, to London; and as they were considered to have been victims to the popular cause, their entry into the metropolis was hailed by an assembled multitude with the loudest acacclamations of joy. " When they came near London," says Clarendon, " multitudes of people, of several conditions, some on horseback, others on foot, met them some miles from the town, very many having been a day's journey, and they were brought about two o'clock in the afternoon, in at Charing Cross, and carried into the city, by above 10,000 persons, with boughs and flowers in their hands, the common people strewing flowers and herbs in the way as they passed, making a great noise and expressions of joy for their deliverance and return."* It was, probably, on this occasion, that " the king made the Lord Cottington constable of the Tower of London, and placed there a garrison of 400 men, to keep the city from tumults; but the House of Commons, and others without, being much dissatisfied thereat, the king took off the garrison and commission of constable, and left it to a lieutenant (Sir William Balfour), as before.†

In the course of the proceedings of this parliament, " the king felt himself compelled, by the conjuncture of affairs, to consent to

* Hist. Reb. ii. p. 202. † Whit. Mem. p. 37.

many acts which circumscribed his prerogative, and seemed calculated to restore the blessings of civil liberty ;" yet so little confidence had the people in the good faith of his ministers, that " even the facility with which his consent was given to some of the proposed measures, operated as a ground of suspicion as to the real nature of his future views."

The leading men in the House of Commons, among whom was Cromwell, afterwards Protector, the patriot Hampden, Pym, Hasilrigge, Fiennes, and Sir Harry Vane, were either Presbyterians or Independents, and, of course, equally inimical to episcopacy; they may, therefore, without violating probability, be regarded as the promoters of a petition, and long schedule of grievances against the government, discipline, and ceremonies of the church, which was presented to the house, by Alderman Pennington, on the eleventh of December, and was signed by 15,000 citizens. It is so curious a document that it is here inserted it at length :—

" That whereas the government of archbishops, and lords bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. with their courts and ministrations in them, have proved prejudicial and very dangerous, both to the church and commonwealth; they themselves having formerly held, that they have their jurisdiction or authority of human authority ; till of these latter times, being further pressed about the unlawfulness, that they have claimed their calling immediately from the Lord Jesus Christ; which is against the laws of this kingdom, and derogatory to his Majesty and his state royal: And whereas the said government is found by woeful experience to be a main cause and occasion of many foul evils, pressures, and grievances of a very high nature unto his majesty's subjects, in their own consciences, liberties, and estates, as in a schedule of particulars hereunto annexed may in part appear.

" We therefore most humbly pray and beseech this honourable assembly, the premises considered, that the said government, with all its dependencies, roots, and branches, may be abolished, and all laws in their behalf made void, and the government according to God's word may be rightly placed among us. And we your humble suppliants, as in duty we are bound, will daily pray for his majesty's long and happy reign over us, and for the prosperous success of this high and honourable court of parliament.

THE SCHEDULE.

A particular of the manifold evils, pressures, and grievances, caused, practised, and occasioned by the prelates and their dependents.

" 1. The subjecting and inthralling all ministers under them, and their authority; and so by degrees exempting them from the temporal power. Whence follows,

" 2. The faint-heartedness of ministers to preach the truth of God, lest they should displease the prelates; as namely, the doc-

trine of predestination, of free-grace, of perseverance, of original sin remaining after baptism, of the sabbath, the doctrine against universal grace, election for faith foreseen, free-will, against anti-christ, non-residents, human inventions in God's worship; all which are generally withheld from the people's knowledge, because not relishing to the bishops.

"3. The encouragement of ministers to despise the temporal magistracy, the nobles and gentry of the land; to abuse the subject, and live contentiously with their neighbours; knowing, that they, being the bishops' creatures, shall be supported.

"4. The restraint of many godly and able men from the ministry, and thrusting out of many congregations their faithful, diligent, and powerful ministers, who lived peaceably with them, and did them good, only because they cannot in conscience submit unto and maintain the bishops' needless devices; nay, sometimes for no other cause, but for their zeal in preaching, or great auditories.

"5. The suppressing that godly design set on foot by certain saints, and sugared with many great gifts by well-affected persons, for the buying of impropriations and placing of able ministers in them, maintaining of lectures, and founding of free-schools, which the prelates could not endure, lest it should darken their glories, and draw the ministers from their dependence upon them.

"6. The great increase of idle, lewd, dissolute, ignorant, and erroneous men in the ministry, which swarm like the locusts of Egypt over the whole kingdom; and will they but wear a canonical coat, a surplice, a hood, bow at the name of Jesus, and be zealous of superstitious ceremonies, they may live as they list, confront whom they please, preach and vent what errors they will, and neglect preaching at their pleasures without controul.

"7. The discouragement of many from bringing up their children in learning; the many schisms, errors, and strange opinions, which are in the church; great corruptions, which are in the universities; the gross and lamentable ignorance almost every where among the people; the want of preaching ministers in very many places both of England and Wales; the loathing of the ministry, and the general defection to all manner of prophaneness.

"8. The swarming of lascivious, idle, and unprofitable books and pamphlets, play-books, and ballads; as namely, Ovid's fits of love, the parliament of women, which came out at the dissolving of the last parliament, Barns's poems, Parker's ballads, in disgrace of religion, to the increase of all vice, and withdrawing of people from reading, studying, and hearing the word of God, and other good books.

"9. The hindering of godly books to be printed; the blotting out, or preventing those which they suffer, all, or most of that which strikes either at popery or armenianism; the adding of what, or where it pleaseth them; and the restraint of reprinting books formerly licensed, without relicensing.

" 10. The publishing and venting of Popish, Arminian, and other dangerous books and tenets; as namely, that the church of Rome is a fine church, and in the worst times never erred in fundamentals; that the subjects have no property in their estates, but that the king may take from them what he pleaseth; that all is the king's, and that he is bound by no law; and many other, from the former whereof hath sprung.

" 11. The growth of popery, and increase of papists, priests, and jesuits in sundry places, but especially about London, since the reformation; the frequent venting of crucifixes and popish pictures, both engraven and printed, and the placing of such in Bibles.

" 12. The multitude of monopolies and patents, drawing with them innumerable perjuries; the large increase of customs and impositions upon commodities, the ship-money, and many other great burthens upon the commonwealth, under which all groan.

" 13. Moreover, the offices and jurisdictions of archbishops, lords bishops, deans, and arch-deacons being the same way of church-government, which is in the Romish church, and which was in England in the time of popery, little change thereof being made (except only the head from whence it was derived;) the same arguments supporting the pope, which do uphold the prelates; and overthrowing the prelates, which do pull down the pope; and other reformed churches, having upon their rejection of the pope, cast the prelates out also as members of the beast; hence it is, that the prelates here in England, by themselves, or their disciples, plead and maintain that the pope is not antichrist, and that the church of Rome is a true church, hath not erred in fundamental points, and that salvation is attainable in that religion, and therefore have refrained to pray for the conversion of our sovereign lady the queen. Hence also hath come,

" 14. The great conformity and likeness, both continued and encreased, of our church to the church of Rome, in vestures, postures, ceremonies, and administrations; namely, as the bishops rotchets, and the lawn sleeves, the four-cornered cap, the cope and surplice, the tippet, the hood, and the canonical coat, the pulpits cloathed, especially now of late, with the jesuit's badge upon them every way.

" 15. The standing up at Gloria Patri, and at the reading of the gospel, praying towards the east, cross in baptism, the kneeling at the communion.

" 16. The turning of the communion-tables altarwise, setting images, crucifixes, and conceits over them, and tapers and books over them, and bowing, or adoring to, or before them; the reading of the second service at the altar, and forcing people to come up thither to receive, or else denying the sacrament to them; terming the altar to be the mercy-seat, or the place of God Almighty in the church; which is a plain device to usher in the mass.

" 17. The christening and consecrating of churches and chapels,

the consecrating tents, tables, pulpits, chalices, church-yards, and many other things, and putting holiness in them; yea, re-consecrating upon pretended pollution; as though every thing were unclean without their consecrating; and, for want of this, sundry churches have been interdicted, and kept from use, as polluted.

"18. The liturgy for the most part is framed out of the Romish breviary, rituals, mass-book; also the book of ordination for archbishops and ministers framed out of the Roman pontifical.

"19. The multitude of canons formerly made; wherein, among other things, excommunication, *ipso facto*, is denounced for speaking a word against the devices abovesaid, or subscription thereunto, though no law enjoined a restraint from the ministry without subscription; and appeal is denied to any that should refuse subscription, or unlawful conformity, though he be never so much wronged by the inferior judges. Also the canons made in the late sacred synod, as they call it, wherein are many strange and dangerous devices to undermine the gospel, and the subjects liberties, to propagate popery, to spoil God's people, insnare ministers and other students, and so to draw all into an absolute subjection and thraldom to them and their government, spoiling both the king and the parliament of their power

"20. The countenancing plurality of benefices, prohibiting marriages without their license, at certain times almost half the year, and licensing of marriages without banns asking.

"21. Profanation of the Lord's day, pleading for it, and enjoining ministers to read a declaration, set forth (as it is thought) by their procurement, for tolerating of sports upon that day; suspending and depriving many godly ministers, for not reading the same only out of conscience, because it was against the law of God so to do, and no law of the land to enjoin it.

"22. The pressing of the strict observation of the saints' days, whereby great sums of money are drawn out of men's purses for working on them; a very high burthen on most people, who, getting their living on their daily employments, must either omit them and be idle, or part with their money; whereby many poor families are undone, or brought behind-hand; yet many churchwardens are sued or threatened to be sued by their troublesome ministers, as perjured persons, for not presenting their parishioners, who failed in observing holidays.

"23. The great increase and frequency of whoredoms and adulteries, occasioned by the prelate's corrupt administration of justice in such cases; who, taking upon them the punishment of it, do turn all into monies for the filling of their purses; and, lest their officers should defraud them of their gain, they have in their late canon, instead of remedying these vices, decreed, that the commutation of penance shall not be without the bishop's privity.

"24. The general abuse of that great ordinance of excommunication, which God hath left in his church, as the last and greatest

punishment which the church can inflict upon obstinate and great offenders; and the prelates and their officers, who of right have nothing to do with it, do daily excommunicate men, either for doing that which is lawful, or for vain, idle, and trivial matters, as working, or opening a shop on a holiday, for not appearing at every beck upon their summons, not paying a fee, or the like; yea, they have made it, as they do all other things, a hook, or instrument, wherewith to empty men's purses, and to advance their own greatness; and so that sacred ordinance of God, by their perverting of it, becomes contemptible to all men, and is seldom or never used against notorious offenders; who for the most part are their favourites.

"25. Yea further, the pride and ambition of the prelates being boundless, unwilling to be subject either to man, or laws, they claim their office and jurisdiction to be *Jure Divino*, exercise ecclesiastical authority in their own names and rights, and under their own seals, and take upon them temporal dignities, places, and offices in the commonwealth, that they may sway both swords.

"26. Whence follows the taking commissions in their own courts and consistories, and where-else they sit in matters determinable of right at common law, the putting of ministers upon parishes, without the patrons and people's consent.

"27. The imposing of oaths of various and trivial articles yearly upon churchwardens and sidesmen, which they cannot take without perjury, unless they fall at jars continually with their ministers and neighbours, and wholly neglect their own calling.

"28. The exercising of the oath *ex officio*, and other proceedings by way of inquisition, reaching even to men's thoughts, the apprehending and detaining of men by pursuivants, the frequent suspending and depriving of ministers, fining and imprisoning of all sorts of people, breaking of men's houses and studies, taking away men's books, letters, and other writings, seizing upon their estates, removing them from their callings, separating between them and their wives against both their wills, the rejecting of prohibitions with threatenings, and the doing of many other outrages, to the utter infringing of the laws of the realm, and the subject's liberties, and ruining of them and their families; and of later time, the judges of the land are so awed with the power and greatness of the prelates, and other ways promoted, that neither prohibition, Habeas Corpus, nor any other lawful remedy can be had, or take place, for the distressed subjects in most cases; only papists, jesuits, priests, and such others as propagate Popery Arminianism, are countenanced, spared, and have much liberty; and from hence followed, amongst others, these dangerous consequences:

"1. The general hope and expectation of the Romish party, that their superstitious religion will ere long be fully planted in this kingdom again; and so they are encouraged to persist therein, and

to practise the same openly in divers places, to the high dishonour of God, and contrary to the laws of the realm.

"2. The discouragement and destruction of all good subjects, of whom are multitudes, both clothiers, merchants, and others; who, being deprived of their ministers, and over-burthened with these pressures, have departed the kingdom to Holland, and other parts, and have drawn with them a great manufacture of cloth, and trading out of the land into other places where they reside; whereby wool, the great staple of the kingdom, is become of small value, and vends not; trading is decayed, many poor people want work, seamen lose employment, and the whole land is much impoverished, to the great dishonour of this kingdom, and blemishment to the government thereof.

"3. The present wars and commotions happened between his majesty and his subjects of Scotland, wherein his majesty, and all his kingdoms are endangered and suffer greatly, and are like to become a prey to the common enemy, in case the wars go on; which we exceedingly fear will not only go on, but likewise encrease, to an utter ruin of all, unless the prelates, with their dependences, be removed out of England, and also they and their practices, who, as we, under your honours favours, do verily believe and conceive, have occasioned the quarrel.

"All which we humbly refer to the consideration of this honourable assembly, desiring the Lord of Heaven to direct you in the right way to redress all these evils."

About the same time, the English and Scottish armies were exceedingly burdensome to the northern counties of England, insomuch that the parliament judged it necessary for the relief of the said counties, to apply to the city for a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, towards the support of the king's army; and for which purpose, on the 25th of March, they sent a committee of six lords and twelve commoners, to solicit the city to advance the said sum, upon the credit and security of the subsidy bills. The committee being returned, the recorder reported, that they had attended the city, but, to their great mortification, could obtain no money; having received for answer, that the citizens were a body not constituted for such purpose, nor able to make laws for the lending of money; and that they could only persuade, and not compel.*

Soon after was presented to the House of Lords a petition, signed by twenty thousand citizens, to accelerate the punishment of the Earl of Strafford; "who," they said, "had counselled the plundering of the city, and putting it to fine and ransom, and had said that it would never be well till some of the aldermen were hanged up; because they would not yield to illegal levies of money." The petition also enumerated the grievances they complained of to the

* Rush. Col. vol. iii. 1.

king; which they stated to be unattended to, notwithstanding his majesty's promises.

From the spirit of petitioning, they proceeded to unjustifiable measures. Their first outrage was directed against the Spanish ambassador's chapel, in Bishopsgate-street, where a considerable mob assembled, and threatened to destroy it, and even to kill the ambassador, for permitting English papists to frequent it. The timely intervention and persuasions of the lord mayor prevented their threats from being carried into execution; and after the mob was dispersed, he set a guard round the ambassador's house, which, while it protected him from insult, prevented the catholics from attending mass at his house.

On the Sunday following, the pulpits rung with the necessity of having justice executed upon a great delinquent, meaning the Earl of Strafford, there being a design to bring the army to London, to surprise the Tower, and favour his escape. This produced such an effect, that next day six thousand of the citizens repaired in a hostile manner to Westminster, and posting themselves in all the avenues to the House of Lords, stopped the coaches, and cried out for justice on Strafford: they likewise presented a petition to the house to the same effect.

This commotion continued several days, a report having been circulated, and apparently on good grounds, that a design was in progress to rescue the earl, either by bringing up the northern army, and seizing the Tower, or by contriving his escape by artifice. The lords were insulted, and many of them "grew so really apprehensive of having their brains beaten out, that they absented themselves," and the populace would not disperse, until they had seen the protestation of both houses of parliament, for the defence of the king and kingdom.

Soon after the bill of attainder was passed by the lords, and the king was next constrained by the popular clamour to assent to the earl's death. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 12th of May.

About this time a dispute arose between the lord mayor and commonalty of the city, about the right of choosing one of the sheriffs, which the former claimed by a prescription of three hundred years, without the approbation and confirmation of the latter: the commonalty admitted of the mayor's nominating a person proper for that office, but insisted he should not serve unless by their assent. The lord mayor and aldermen applied to the king to determine the controversy; but as he did not choose to interfere personally, in so critical a time, when his own power was publicly disputed, he referred them to the House of Lords. The peers at first recommended an accommodation among themselves; but this not proving sufficiently effectual, their lordships thought proper (with a salvo on each side) to issue the following order:

"That, for this time, the commonalty shall forthwith proceed to the nomination and election of both their sheriffs for the year fol-

lowing; hoping that, for the first of the two sheriffs, they will make choice of that party that was nominated by the lord mayor: and their lordships do further declare, thas this order shall be no way prejudicial to any right or prerogative claimed by the lords, the mayors of the city of London, for the time being; nor yet to any right or claim made by the commons or citizens in this matter now in question amongst them."

On the twenty-fifth of November their majesties returned from Scotland, whither the king had gone to attend the Scottish Parliament, and were met between Kingsland Road and Stamford Hill, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and five hundred citizens on horseback, chosen from the different companies, and conducted in grand procession to Guildhall, where they were splendidly entertained. In the evening they were conducted to the palace at Whitehall; the conduits running with wine, and the populace making loud acclamations of joy. Sir Richard Gurney, the lord mayor, by whose influence this entertainment was principally given, was soon afterwards created a baronet. Notwithstanding this apparent cordiality, the king within a few days judged it necessary to retire with his family to Hampton Court, his palace having been several times surrounded by an insulting rabble: on the petition of the city, however, procured by the address of Gurney, which assured him that 'the better sort of people' were not at all concerned, he shortly returned to Whitehall.

But the seeds of discontent lurked beneath these flattering appearances, and in a few days began to be perceptible. On the 11th of December, (Charles returned on the 25th of November) a petition, signed by twenty thousand citizens, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Fookes, attended by two hundred merchants and others, complaining of the growth of Popery, and praying the said house, that they would take speedy and effectual means to deliver the city and nation from the danger of being surprised by their bloody hands, from the obstructions they caused in the trade of this city and kingdom, and for immediate reformation in religion. This petition was inscribed, "The humble petition of the aldermen, common-council-men, subsidy-men, and other inhabitants of the city of London and suburbs thereof." Another petition, of the like nature, was presented the same day by the city apprentices. The petitions were favourably received.

The prevailing animosities were aggravated by a most intemperate protestation presented to the lords by twelve bishops, ten of whom were in consequence committed to the Tower on the thirtieth of December, and the two others to the custody of the usher of the black rod.

On the 23rd of the same month, the king having discharged Sir William Belfour from the lieutenancy of the Tower of London, appointed Colonel Lunsford, a person very obnoxious to the House of Commons, to succeed him. This removal so highly displeased the

citizens, whose interest was inseparable from that of the commons. that they drew up and presented a petition to the house, stiled. "The humble petition of divers common council-men and others of the city of London," the substance of which was, "That the Tower of London was more especially intended for the defence of the city of London, which had lately been put into fears of some dangerous design from that citadel.—That Sir William Belfour, a person of honour and trust, is displaced from the office of lieutenant, and the same is bestowed upon Colonel Lunsford, a man outlawed, and most notorious for outrages, &c.—May it therefore please this honourable assembly to take the premises into such consideration as may secure both the city and the kingdom against the mischiefs which may happen, &c."

This petition occasioned the commons to request a conference with the lords; but the latter refused joining with them to address his majesty for the removal of Lunsford; alleging, that they conceived it would be an infringement on his majesty's prerogative. The lord mayor, however, on the Sunday following, waited on the king at Whitehall, where he represented the dissatisfaction of the people, at the promotion of the said Lunsford, and informed him of a general insurrection being intended by the citizens, should Lunsford be continued in the lieutenancy of the Tower. On which his majesty was graciously pleased to remove him from the said office.

Before this was publicly known, the citizens and apprentices who had petitioned against Lunsford and the bishops, assembled in a large body, and proceeded to Westminster, crying out, "No bishops! No bishops! No popish lords!" This so irritated the Bishop of Lincoln, who was then passing to Westminster, that he imprudently seized one of the most active in the mob; but the populace immediately rescued their comrade, and after dinning his ears with "No bishop! No bishop!" permitted the terrified prelate to depart. One Captain Hyde, with some of his friends, being fired with indignation at such treatment of a bishop, was still more imprudent, for he drew his sword, and threatened to cut the throats of those round-headed dogs who bawled against the bishops; for which he was seized by the apprentices, and carried before the House of Commons, who not only immediately committed him to prison, but declared him incapable of ever serving his majesty after.

Colonel Lunsford, going through Westminster Hall the same day, was so irritated at the insolence of the mob, that he also drew his sword; on which a scuffle ensued, and several persons were wounded. This commotion soon reaching the city, the lord mayor and sheriffs took such precautions as prevented any considerable number from getting out of the gates of the city. After which, his lordship patroled the streets all night, and in the morning raised the trained bands, to preserve the peace of the city.

The appellation of Roundhead and Cavalier, by which the parliamentarians and royalists were afterwards respectively stigmatized,

originated in these tumults. It was then the custom of the London apprentices to have their hair cut close and round to the form of the scull, and during their daily progress to Westminster, they commonly stopped at Whitehall, where "the queen observing out of the window Samuel Bardiston among them, exclaimed, 'See what a handsome young Roundhead is there.'"* This term "was perhaps first publicly used"† by Captain David Hyde, in the riot just mentioned, who drew his sword, and said he would "cut the throats of those Round-headed, cropp'd-eared dogs that bawled against the bishops."‡ After the entrenchments had been made round London by the labour of the citizens, the royalists made a song against them in the opprobrious style, as "Round-headed cuckolds come dig."

The king on this occasion sent a message to the common-council, commanding them to preserve peace, and concluding in these words: "We do desire them (the Londoners) not to be disturbed by any jealousies that ill-affected people may endeavour to sow, but to rest most confident, and assured that the safety, protection, and prosperity of the city, shall ever be with us a principal care."

These tumults, which were chiefly confined to the vicinity of Whitehall, increased daily; insomuch that the person of the king seemed to be endangered by the licentiousness of a misguided mob. In this scene of confusion, some disbanded officers and gentlemen of the inns of court, offered their service to his majesty, to keep the rabble in subjection. The countenance the king gave to this proceeding proved a fatal measure to him; since it gave the House of Commons a pretence for sanctioning the tumults, and for making a formal demand for a guard to be set over the parliament. This demand, however, was rejected.

The flame of discord now began to blaze without restraint. A prosecution having been commenced by the attorney-general, against one peer and five commoners, for high treason, both houses of parliament voted all the proceedings to be a breach of privilege.

On the fourth of January, 1642, Charles made his rash and ill-advised attempt to seize the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the commons, Sir Anthony Hazilrigge, John Pym, John Hampden, Denzil Holles, and William Stroud, Esqrs.; whom, by his attorney-general, Sir Edward Herbert, he had accused on the preceding day of high treason. The king went to the house, "guarded," says Whitelocke, "with his pensioners, and followed by about two hundred courtiers and Souldiers of Fortune, most of them armed with swords and pistols." Leaving his guard at the door, he entered the house, and sitting down in the speaker's chair, he looked round, and not seeing any of the accused members, he asked the speaker

* Rapin's Hist. vol. ii. p. 403. n. 8 † Ibid.

‡ Rush. Col. vol. iv. p. 408.

'whether he saw any of them, and where they were?' The speaker, with admirable presence of mind, falling on his knee, answered, "May it please your majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and humbly beg your majestie's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me."* The king being thus disappointed, quitted the house, amidst the cry of 'Privilege! Privilege!'

The five members, who had been timely informed of the king's design, had left the house about half an hour before his arrival, and taken refuge in the city; "which," says Clarendon, "was that whole night in arms, in spite of all the lord mayor could do to compose their distempers."† The next morning, the king, accompanied by a few lords, went to Guildhall, where a meeting of the common-council had been convened by his orders, and where, in a short speech, he demanded the accused members, and professed his attachment to the Protestant religion; which he said he would defend both against 'papists and separatists.' He then invited himself to dinner with one of the sheriffs, "who was of the two," says Clarendon, "thought less inclined to his service," and in the afternoon he returned to Whitehall; "the rude people flocking together round his coach, and crying out, "Privilege of Parliament!" On the same day, the House of Commons adjourned till the eleventh, having first appointed a grand committee of twenty-four to sit in the Guildhall of London. During this period, the accused members, "who were at their friends' houses in the city, were highly caressed, and had the company of divers members of the house, to consult together, and to lay their further designs, and they wanted nothing."‡

On the 11th of January, the committee, with the Lord Kimbolton and the five accused members of the House of Commons, went to Westminster in great state, guarded by forty long-boats armed with small pieces of ordnance, and ornamented with flags, and were received on landing by the city trained-bands.

When the committee and members were safe arrived, the sheriffs and those who had conducted the boats, were called into the house, and were thanked for their services, and indemnified from future question for their conduct: after which, the house ordered that two companies of the trained bands should attend the house daily, and for the security of the stores in the Tower, the sheriffs were ordered to place a sufficient guard around it, both by land and water.

* Whit. Mem. p. 50.

† Hist. Reb. vol. i. p. 2. p. 360.

‡ Whit. Mem. p. 51. Clarendon says, that when it was known "in what house they were together," Lord Digby offered to go into the city with a select company of gentlemen, "whereof Sir Thomas Lunsford was one," to seize upon them, and bring them away alive, or leave them dead in the place: but the king liked not such enterprises."—*Hist. Reb.* vol. i. p. 360. In another place Clarendon says, "it was very well known where the accused persons were, all together in one house in Coleman-street."—*Ibid.* p. 863.

The use that might be made of the London militia was so manifest to the House of Commons, that they took them out of the power of the lord mayor, whom they found to be materially influenced by the court; and ordained, "that the persons entrusted with the ordering of the militia of London, should have power to draw the trained-bands of the city into such usual and convenient places, within three miles of the city, as to them from time to time should seem meet, for the training and exercising of the soldiers; and that the said soldiers, upon summons, should from time to time, appear, and not depart from their colours without the consent of their officers, as they would answer their contempt to the parliament."

The proceedings in the metropolis had at length assumed so serious an aspect, that the king found it necessary, for his safety, to remove from it. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter into the detail of all the remonstrances, protests, declarations, and messages, which passed between the king and the commons during this period of confusion: we shall therefore confine ourselves to those occurrences in which London bore a principal share.

The first event of that description which occurred after the king's departure was a demand on the city by the parliament for large supplies of men and money, which, coming to the knowledge of the king, he sent a letter to the lord mayor, commanding him and the citizens of London not to lend or contribute the said supplies to the parliament, under the penalty of his displeasure, and the forfeiture of their charters. The parliament, in consequence of this, made a declaration, justifying their demands, and promising protection and security to those who should contribute to their assistance. And, as an example of their power and authority, they committed Sir Richard Gurney, lord mayor, to the Tower of London, for causing his majesty's commission of array to be proclaimed in divers parts of the city; and preferred several articles of impeachment against him, for which he was, by the sentence of the peers, not only divested of the office of mayor, but likewise rendered, for ever, incapable of bearing any office or receiving further honour; and also to remain a prisoner in the Tower of London during the pleasure of parliament.

On the twenty-second of August, the king set up his standard at Nottingham, "in the evening of a very stormy day! and on the same night the standard was blown down by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed up again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed."* In the following month, Charles began his march towards London, of which the parliament having notice, the trained-bands were ordered to be in readiness, and the passages about the city fortified with "posts, chains, and courts of guard;" and it "was wonderful to see," says Whitelocke, "how the women and children, and vast numbers of people would come

* Clar. Reb. vol. i. p. 720.

and work, about digging, and carrying of earth, to make their new fortifications."*

After the battle of Edge Hill, fought on October the twenty-third, and in which both parties claimed the victory, London was thrown into great agitation, from the reports of those who had fled on the first onset, and stated the parliament's army to be wholly defeated. The Earl of Essex returned to London in the beginning of November, and the parliament voted him 5000l. for his conduct in the late battle. On the twelfth, the king advanced with his army to Brentford, where, after a sharp fight, he defeated Colonel Hollis's regiment, and towards night got possession of the town. Intelligence of the king's progress having reached London, every possible exertion was made by the parliament to assemble a sufficient force to prevent his entrance into the capital; and therefore, "with unspeakable expedition, the army under the Earl of Essex was not only drawn together, but the trained-bands of London led out in their brightest equipage upon the heath next Brentford, where they had indeed a full army of horse and foot fit to have decided the title of a crown with an equal adversary." The earl drew up his forces upon Turnham Green, the whole army "consisting of 24,000 men; stout, gallant, proper men, as well habited and armed as were ever seen in any army, and seemed to be in as good courage to fight the enemy." Charles now thought it prudent to retire over Kingston bridge to Oatlands, from whence he proceeded to Reading and Oxford.

About this time an order was made for shutting up all shops in London, that the shop-keepers and apprentices might be at greater freedom to attend to the defence of the kingdom. And, in order to increase their forces, an ordinance was published, for the encouragement of apprentices to enlist; in which they were promised security against the forfeiture of indentures, bonds, or franchisements; and that, when the public service was ended, their masters should be compelled to receive them without punishment or prejudice. The masters were also promised satisfaction for whatever losses they might sustain by the absence of such apprentices.

Much intrigue was exerted by both parties during the winter, to secure the assistance of the citizens; but the parliament having the advantage of local influence, finally prevailed. Pennington, who had been rechosen to the office of lord mayor, was a firm adherent to the commons; and the two sheriffs, Langham and Andrews, were as equally devoted to the popular cause.

In February, 1643, the common-council, after passing an act for fortifying the city with outworks, &c. enacted, that all "the passages and ways leading to it should be shut up, except those entering at Charing-cross, St. Giles' in the fields, St. John's-street, Shoreditch, and Whitechapel; and the exterior ends of the same

* Whit. Mem. p. 60.

streets should be fortified with breast-works and turnpikes, musket-proof: that the several courts of guards and rails at the extreme parts of the liberties of the city, be fortified with turnpikes musket-proof; that all the sheds and buildings contiguous to London-wall, without, be taken down; and that the city wall, with its bulwarks, be not only repaired and mounted with artillery, but likewise that divers new works be added to the same at places most exposed."* For carrying these works into execution, eight-fifteenths were directed to be levied in the different wards; and on the 7th of March, this act of common-council was confirmed by an ordinance of parliament, which also empowered the deputy lieutenants and magistracy, having jurisdiction without the liberties of the city, to raise certain sums upon every house above the annual value of five pounds, that was situated 'within the line of the trenches and fortifications,' to go in aid of the said works.

These works principally consisted of a strong earthen rampart flanked with bastions, redoubt, &c. surrounding the whole city and its liberties, including Southwark. From Virtue's print, it may be seen that the line begun below the Tower, at the junction of the river Lea with the Thames, and went northward toward the windmill in Whitechapel road; then inclining to the north-west, it crossed the Hackney and Kingsland roads, near Shoreditch, and turning to the south-west, crossed the end of St. John's-street, Gray's-inn-lane, Bloomsbury, and Oxford-road, near St. Giles's pound. Then proceeding westward to Hyde-park corner and Constitution-hill, it inclined towards Chelsea turnpike, Tothill-fields, and the Thames. Again commencing near Vauxhall, it run north-eastward to St. George's-fields, then making an angle to the east, crossed the Borough-road at the end of Blackman-street, proceeded to the end of Kent-street, on the Deptford road, and inclining to the north-east, joined the Thames nearly opposite to the point where it began. This line was defended by a chain of twenty-three forts, &c. The 1st, 'a bulwark and half, on the hill at the north end of Gravel-lane; 2nd, a horn-work, near the windmill, in Whitechapel road; 3rd, a redoubt, with two flanks, near Brick-lane; 4th, a redoubt, with four flanks, in Hackney-road, Shoreditch; 5th, a redoubt, with four flanks, in Kingsland-road, Shoreditch; 6th, a battery and breast-work, at Mount-mill; 7th, a battery and breast-work, at St. John-street end; 8th, a small redoubt, near Islington pound; 9th, a large fort, with four bulwarks, at the New River upper pond; 10th, a battery and breast-work, on the hill east of Black Mary's-hole; 11th, two batteries and a breast-work, at Southampton-house; 12th, a redoubt with two flanks, near St. Giles's pound; 13th, a small fort, at the east end of Tyburn road; 14th, a large fort, with four half bulwarks, across the road at Wardour-street; 15th, a small bulwark at Oliver's mount; 16th, a

* Jour. Com. Coun. Mait. Lond. p. 287. edit. 1739

large fort with four bulwarks, at Hyde Park Corner; 17th, a small redoubt and battery on Constitution-hill; 18th, a court of guard at Chelsea turnpike; 19th, a battery and breast-work at Tothill-fields; 20th, a quadrant fort with four half bulwarks, at Vauxhall: 21st, a fort with four half bulwarks, at the Dog and Duck, St. George's fields; 22nd, a large fort, with four bulwarks, near the end of Blackman-street; and 23rd, a redoubt, with four flanks, near the Lock Hospital, Kent-road."*

About this time, and whilst the treaty entered into with the king at Oxford was yet pending, the commons "passed an ordinance for a weekly assessment throughout the kingdom, for the support of the war; by which was imposed upon the city of London the weekly sum of 10,000l.; and to this they added other ordinances," one of which 'was for the sequestering and seizing of the estates of all who adhered to the king.'† At the same season, a two-fold conspiracy was carrying on by the royalists, for the purpose of seizing the capital, the lord mayor, and the principal members of parliament, and in fine, for the complete restoration of regal authority. From Waller, the poet, himself a member of the house, who was at the head of one of the branches of this conspiracy, this bears the name of 'Waller's Plot;' yet the principal promoter appears to have been Sir Nicholas Crispe, Knt. "a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active, spirited man, who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the House of Commons, and had thereupon fled from London, for appearing too great a stickler in a petition for peace in the city." This gentleman procured a commission from the king (dated March the 16th), constituting himself, with sixteen other persons named in the commission, and four others left for the commissioners to appoint, a council of war for the whole metropolis; with full power and authority to raise forces, 'and with them to fight against our enemies and rebels, and them to slay or destroy, or save,' &c. This commission was brought privately to London by the Lady Daubigney, with whom Waller was in habits of confidential intercourse, and was by some unknown means obtained possession of by the parliament. This discovery being connected with some discourse having a similar bearing to that which passed between Waller, and Tomkins his brother-in-law, (who was 'Clerk to the queen's council,') and which was overheard by a servant, was considered of such high importance, that the parliament ordered a "day of thanksgiving to God for their wonderful delivery." Waller with great difficulty saved his life by the most degrading submission and cowardly disclosures; but was fined 10,000l. Tomkins and Chaloner his intimate friend, 'a citizen of good wealth and credit,' were hanged; the former near his house in Holborn, by the end of Fetter-lane; the latter, 'by his house in Cornhill, by the Royal Exchange.' The others 'were not proceeded capitally

* Brayley's London, i, 353. † Clar. Reb. ii. 172.

against, but had their estates sequestered.* This plot led to the framing of the Sacred Vow and Covenant, which was solemnly taken by both houses of parliament on the 6th of June.*

On the 17th of July, the king, by a proclamation dated at Oxford, interdicted all intercourse of whatever kind with the city and suburbs of London; a measure which, whilst it produced no possible advantage to his own affairs, did him great detriment, by exasperating the rancour of his enemies. On the following day, the common council ordered 50,000l. to be raised for the defence of the city, on the security of the city seal.

A rumour prevailing at this time among the citizens that the parliament were disposed to accommodate matters with the king, the lord mayor summoned a common council, who presented a petition in the House of Commons, in the strongest terms, against a reconciliation. When his lordship presented the above petition, he was attended by such a prodigious concourse of citizens, that many of the members withdrew from the house through fear; and those who continued and received the petition, requested his lordship to prevent such riotous proceedings for the future. The petition was approved of, and the propositions of peace with the king were rejected.

This was soon after followed by another petition, intituled, "The humble petition of many civilly-disposed women, inhabiting the cities of London and Westminster, the suburbs, and parts adjacent." It was carried up on the 9th of August, by some thousands of the meaner sort of women, with white ribbons in their hats. The purport of their petition was, "That God's glory, in the true reformed religion, might be preserved, the just prerogatives of the king and parliament maintained, the true liberties and properties of the subject, according to the known laws of the land, restored, and all honourable ways and means for a speedy peace endeavoured." The commons, after reading their petition, returned them for answer that they were no enemies to peace, and that they hoped in a short time to answer the ends of the petition. But this not satisfying them, they continued about the house, and before noon increased to upwards of five thousand; among whom were several men dressed in women's clothes. They crowded about the house, calling out 'peace! peace!' and demanding the traitors who were averse to it, particularly 'that dog, Pym.' At length, these 'civilly-disposed women' became so outrageous, that it was found necessary to oppose them by force. A party of the trained-bands was therefore sent for; but, instead of being intimidated at their appearance, the mob assailed them with such fury, that they were forced to fire in their own defence; when several being killed and others wounded, the rest thought it prudent to withdraw.

Gloucester being closely besieged by the king, the relief of that

* Clar. Reb. ii. 249—260.

city was now the object of immediate consideration. The common council ordered the city companies to advance 500,000l. more; for which they were to be secured by a joint bond from the lord mayor and aldermen. The parliament issued an ordinance, commanding all shops, within the line of communication, to be shut, until the siege of Gloucester should be raised. The committee of the trained-bands sent out six regiments, one of horse, two of trained bands, and three of auxiliaries; who, joining the main army under the Earl of Essex, marched with all expedition to the neighbourhood of Gloucester. On their arrival near the city, the royalists were so intimidated, that the king raised the siege with great precipitation.

The relief of Gloucester was followed by a very severe battle fought at Newbury, in which the city trained-bands behaved with such bravery and resolution, as to be the means of not only preserving the army of the Earl of Essex, but also contributing greatly to the success of the parliament in their future proceedings; for it disabled the king from making any farther attempts to reduce London to his obedience, and ruined his interest among those dubious persons, who waited to declare for the strongest party. The battle of Newbury was the longest and most desperate of any during the course of this unnatural war; for it began about six o'clock in the morning, and continued till seven at night, with the greatest obstinacy on both sides.

On September the 25th, the 'Solemn League and Covenant' was taken in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, by both houses of parliament, the assembly of divines, and the Scottish commissioners; and within a few days afterwards, it was also taken by all the principal citizens and inhabitants of London.

On the 17th of October, the king issued a new prohibition against the trade and commerce of the metropolis, by which it was declared that all persons who had any dealings with its inhabitants, should suffer every severity of the law that could be inflicted on traitors.

In the same month, an act of common council was passed, by which one thousand and ninety-seven watchmen were ordered to be provided, and paid by the several wards and precincts, for the better security of the city by night.

Notwithstanding his majesty had, by proclamation, prohibited all manner of trade and intercourse with the city of London, yet matters had been concerted to bring about a treaty of reconciliation by some who were advocates for the royal cause, that his majesty, on the 26th of December, wrote a letter for that purpose, directed to the lord mayor, aldermen, and all other well-affected subjects of the city; which his majesty desired might be read in a common-hall, to be called on the occasion. This business, however, being discovered to the parliament, Sir Basil Brook, and two others, who were the principal projectors of the negociation, were taken into custody, together with the king's letter; and a committee of eight lords and sixteen commoners were deputed to lay this underhand transaction

before a common hall. The Earl of Northumberland, who was one of the lords deputed, spoke at the hall so strongly against a design which he represented as a popish scheme to disunite the parliament and the city, that new assurances were reciprocally given, of abiding by each other; and the members of both houses were invited to dine with the corporation at Merchant-Taylors' hall.

The wants of the parliament were exceedingly pressing, and they were consequently obliged to have recourse to new expedients to raise money. Accordingly, in the latter part of this year, they laid a tax on beer and ale, in all the counties within the limits of their power; calling it by the new name, Excise. This was the origin of the excise duties, which afterwards met with so much opposition from the people.

In the beginning of 1644, the city sent two regiments of auxiliaries to join the parliament army under Sir William Waller, who gained a victory over the royal forces shortly after. In the battle, the troops belonging to the city behaved with the greatest courage and intrepidity; and the victory was considered of such importance, that a public thanksgiving was ordered to be observed, on the 9th of April, throughout London and the bills of mortality.

In the beginning of January, 1644, the city gave a splendid entertainment at Merchant-Taylors' hall, to both houses of parliament, the earls of Essex, Warwick, and Manchester, with other lords, the Scottish commissioners, and some principal officers of the army. The company assembled 'at sermon, in Christ-church, Newgate-street, and thence went on foot to the Hall,' the lord mayor and aldermen leading the procession; and 'as they went through Cheapside, on a scaffold, many popish pictures, crucifixes, and superstitious relicks were burnt before them.' This entertainment was given in consequence of the discovery of the design to read a letter from the king at a common-hall, the obvious tendency of which was to destroy the prevailing unanimity of the citizens in favour of the parliament.

On the 16th of May, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, presented an address or petition to the parliament, thanking them for the great care they had taken for the public good, and exhorting them to perseverance. They particularly thanked them for their especial care of the Tower of London and Castle of Windsor; but expressed some dissatisfaction at the discontinuance of the committee of parliament, at the want of execution upon delinquents, the not putting Tilbury Fort into safe hands, and at the endeavours of divers members of parliament to gain re-admittance, after having betrayed their trust by bearing arms against the parliament.

The commons returned a full and satisfactory answer to all these points, and concluded with declaring, that they would, in a most particular manner, be mindful of the merit of the city, which, upon

all occasions, they should acknowledge, and would endeavour to requite.

The decisive battle of Naseby, in which the king was so effectually defeated, that it produced the irretrievable ruin of his affairs in all quarters, was fought on the 14th of June, 1645; and on the 19th, both houses attended a thanksgiving sermon, at Christ-church, Newgate-street; after which they were elegantly entertained by the citizens at Grocers'-hall. A short time after a committee was sent by the parliament to solicit a loan from the city of four thousand pounds, to enable them to pay arrears due to the Scotch army. The corporation complied so readily with this request, that they received the thanks of both houses on the occasion.

The late defeats and dispersion of the king's troops occasioned great numbers of the royalists to resort to London, and a rumour was spread that the king himself intended to come privately to the city. This report so alarmed the Parliament, that besides empowering the trained-bands to search for delinquents, and expel them from all places within the bills of mortality, they issued three other ordinances;—the first enjoining the city-militia to secure the king's person, should he come, or attempt to come within the lines of communication;—the second commanding all papists, and those who had borne arms against the parliament, to depart the metropolis;—and the third, declaring that whoever should harbour or conceal the person of the king, should be proceeded against as a traitor to the commonwealth.* Charles, however, instead of coming to London, had retired northwards; and whilst with the Scottish army, at Newcastle, he wrote a letter to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, expressing his full resolution to comply with the parliaments of both kingdoms, in 'every thing for settling truth and peace.' This was dated May the 19th, 1646.

About this time, considerable dissentions began to prevail in the city, among the different sectaries (of which the principal were the Presbyterians and Independents), and petitions for the furtherance of their respective objects were presented to the parliament by both parties. The proceedings were marked by that acrimony which is least accordant with the true spirit of religion; yet, after various success, and a long contest, the Independents finally prevailed.

In the beginning of the year 1647, the city advanced 200,000l. to the parliament, on the security of the excise duties, and the sale of the bishops' lands: this sum formed part of the 400,000l. demanded by the Scots before they would agree to deliver up the king to the parliamentarian commissioners. In the April following, a second 200,000l. was advanced for the public service, by the city on 'good security.'†

The dispute between the parliament and the army was now ar-

* Rush. Col iv. 1. † Ibid.

riving at its height, and the approach of the latter towards London excited general alarm. The commons at first seemed determined to maintain their authority; a committee of safety was appointed, and the trained-bands were ordered immediately to arm under pain of death; yet, on further consideration, they were dismissed, and strong guards only were stationed upon the line which encircled the metropolis. A correspondence between the lord mayor and common council, and the army, was now carried on by consent of parliament, the former acting as mediators; and, for a time, some appearance of conciliation was maintained. At length, in May, the Presbyterians assumed sufficient spirit to pass an ordinance for choosing 'a new committee of militia in the city of London,' and none were chosen but of their own denomination. This measure was soon followed on the part of the army, by the accusing of eleven of the most active members of the commons in the Presbyterian interest, of high treason; and the accused persons, after a few days, thought it prudent to retire from the house till the heat of the contest was allayed.* In the month following, the commons found it necessary to revoke their ordinance in respect to the militia, yet this revocation was again rescinded on an imperious petition from many thousand apprentices and young citizens, who, as appears from Whitelocke, were instigated by some of the common council to overawe the parliament by violence, and "many among them came into the house of commons, and kept the door open and their hats on, and called out as they stood, 'Vote! Vote!' and in this arrogant posture stood till the votes passed in that way."†

In April, 1648, a great tumult, originating in Moorfields, 'about tippling and gaming on the Lord's Day, contrary to an ordinance of parliament,' agitated the metropolis for two days, and, but for the vigorous conduct of Fairfax, would probably have led to the overthrow of the then existing government. The people first overpowered a party of the trained-bands, and seizing their colours and drums, beat up for recruits; and forming into something like military order, surprised Newgate and Ludgate in the night, and seized the keys. Then dispersing into different bodies, and greatly increasing in number, one party proceeded towards Whitehall, but were repelled by the soldiers at the Mews, whilst another beset the house of the lord mayor, and took from it a piece of ordnance (a drake), with which they proceeded to Leadenhall, and got possession of the magazine; they also broke open different houses to obtain arms and ammunition, and some houses were plundered. They next invited the mariners and watermen on the river to join them, their cry being 'For God and King Charles!' In the night, Fairfax held a council of war, wherein it was determined to attack the insurgents with the only two regiments that were then in London, rather than afford them more time to embody their strength; and

* Clar. Reb. iii. 59.

† Whit. Mem. p. 263.

in the morning, these troops entering at Aldersgate, marched without opposition to Leadenhall, where they charged the rioters, who, firing their drake, wounded a captain and lieutenant, and killed a woman, but then fled. Several of the insurgents were put to the sword, and many wounded and taken prisoners. The other parties were dispersed without resistance, and 'the city gates set open, and all quiet before ten o'clock.'* This tumult had been fomented by the royalists; but effectually to destroy their hopes, the commons ordered the Tower to be garrisoned by 1400 foot, besides horse.† The city chains and posts were also directed to be taken down; yet soon afterwards, on petition of the common council, they were again restored.

Many of the members of both houses of parliament, intimidated by this violence, retired from London, and sought protection from the army. Fairfax took advantage of this circumstance to advance towards London, under pretence of restoring the members to their seats. In this conjuncture, the want of unanimity was severely felt: at one time, it was determined to defend the city against him, and, on the next moment, it was proposed to enter into terms with him. In the mean time, Fairfax continued his march; and, on his arrival, the citizens withdrew their militia, and delivered up their fortifications without resistance. The lord mayor and aldermen met the general at Hyde-park, and congratulated him on his arrival; and he was saluted in the same manner by the common-council, who waited for him at Charing-cross. Thus the army became masters both of the city and of the parliament.

Soon after the arrival of the army, a loan of fifty thousand pounds was demanded from the city, for their service; which not being complied with, the parliament passed a vote for demolishing the fortifications round London, Westminster, and Southwark.

A few days after, an ordinance of parliament was made for empowering the lord mayor and sheriffs of the city to pull down and destroy all the play-houses within their jurisdiction; and to cause all the actors and players thereunto belonging to be apprehended and punished as common rogues and vagabonds; and also every person frequenting such play-houses, to forfeit the sum of five shillings.

This year corn was so excessively dear, that wheat was sold at three pounds, thirteen shillings, and eight-pence the quarter; and other grain in proportion.

The contention between the army and the parliament greatly strengthened the king's interest; and, in the course of the year, risings of the people in his favour took place in different parts of the country. Several lesser tumults arose in London, and the city was greatly agitated by the rival parties, and the lengthened dispute about providing pay for the army. A treaty was once more com-

* Whit. Mem. p. 299. † Ibid. p. 300.

menced with the king, and during the absence of Cromwell in Scotland, the Presbyterians again obtained predominance in parliament, and even charged Cromwell himself with high treason, though the exertions of his party prevented the charge being entered into. Shortly afterwards, the officers of the army presented their celebrated remonstrance to the parliament, and dispatched a party of horse to the Isle of Wight, to secure the person of the king, who had some time before privately withdrawn himself from Hampton Court. The commons, however, having voted in direct opposition to the army, the latter marched forward to London; and on the 4th and 5th of December, was quartered by Fairfax about Westminster and its neighbourhood.* On the following day, guards were placed in all the avenues of the Parliament-house, and a detachment, under Colonel Pride, attended at the door of the commons, and seized forty-one members, and refused admittance to about one hundred and sixty others: by which procedure, the house was reduced to about one hundred and fifty persons, many of them officers. This proceeding, which, Dugdale informs us, was called 'Colonel Pride's purge,' threw the citizens into the greatest consternation, which was still increased by the discharge of the trained-bands; yet their apprehensions were somewhat quieted by the strict discipline maintained by Fairfax among his troops, who were restrained from plundering and violence, under pain of death. On the next day, Cromwell returned from Scotland; and 'many more of the members of the house of commons were seized and secured.'† On the 8th, by order of the general and council of the army, two regiments of foot, and several troops of horse were quartered in the city, and upwards of 20,000l. was seized in the treasuries of Weavers', Haberdashers', and Goldsmith's Halls, for payment of the arrears due to the army. The next day, two more regiments were marched into the city; and, in answer to some propositions made by the common-council, Fairfax replied, that if all the arrears and assessments required for the support of the army, till the ensuing 25th of March, were paid up within fourteen days, 'the troops should withdraw; but that in the mean time their quartering in the city would facilitate the work.'‡

The army having now determined to bring the king to trial, the commons, on the 6th of January, 1649, passed an ordinance for that purpose; a special provision being inserted, 'in case the king should refuse to plead to the charge against him.' On the 8th, the 'High Court of Justice,' assembled in the painted chamber, and the preliminary arrangements being completed, removed on the 20th to Westminster-hall, which had been properly fitted up for the trial.

* "The general and his army marched to London, and took up their quarters in Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, York-house, and other vacant houses, and in villages near the city."—*Whit. Mem.* p. 353.

† Ibid. p. 355.

‡ Ibid. The foot were quartered in private houses, the horse in inns.

The king, who had been removed from Windsor-castle to St. James's, and thence to Sir Robert Cotton's house, was now placed at the bar; but refusing to acknowledge the legal jurisdiction of the court, during that and the two following days, the court adjourned to the painted chamber, and proceeded to hear witnesses against him on the charge of 'traiterously levying war against the people.' On the 27th, the court resumed its sittings in Westminster Hall; and the king being again brought up, he was sentenced to be put to death, as a 'tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, by the severing of his head from his body.' Three days afterwards, (January 30) this sentence was fully executed on a scaffold erected in the street before Whitehall; the king submitting to his sad fate with exemplary and truly Christian fortitude.

CHAPTER XIII.

History of London during the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles the Second.

MEASURES were now taken to settle the kingdom in a commonwealth; the house of peers was declared dangerous and useless; the kingly office was abolished, and a council of state, consisting of 38 persons, was appointed to administer the laws. On the 9th of March, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel, were beheaded in the Palace-yard, Westminster; and on the 1st of April, the lord mayor, Sir Abraham Reynardson, having refused to obey the order of the house, in proclaiming the abolition of the kingly office in England and Ireland within the said city, his lordship was brought to the bar of the house of commons, and after some queries proposed concerning his non-performance thereof, he replied, that according to the oath of allegiance which he had taken, he could not in conscience proclaim the said act for the abolishing of the kingly office: declaring that the business was only proper for the sheriffs of the city. And being remanded from the bar, the house voted as followeth:—

"Resolved by the commons of England assembled in parliament, that the lord mayor of the city of London, for his contempt in disobeying the orders of parliament, be fined 2000l.

"Resolved, &c. that he be committed prisoner to the Tower of London for two months, and be degraded of mayoralty.

"Resolved, &c. that an order be forthwith drawn up, and immediately sent to the common council of the said city, requiring and empowering them to elect a new mayor with all speed; and in order thereunto, the several companies within the said city are required to meet this day for the election thereof"

At this time, the dearth of corn increasing, wheat was sold at the excessive rate of four pounds five shillings the quarter.

On the 3rd of April, Alderman Atkins was chosen mayor of this city, in the room of Sir Abraham Reynardson (lately degraded and imprisoned by order of the commons, as above mentioned); who being to be presented to the house of commons for their approbation, they, for the greater solemnity of the ceremony, commanded the commissioners of chancery to bring in the great seal, and lay it upon the table.

In the same month, the city agreed to advance a loan of 120,000l. for the service in Ireland, and this was afterwards increased to 150,000l.

A day of public thanksgiving being appointed, the lord mayor and common council, with the house of commons, and principal officers of the army, went to Christ-church, in Newgate-street; and afterwards to a splendid entertainment given at the expence of the city in Grocers' Hall, in commemoration of the late suppression of the levellers. On the following day, the Lord General Fairfax was presented by the city with a "large and weighty basin and ewer of beaten gold; and to Cromwell was given plate to the value of 300l. and 200 pieces in gold.* Shortly afterwards, Richmond park, divers houses, and 1000l. in money to the poor, was given to the citizens, as a testimony of the favor of the house to them."†

The above-named ordinance for the abolishing of monarchy was, on the 30th of May, proclaimed in this city by the lord mayor assisted by twelve aldermen.

On the 4th of January 1650, about sixty houses in Tower-street, with all their inhabitants, were blown up by the explosion of twenty-seven barrels of gunpowder, which took fire through carelessness at a ship-chandler's, opposite Barking church. The number of sufferers was much increased through a parish feast held on that day, at the Rose tavern, next door but one to the house where the powder was, all within which perished. A cradle and child were carried up by the blast, and lodged upon the upper leads of Barking church; and on the following day, the infant was rescued from its perilous situation without injury.

On the 29th of May, Cromwell returned to London from his victorious campaign in Ireland, and was received with every demonstration of joy. In the following month, he was constituted captain-general of all the forces of the commonwealth; and three days afterwards, he commenced his march towards Scotland, where prince Charles had numerous supporters, and was then in arms. Though the struggle was desperate, Cromwell eventually overcame all opposition, and on his return to the metropolis, after the decisive battle of Worcester, fought on September the 3rd,

* Whit. Mem. p. 392.

† Ibid. p. 316

1651, he was met at Acton by the Speaker and many members of parliament, the council of state, the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, many persons of quality, with the militia, and multitudes of people, who 'welcomed him with shouts and acclamations.' On the 16th of the same month, he and his principal officers, &c. were feasted by the city, in their Guildhall, with all possible magnificence. Wheat was now sold at three pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence the quarter.*

On the 20th of April, 1653, Cromwell, by one of those daring acts, which nothing but imperious necessity can justify, dissolved the long parliament, as it has since been designated in history, by military force. In the December following, he was solemnly sworn into the office of Lord Protector, in the chancery court at Westminster. In the following February, he dined with the corporation of the city, at Grocers' hall, and the entertainment was conducted with regal splendour: "on this occasion, Cromwell exercised one of the functions of a sovereign, by conferring the honour of knighthood on the lord mayor." His endeavours to obtain the crown were not, however, successful; yet he procured all the authority of a king to be granted to him under his former title; and he was, in consequence, solemnly inaugurated in Westminster hall, on the 26th of June, 1657, with great magnificence. During the ceremony, the lord mayor stood on the left of the protector's chair, holding the city sword, the Earl of Warwick holding the sword of state on his right.† In the year following, a dangerous conspiracy was formed against Cromwell's life; "in which," says Whitelocke, "major-general Harrison was very deep." The principal conspirators were seized on the night of the 4th of February, at their house of rendezvous in Shoreditch; and Dr. Hewit and Sir Henry Slingsby were sent to the scaffold. The protector died at Whitehall, on the 3rd of September this year, (1658) and was buried in Westminster-abbey, with more than regal pomp; the lord mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens attending the solemnity.

Richard, his successor, had too little talent to direct the vessel of the state at that tempestuous period, and bending to the pressure, he suffered the army to restore the Long Parliament, by which his power was rendered nugatory, and then abdicated the Protectorate within eight months. The citizens now declared for a free parliament, and so offended the Rump, as the sitting members of the Long Parliament were called in derision, by their refusal to grant any supplies of money, that General Monk was ordered to march into the city, with his army, in order to enforce obedience. The city gates and portcullisses were also ordered to be destroyed, which was immediately done at Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Aldgate; and the other gates were all more or

* Chron. Preci.

† Whit. Mem. p. 661.

less damaged.* Several of the aldermen and common council were also arrested.†

Three days afterwards, Monk, who had discovered that the aid of the citizens was necessary to forward his views in restoring monarchy, drew up his forces in Finsbury fields, and, having himself dined with the lord mayor, he accompanied him to a meeting of the aldermen and common council, at Guildhall, where after many excuses for his late conduct, "they pledged their troth each to other, in such a manner, for the perfect union, and adhering to each other for the future, that as soon as they came from thence, the lord mayor attended the general to his lodgings, and all the bells of the city proclaimed, and testified to the town and kingdom, that the army and city were of one mind: and as soon as the evening came, there was a continual light of bon-fires throughout the city and suburbs, with such an universal exclamation of joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous signs of scorn and contempt of the parliament, as testified the non-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a bon-fire at which they did not roast a rump, or pieces of flesh made like one, which they said 'was for the celebration of the funeral of the parliament,' and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised to defame the parliament, and to magnify the general."‡

Next day Monk returned to his quarters at Whitehall, and disposed of his army as he thought most convenient. He then restored the excluded members to their seats in the house of commons, who passed an ordinance to restore the common council to their ancient rights, to release the imprisoned apprentices, and to replace the city posts, chains, gates, and portcullises. In return, the city chose Monk major-general of their forces, and advanced the parliament sixty thousand pounds.*

The citizens, by the advice of their general, disarmed all who were suspected of favouring the rump parliament, and kept a strong guard for the peace and quiet of the city, till the meeting of a free parliament, which was now resolved upon, as well as to restore the monarchy, the royal family and the church. The citizens contributed all in their power to accomplish this great and glorious work; and took every precaution to prevent riot, tumult, or opposition of any kind, within the city.

Monk and his council were several times feasted by different city companies in their respective halls; and though the design of restoring the king was not openly avowed, it was easy to see that some considerable change was meditated. At length, on the first of May, 1660, the general told the parliament that Sir

* On the ninth of February, 1660. † Brayley's London, i. 367.
‡ Clar. Reb. iii. p. 716.

John Grenvile was without with letters from the king; and this was no sooner spoken, than a general burst of acclamation evinced how well the wary Monk had taken his measures.* The same gentleman, with the Lord Viscount Mordaunt, was also the bearer of another letter directed to the city; with which the common council was so well pleased, that they voted a gratuity of 500*l.* to each of the messengers, and deputed fourteen of their principal members to wait on his majesty, at the Hague in Holland, with assurances of their fidelity and cheerful submission, and to present him, in the name of the city, with 10,000*l.* The king was so pleased that he knighted the whole of them. The house of commons also resolved to give the king 50,000*l.*, and the citizens agreed to advance that sum. A few days afterwards, the common council made an order, that Richmond Park, which the protector had given them, should be restored to the sovereign, "and he assured that the city had only kept it as stewards for his majesty."† On the eighth, the new king was solemnly proclaimed at Westminster hall gate, by the title of Charles the Second; "the lords and commons standing bare by the heralds whilst the proclamation was made." He was afterwards proclaimed at the accustomed places in the city, amidst the loudest shouts and acclamations, "and the city was full of bon-fires and joys."‡

On the twenty-sixth of May, 1650, the king landed at Dover; and on the twenty-ninth, he made his public entry into the metropolis: "all the ways thither," says Clarendon, "being so full of people and acclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered there." In St. George's Fields, he partook of a rich collation, provided by the lord mayor and aldermen, under a magnificent tent; after which he proceeded through the city to Whitehall; the houses being hung with rich silks and tapestry, the conduits flowing with wine, and the streets and buildings crowded with spectators; all of whom "expressed their joy with such protestations as can hardly be imagined." The procession itself was conducted with extreme pomp; the king riding between his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, preceded by the lord mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and six hundred of the principal citizens, in gorgeous apparel, with gold chains, as well as by many hundred gentlemen, "all gloriously habited and gorgeously mounted." On the same night, Monk was invested with the order of the garter at Whitehall, as an earnest of the honours about to be bestowed upon him for his dexterous management.§

* Clar. Reb. vol. iii. p. 2, p. 756.

† Whit. Mem. 702.

‡ Brayley's London, i. 369.

§ Ludlow says, "The dissolution and drunkenness of that night were so great and scandalous, in a nation which had not been acquainted with such disorders for many years past, that the king, who still stood in need of the presbyterian party, which had betrayed all into his hands, for their satisfaction caused a proclamation to be published 'for forbidding the drinking of healths.'" Mem. 348.

On the 5th of July, the king, with the princes his brothers, all the principal nobility, the great officers of state, and both houses of parliament, was sumptuously banquetted by the city, at Guildhall, the viands being intermingled with "the most exquisite rarities."

In the month of October, Major-General Harrison, Mr. John Carew, Chief-Justice John Coke, the Rev. Hugh Peters, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Gregory Clement, and the Colonels Adrian Scroop, John Jones, Francis Hacker, and Daniel Axtell, were condemned under a special commission at the Old Bailey, for high treason, in having sat in the high court of justice or been otherwise active in promoting the death of the late king. Most of them were executed at Charing Cross; and the cruel sentence pronounced on traitors, was, in respect to Major Harrison, who was the first that suffered, fulfilled to the very letter; and three days afterwards, when Chief Justice Coke and Hugh Peters were drawn upon sledges to the place of execution, "his head was placed on that which carried the chief-justice, with the face uncovered, and directed towards him."* This shocking spectacle failed, however, in producing its intended effect; his firmness was unconquerable. They all indeed met their deaths with the greatest fortitude, except Peters, and boldly vindicated the act for which they had been condemned.† "The temper of the nation," says Burnet, who properly discriminates between the feelings of the people and the sentiment which governed the court, "appeared to be contrary to severe proceedings: for though the regicides were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by crowds, and all people seemed pleased with the sight; yet the odiousness of the crime at last grew to be so much flattened by the frequent executions, and most of those who suffered dying with much firmness and shew of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the king was advised not to proceed farther, at least not to have the scene so near the court as Charing cross."

In the beginning of January, 1661, a desperate insurrection was made in the city, by the phrenetic sect, called Fifth Monarchy men, who, to the number of sixty, well-armed, sallied forth from their meeting house, in Swan alley, Coleman street, under the conduct of their preacher, who was a cooper, named Thomas Venner. After killing a man in St. Paul's church yard, who declared for King Charles, in opposition to their cry of 'King Jesus,' they routed a party of the trained-bands led on by Sir Richard Brown, the lord mayor. They next marched triumphantly through the city to Bishopsgate, and going on the outside of London Wall, re-entered the city at Cripplegate, when hear-

* Lud. Mem. p 368. † Burn. Hist. of his own time, vol. i. p. 162

ng that a body of horse was coming against them, they retreated to Beech lane, where they killed a headborough. and afterwards took shelter for the night in Caen Wood, near Hampstead. Here some of them were made prisoners on the following morning, and the rest dispersed; yet on the next day they rallied again, and returning to the city, fought a severe battle with some horse and trained-bands in Wood street, till two of their fiercest combatants were killed, and Venner wounded and made prisoner. They then retreated towards Cripplegate, and Colonel Cox, their leader, posted ten men in a neighbouring ale-house, who defended it with such resolution, that it was not carried till seven of them were killed. At length, after the loss of twenty men, the maniacs fled; and eleven, out of fourteen, who were made prisoners, were soon afterwards condemned and executed. Twenty of the king's troops lost their lives in this contest, besides those of the trained-bands, and others.*

On the twenty-third of April, the king was crowned at Westminster, on which occasion he revived the ancient custom of proceeding the day before in grand procession through the city from the Tower.† To increase the splendour of this solemnity, five earls were created, and several barons, and the whole display was extremely magnificent. Four costly triumphal arches were erected in different parts of the city, and the houses were decorated in a most rich and expensive manner.

The eighth of May was distinguished by the meeting of Charles' pensionary parliament, by which many enactments were made completely destructive to the liberties of the people, and which, by its protracted duration, (nearly eighteen years) was far more eminently deserving of the appellation of the long parliament, than that of the commonwealth had been.

On the twenty-second of May, by order of the parliament, the Solemn League and Covenant was burnt by the common hangman in Cheapside; and, on the twenty-eighth, the acts for the trial of King Charles, the abolition of the house of peers, the establishing a commonwealth, the renunciation of the Stuart family, and the security of the protector's person, were similarly destroyed by the hangman in the midst of Westminster-hall, whilst the courts were sitting.

On the tenth of April, 1662, the king, by his letters patent, restored and confirmed to the city the province of Ulster, which the Court of Star-chamber had declared forfeited in 1639. It is under this grant that the city companies now hold their Irish estates. On the nineteenth of the same month, Corbet, Okey, and Barkstead, three of the king's judges, who had been outlawed, and afterwards seized at Delft, in Holland suffered the death of

* Ken. Reg. p. 361.

† Described in "*Gloria Britannica*, or a Panegyrick on his majestie's passage thorow London to his coronation. London printed in 1661," 4to.

traitors at Tyburn; and on the sixth of June Sir Harry Vane was beheaded on Tower Hill, "where," says Burnet, "a new and very decent practice was begun. It was observed, that the dying speeches of the regicides had left impressions upon the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government; so strains of a peculiar nature were expected from him; to prevent that drummers were placed under the scaffold, who as soon as he began to speak of the public, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums.*" On the twenty-fourth of August, St. Bartholomew's Day, the act of uniformity was carried into effect, when about 2000 presbyterians and other ministers, threw up their livings, in preference to submitting to the conditions of the statute. Most of the London churches were among the number thus vacated.

This year is also distinguished by the institution of the Royal Society; that name being conferred by the king on a number of learned men, who assembled weekly for the improvement of natural knowledge.†

On the twenty-fourth of June, 1663, the king, on petition of the lord mayor and citizens, and "for divers good causes and considerations," as the instrument itself expresses, granted to the city a new charter, confirmatory of all its former ones, and of all legal uses, prescriptions, and rights whatever.

After Charles had resolved on the Dutch war in 1664, the city advanced 100,000l. towards fitting out a fleet; and within four months afterwards, came forward with a second loan of the like sum. For this ready attention to the public service, the thanks of both houses of parliament were given to the citizens assembled in common council, in Guildhall, by a deputation of six lords and twelve commoners.

The year 1665 became memorable in London by the direful ravages of the great plague, which first broke out at a house in Long Acre, near Drury Lane, in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, whither goods had been imported from Holland that had been brought from the Levant. Its virulence was most extensive between the months of May and October, in the above year: yet its appearance was noticed as early as December, 1664, and it had not entirely ceased till January or February, 1666.‡ From a curious work which comprehends a most interesting narrative of the principal occurrences in this season of almost unparalleled calamity, the following particulars are extracted. They give a vivid idea of the extent of the distress, and of the horrible scenes attendant upon pestilence.

"I lived without Aldgate," says our author, "about mid-way

* Bur. Hist. vol. i. p. 124.

† Lambert's London, ii. 83.

‡ Journal of the plague year. Mr. Gough attributes this work to the celebrated Daniel de Foe; but Mr. Brayley justly remarks, De Foe could only have been editor.

between Aldgate church and White-Chappel-Bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy: but at the other end of the town, their consternation was very great; and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the city, thronged out of town, with their families and servants, in an unusual manner; and this was the more particularly seen in White-Chappel; that is to say, the broad street where I lived. Indeed, nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c.; coaches fill'd with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away. Then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses, with servants, who, it was apparent, were returning or sent from the countries to fetch more people: besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and generally speaking, all loaded with baggage, and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.

"This hurry of the people was such for some weeks, that there was no getting to the lord mayor's door without exceeding difficulty; there was such pressing and crowding there to get passes and certificates of health, for such as travelled abroad; for without these, there was no being admitted to pass through the towns upon the road, or to lodge in any inn. Now, as there had none died in the city for all this time, my lord mayor gave certificates of health without any difficulty to all those who lived in the ninety-seven parishes, and to those within the liberties too for a while. This hurry continued some weeks; that is to say, all the month of May and June; and the more, because it was rumoured, that an order of the government was to be issued out, to place turnpikes and barriers on the road, to prevent people's travelling; and that the towns on the roads would not suffer people from London to pass for fear of bringing the infection along with them; though neither of these rumours had any foundation, but in the imagination, especially at first."*

"I went all the first part of the time freely about the streets, though not so freely as to run myself into apparent danger, except when they dug the great pit in the church-yard of our parish of Aldgate. A terrible pit it was—about 40 foot in length, and about 15 or 16 broad, and at the time I first looked at it, about nine feet deep: but it was said they dug it near 20 feet deep afterwards, in one part of it, till they could go no deeper for the water; for they had, it seems, dug several large pits before this: for though the plague was long a-coming to our parish, yet, when it did come, there was no parish in or about London where it raged with such violence as in the two parishes of Aldgate and White-Chappel.

* Mem. of the Plague, p. 8, 9.

"I say they had dug several pits in another ground, when the distemper began to spread in our parish, and especially when the 'dead carts' began to go about, which was not in our parish till the beginning of August. Into these pits they had put perhaps 50 or 60 bodies each; then they made larger holes, wherein they buried all that the cart brought in a week, which, from the middle to the end of August, came to from 200 to 400 a week; and they could not well dig them larger, because of the order of the magistrates, confining them to leave no bodies within six feet of the surface; and the water coming on at about 17 or 18 feet, they could not well, I say, put more in one pit: but now, at the beginning of September, the plague raging in a dreadful manner, and the number of burials increasing to more than was ever buried in any other parish about London, of no larger extent, they ordered this dreadfull gulph to be dug; for such it was, rather than a pit.

"They had supposed this pit would have supplyed them for a month, or more, when they had dug it; and some blamed the church-wardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them they were making preparations to bury the whole parish, and the like; but time made it appear, the churchwardens knew the condition of the parish better than they did; for the pit being finished on the 4th of September, I think, they began to bury in it the 6th, and by the 20th, which was just two weeks, they had thrown into it 1114 bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come to lie within six feet of the surface. I doubt not but that there may be some ancient persons alive in the parish, who can justify the fact of this, and are able to shew even in what part of the church-yard the pit lay better than I can: the mark of it, also, was many years to be seen in the church-yard on the surface, lying in length parallel with the passage which goes by the west wall of the church-yard out of Houndsditch, and turns east again into Whitechapel, coming out near the Three Tuns inn.

"It was the 10th of September that my curiosity led, or rather drove me, to go and see this pit again, when there had been near 400 people buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the day-time as I had done before, for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth; for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth by those they called the buriers, which at other times were called bearers; but I resolved to go in the night, and see some of them thrown in.

"There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those pits, and that was only to prevent infection; but after some time, that order was more necessary; for people that were infected and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those pits, wrapt up in blankets or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they

said, bury themselves. I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard that in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Cripplegate, it lying then open to the fields, for it was not then walled about, many came and threw themselves in, and expired there before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, though not cold.

"This may serve a little to describe the dreadful condition of that day; though it is impossible to say any thing that is able to give a true idea of it to those who did not see it other than this; that it was indeed very, very, very dreadful, and such as no tongue can express!

"I got admittance into the church-yard by being acquainted with the sexton who attended, who, though he did not refuse me at all, yet earnestly persuaded me not to go; telling me very seriously, (for he was a good, religious, and sensible man), that it was indeed their business and duty to venture, and to run all hazards, and that in it they might hope to be preserved; but that I had no apparent call to it, but my own curiosity, which, he said, he believed I would not pretend was sufficient to justify my running that hazard. I told him I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that it might be an instructing sight, that might not be without its uses. 'Nay,' says the good man, 'if you will venture upon that score, 'name of God, go in; for, depend upon it, 'twill be a sermon to you; it may be the best that ever you heard in your life. 'Tis a speaking sight (says he) and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us all to repentance;' and with that he opened the door, and said, 'Go, if you will.'

"His discourse had shocked my resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while; but just at that interval, I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead-cart, as they called it, coming over the streets; so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. There was nobody, as I could perceive at first in the church-yard, or going into it, but the buryers, and the fellow that drove the cart, or rather led the horse and cart; but when they came up to the pit, they saw a man go to and again, muffled up in a brown cloak, and making motions with his hands, as if he was in great agony; and the buryers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor delirious or desperate creatures that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves He said nothing as he walked about, but two or three times groaned very deeply and loud, and sighed as he would break his heart.

"When the buryers came up to him, they soon found he was neither a person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, nor a person distempered in mind, but one oppressed with a dreadful weight of grief indeed, having his wife, and several of his

children, all in the cart, that was just come in with him; and he followed in an agony and excess of sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of masculine grief, that could not give itself vent by tears; and calmly desiring the buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the bodies thrown in and go away; so they left importuning him; but no sooner was the cart turned round, and the bodies shot into the pit promiscuously, which was a surprize to him (for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, tho' indeed he was afterwards convinced that was impracticable;) I say, no sooner did he see the sight, but he cried out aloud, unable to contain himself I could not hear what he said; but he went backward two or three steps, and fell down in a swoon. The buryers ran to him, and took him up; and in a little while he came to himself, and they led him away to the Pye tavern, over against the end of Houndsditch, where, it seems, the man was known, and where they took care of him. He looked into the pit again as he went away; but the buriers had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in earth, that though there was light enough, for there were lanthorns and candles in them, placed all night round the sides of the pit, upon the heaps of earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

"This was a mournful scene indeed, and affected me almost as much as the rest; but the other was awful, and full of terror: the cart had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies, some were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest; but the matter was not much to them, or the indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it; for here was no difference made, but poor and rich went together: there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should; for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this.*

"I was indeed shocked with this sight; it almost overwhelmed me, and I went away with my heart much afflicted, and full of the afflicting thoughts such as I cannot describe. Just at my going out

* "It was reported by way of scandal upon the buriers, that if any corpse was delivered to them decently wound up, as we called it then, in a winding sheet tyed over the head and feet, which some did, and which was generally of good linen; I say, it was reported that the buriers were so wicked as to strip them in the cart, and carry them quite naked to the ground; but as I cannot easily credit any thing so vile among Christians, and at a time so filled with terrors as that was, I can only relate it, and leave it undetermined.

"Innumerable stories also went about the cruel behaviour and practices of nurses, who tended the sick, and of their hastening on the fate of those they tended in their sickness; but these reports were mostly, if not altogether false."

of the church, and turning up the street towards my own house, I saw another cart with links, and a bellman going before, coming out of Harrow-alley, in the Butcher-row, on the other side of the way, and being, as I perceived, very full of dead bodies, it went directly over the street also towards the church. I stood a while; but I had no stomach to go back again, to see the same dismal scene over again; so I went directly home, where I could not but consider with thankfulness the risque I had run, believing I had gotten no injury; as, indeed, I had not.*

"After the funerals became so many, that people could not toll the bell, mourn, or weep, or wear black for one another, as they did before, no, nor so much as make coffins for those that died; the fury of the infection appeared to be so increased, that in short, they shut up no houses at all: it seem'd enough that all the remedies of that kind had been used till they were found fruitless, and that the plague spread itself with an irresistible fury, so that, as the fire the succeeding year spread itself, and burnt with such violence, that the citizens in despair gave over their endeavours to extinguish it, so in the plague, it came at last to such violence, that the people sat still looking at one another, and seem'd quite abandon'd to despair; whole streets seem'd to be desolated, and not to be shut up only, but to be emptied of their inhabitants; doors were left open, windows stood shattering with the wind in empty houses, for want of people to shut them. In a word, people began to give up themselves to their fears, and to think that all regulations and methods were in vain, and that there was nothing to be hoped for, but an universal desolation; and it was even in the height of this general despair, that it pleased God to stay his hand, and to slacken the fury of the contagion, in such a manner as was even surprising like its beginning, and demonstrated it to be his own particular hand, and that above, f not without the agency of means.

"But I must still speak of the plague as in its height, raging even to desolation, and the people under the most dreadful consternation, even, as I have said, to despair. It is hardly credible to what excesses the passions of men carry'd them in this extremity of the distemper; and this part, I think, was as moving as the rest. What could afflict a man in his full power of reflection, and what could make deeper impressions on the soul, than to see a man almost naked, and got out of his house, or perhaps out of his bed, into the street, come out of Harrow-alley, a populous conjunction or collection of alleys, courts, and passages, in the Butcher-row, in Whitechapel. I say, what could be more affecting, than to see this poor man come out into the open street, run dancing and singing, and making a thousand antick gestures, with five or six women and children running after him, crying, and call-

* Mem. p. 71—76.

ing upon him, for the Lord's sake, to come back, and entreating the help of others to bring him back, but all in vain, nobody daring to lay a hand upon him, or to come near him. This was a most grievous and afflicting thing to me, who saw it all from my own windows, for all this while, the poor afflicted man, was, as I observ'd it, even then in the utmost agony of pain, having, as they said, two swellings upon him, which could not be brought to break or to suppurate; but by laying strong causticks on them, the surgeons had, it seems, hopes to break them; which causticks were then put upon him, burning his flesh as with a hot iron. I cannot say what became of this poor man, but I think he continu'd roving about in that manner till he fell down and died.

"No wonder the aspect of the city itself was frightful: the usual concourse of people in the streets, and which used to be supplied from our end of the town, was abated: the Exchange was not kept shut, indeed, but it was no more frequented: the fires* were lost; they had been almost extinguished for some days by a very smart and hasty rain: but that was not all; some of the physicians insisted that they were not only of no benefit, but injurious to the health of people. This they made a loud clamour about, and complain'd to the lord mayor about it. On the other hand, others of the same faculty, and eminent too, oppos'd them, and gave their reasons why the fires were and must be useful to assuage the violence of the distemper. I cannot give a full account of their arguments on both sides, only this I remember, that they cavil'd very much with one another: some were for fires, but that they must be made of wood and not coal, and of particular sorts of wood too, such as fir in particular, or elder, because of the strong effluvia of turpentine; others were for coal, and not wood, because of the sulphur and bitumen; and others were for neither one or other. Upon the whole, the lord mayor ordered no more fires, and especially on this account, namely, that the plague was so fierce, that they saw it evidently defied all means, and rather seemed to encrease than decrease upon any application to check and abate it; and yet this amazement of the magistrates proceeded

* "The public fires which were made on these occasions, as I have calculated it, must necessarily have cost the city about 200 chalder of coals a week, if they had continued, which was, indeed, a very great quantity, but as it was thought necessary, nothing was spar'd; however, as some of the physicians cry'd them down, they were not kept a-light above four or five days; the fires were order'd thus:

"One at the Custom-House, one at Billingsgate, one at Queen-hith, and one at the Three-Cranes, one in Black-Friers, and one at the gate of Bridewel; one at the corner of Leadenhal-street, and Grace-church; one at the north, and one at the south gate of the Royal Exchange; one at Guild-hall, and one at Blackwell-hall gate; one at the lord mayor's door, in St. Helens, one at the west entrance into St. Paul's, and one at the entrance into Bow church. I do not remember whether there was any at the city gates, but one at the bridge foot there was, just by St. Magnus Church." 251, 5

rather from want of being able to apply any means successfully, than from any unwillingness, either to expose themselves, or undertake the care and weight of business; for, to do them justice, they neither spared their pains nor their persons; but nothing answered, the infection rag'd, and the people were frighted and terrified to the last degree, so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and, as I mentioned above, abandoned themselves to their despair.

"But let me observe, that when I say the people abandon'd themselves to despair, I do not mean to what men call a religious despair, or a despair of their eternal state, but I mean a despair of their being able to escape the infection, or outlive the plague, which they saw was so raging and so irresistible in its force, that indeed few people that were touch'd with it in its height about August, and September, escap'd: and which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary operation in June and July, and the beginning of August, when, as I have observ'd, many were infected, and continued so many days, and then grew better, after having had the poison in their blood a long time, but now, on the contrary, most of the people who were so taken during the two last weeks in August, and in the three first weeks in September, generally died in two or three days at farthest, and many the very same day they were taken; whether the Dog-days, or, as our astrologers pretend to express themselves, the influence of the Dog-star, had that malignant effect; or all those who had the seeds of infection before in them, brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether, I know not; but this was the time when it was reported that above 3000 people died in one night, and they that wou'd have us believe they more critically observ'd it, pretend to say, that they all died within the space of two hours, (viz.) between the hours of one and three in the morning.

As to the suddenness of people's dying at this time more than before, there were innumerable instances of it, and I could name several in my neighbourhood. One family without the Barrs, and not far from me, were all seemingly well on the Monday, being ten in family; that evening one maid and one apprentice were taken ill, and dy'd the next morning, when the other apprentice and two children were touch'd, whereof one dy'd the same evening, and the other two on Wednesday: in a word, by Saturday at noon, the master, mistress, four children, and four servants, were all gone, and the house left entirely empty, except an ancient woman, who came in to take charge of the goods for the master of the family's brother, who liv'd not far off, and who had not been sick.

"Many houses were then left desolate, all the people being carry'd away dead, and especially in an alley farther on, the same side beyond the Barrs, going in at the sign of Moses and Aaron; there were several houses together, which (they said)

had not one person left alive in them, and some that dy'd last in several of those houses, were left a little too long before they were fetch'd out to be bury'd; the reason of which was not as some have written very untruly, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead; but that the mortality was so great in the yard or alley, that there was nobody left to give notice to the buriers or sextons, that there was any dead bodies there to be bury'd. It was said, how true I know not, that some of those bodies were so much corrupted and so rotten, that it was with difficulty they were carry'd; and as the carts could not come any nearer than to the alley-gate in the high street, it was so much the more difficult to bring them along; but I am not certain how many bodies were then left, I am sure that ordinarily it was not so.

"As I have mention'd how the people were brought into a condition to despair of life and abandon themselves, so this very thing had a strange effect among us for three or four weeks; that is, it made men bold and venturous, they were no more shy of one another, or restrained within doors, but went any where and every where, and began to converse; one would say to another, I do not ask you how you are; or say how I am, it is certain we shall all go, so 'tis no matter who is sick or who is sound, and so they run desperately into any place or any company.

"As it brought the people into publick company, so it was surprising how it brought them to crowd into the churches, they inquir'd no more into who they sat near to, or far from, what offensive smells they met with or what condition the people seemed to be in, but looking upon themselves all as so many dead corpses, they came to the churches without the least caution, and crowded together, as if their lives were of no consequence, compar'd to the work which they came about there. Indeed, the zeal which they show'd in coming, and the earnestness and affection they show'd in their attention to what they heard, made it manifest what a value people would all put upon the worship of God, if they thought every day they attended at the church that it would be their last. Nor was it without other strange effects, for it took away all manner of prejudice at, or scruple about the person whom they found in the pulpit when they came to the churches. It cannot be doubted, but that many of the ministers of the parish-churches were cut off among others in so common and so dreadful a calamity; and others had not courage enough to stand it, but removed into the country, as they found means for escape. As then some parish-churches were quite vacant and forsaken, the people made no scruple of desiring such Dissenters as had been a few years before deprived of their livings, by virtue of the act of parliament, called the act of uniformity, to preach in the churches, nor did the church ministers in that case make any difficulty of accepting their assistance, so that many of those

whom they called silenced ministers, had their months open'd on this occasion, and preach'd publickly to the people.

"While the height of the distemper lasted, I retir'd to my home, and continued close ten or twelve days more; during which many dismal spectacles represented themselves in my view, out of my own windows, and in our own street; as that particularly from Harrow-alley, of the poor outrageous creature which danced and sung in his agony, and many others that were. Scarce a day or night passed over, but some dismal thing or other happened at the end of that Harrow-alley, which was a place full of poor people, most of them belonging to the butchers, or to employments depending upon the butchery. Sometimes heaps and throngs of people would burst out of that alley, most of them women, making a dreadful clamour, mixt or compounded of skreetchings, cryings, and calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it; almost all the dead part of the night the Dead-cart stood at the end of the alley, for if it went in it could not well turn again, and could go in but a little way. There, I say, it stood to receive dead bodys, and as the church-yard was but a little way off, if it went away full it would soon be back again: it is impossible to describe the most horrible cries and noise the poor people would make at their bringing the dead bodies of their children and friends to the cart, and by the number one would have thought there had been none left behind, or that there were people enough for a small city liveing in those places. Several times they cryed murther, sometimes fire; but it was esie to perceive it was all distraction, and the complaints of distress'd and distemper'd people.

"I believe it was every where thus at that time, for the plague rag'd for six or seven weeks beyond all that I have express'd; and came even to such a height, that in the extremity, they began to break into that excellent order, of which I have spoken so much, in behalf of the magistrates, namely, that no dead bodies were seen in the streets or burials in the day-time, for there was a necessity, in this extremity, to bear with its being otherwise, for a little while.

"One thing I cannot omit here, and indeed I thought it was extraordinary, at least, it seemed a remarkable hand of Divine justice, (viz.) that all the predictors, astrologers, fortune-tellers, and what they called cunning men, conjurers, and the like; calculators of nativities, and dreamers of dreams, and such people, were gone and vanished, not one of them was to be found: I am, verily, persuaded that a great number of them fell in the heat of the calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great estates; and indeed their gain was but too great for a time, through the madness and folly of the people; but now they were silent, many of them went to their long home, not able to foretel their own fate, or to calculate their own nativities: some

have been critical enough to say, that every one of them dy'd; I dare not affirm that; but this I must own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appeared after the calamity was over.

"But to return to my particular observations during this dreadful part of the visitation; I am now come, as I have said, to the month of September, which was the most dreadful of its kind, I believe, that ever London saw; for, by all the accounts which I have seen of the preceding visitations which have been in London, nothing has been like it; the number in the weekly bill amounting to almost 40,000, from the 22nd of August to the 26th of September, being but five weeks: the particulars of the bills are as follows, (viz.)

From August the 22d to the 29th.....	7496
To the 5th of September.....	8252
To the 12th	7690
To the 19th.....	8297
To the 26th.....	6460
	38,195

"This was a prodigious number of itself, but if I should add the reasons which I have to believe that this account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would with me make no scruple to believe that there died above ten thousand a week for all those weeks, one week with another, and a proportion for several weeks both before and after. The confusion among the people, especially within the city at that time, was inexpressible; the terror was so great at last, that the courage of the people appointed to carry away the dead began to fail them; nay, several of them died, although they had the distemper before, and were recovered; and some of them drop'd down when they have been carrying the bodies even at the pit-side, and just ready to throw them in? and this confusion was greater in the city, because they had flattered themselves with hopes of escaping; and thought the bitterness of death was past. One cart, they told us, going up Shoreditch, was forsaken of the drivers, or being left to one man to drive, he died in the street, and the horses going on, overthrew the cart, and left the bodies, some thrown out here, some there, in a dismal manner; another cart was, it seems, found in the great pit in Finsbury fields, the driver being dead, or having gone and abandoned it, and the horses running too near the pit, the cart fell in and drew the horses in also; it was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and the cart fell upon him, by reason his whip was seen to be in the pit among the bodies; but that, I suppose, could not be certain. In our parish of Aldgate, the dead-carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the church-yard gate, full of dead bodies, but neither bellman or driver, or any one else with them; neither

in these, or many other cases did they know what bodies they had in their cart, for sometimes they were let down with ropes out of balconies and out of windows, and sometimes the bearers brought them to the cart, sometimes other people; nor, as the men themselves said, did they trouble themselves to keep any account of the numbers.

"The vigilance of the magistrates was now put to the utmost trial, and it must be confess'd, can never be enough acknowledged on this occasion also, that whatever expence or trouble they were at, two things were never neglected in the city or suburbs either. First, provisions were always to be had in full plenty, and the price not much rais'd neither, hardly worth speaking. Second, no dead bodies lay unburied or uncovered; and if one walked from one end of the city to another, no funeral, or sign of it was to be seen in the day-time, except a little, as I have said above, in the three first weeks in September.

"This last article, perhaps, will hardly be believ'd, when some accounts which others have published since that shall be seen, wherein they say, that the dead lay unburied, which I am assured was utterly false; at least, if it had been any where so, it must ha' been in houses where the living were gone from the dead, having found means, as I have observed, to escape, and where no notice was given to the officers: all which amounts to nothing at all in the case in hand; for this I am positive in, having myself been employ'd a little in the direction of that part of the parish in which I liv'd, and where as great a desolation was made in proportion to the number of inhabitants as was any where. I say, I am sure that there were no dead bodies remain'd unburied; that is to say, none that the proper officers knew of; none for want of people to carry them off, and buriers to put them into the ground and cover them: and this is sufficient to the argument: for what might lie in houses, as in Moses and Aaron alley, is nothing; for it is most certain they were buried as soon as they were found. As to the first article, namely, of provisions, the scarcity or dearness, tho' I have mention'd it before, and shall speak of it again, yet I must observe here, that the price of bread in particular was not much rais'd, for in the beginning of the year, (viz.) in the first week in March, the penny wheaten loaf was ten ounces and a half; and in the height of the contagion, it was to be had at nine ounces and an half, and never dearer, no not all that season: and about the beginning of November it was sold ten ounces and a half again, the like of which, I believe, was never heard of in any city, under so dreadful a visitation before. Neither was there (which I wondred much at) any want of bakers or ovens kept open to supply the people with bread; but this was indeed alledg'd by some families, viz. That their maid-servants going to the bake-houses with their dough to be baked, which was then the custom, sometimes came home with the sickness, that is to say, the plague upon them."*

* Jour. p. 196—200

On the first rumour of the pestilence having broken out in Long Acre, as before mentioned, and that two persons, said to be Frenchmen, had died of it in one house, the Secretary of State ordered the bodies to be examined by two physicians and a surgeon, who reported they died of the plague. This occasioned some alarm throughout the metropolis, which was increased on the death of another man in the same house where it had first appeared, in the last week of December. The deaths now gradually increased till the latter end of January, when the prevalence of a frost, attended by sharp winds, checked the mortality till the months of April and May, when they again increased, particularly in the parish of St. Giles. In the second week of June, the deaths greatly increased, more particularly in the above parish, where its strength yet lay; but within the city walls, only four were reported dead, and Southwark was entirely free. About this time Charles II., with his court, departed for Oxford, where they continued till after Christmas. In the months of June and July, the infection spread rapidly, and numbers fled from the metropolis. The disorder now passed eastward to the outskirts of the city, to Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, and Shoreditch; where the crowded habitations of the poor offered a full prey to its ravages: the deaths now progressively increasing from 500 to 600, 700, 1000, 1400, and upwards weekly. One of the earliest precautions taken, was the closing up any house in which was any person known to be afflicted with the plague, to prevent its spreading; numerous pest-houses were also appointed to receive the infected, and watchmen to guard the houses that were shut up, both by night and day, and on every door thus closed, a large red cross was marked, with this supplicatory sentence printed over it:—"The Lord have mercy upon us!"

During the month of August, the infection greatly extended its ravages, and though every precaution that prudence and skill could suggest, was taken to prevent its spreading, it now began to rage with considerable violence, even within the city itself. All trade, but for the immediate necessaries of life, was at an end; the streets were deserted of passengers, every place of diversion was closed, and assemblies of whatever kind, except for the celebration of prayer and divine worship, were strictly prohibited;* still, however, the pestilence spread. In the last week of August, that is,

* "All the plays and interludes, which, after the manner of the French court, had been set up, and began to encrease among us, were forbid to act; the gaming-tables, public dancing-rooms, and music-houses, which multiplied, and began to debauch the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed; and the jack-puddings, merry andrews, puppet-shews, rope-dancers, and such like doings, which had bewitched the poor common people, shut up their shops, finding indeed no trade: for the minds of the people were agitated with other things, and a kind of sadness and horror at these things, sat upon the countenances even of the common people. Death was before their eyes, and every body began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions." *Jour.* p. 35.

from the twenty-second to the twenty-ninth, and whilst the city was as yet comparatively free, the number of deaths by the plague was recorded in the bills at 7496. It should be remembered too, that this was at a time when nearly 200,000 persons are thought to have previously quitted the metropolis.

This vast increase of mortality occasioned the adoption of fresh measures of precaution, the principal of which was the lighting large fires in every street, and keeping them burning for several days and nights together. These fires were first lit on the fifth of September, in consequence of a proclamation issued by the lord mayor, "with the advice of the aldermen, his brethren, and the Duke of Albemarle;" strictly commanding "all persons whatsoever inhabiting in the city of London and its liberties, to furnish themselves with sufficient quantities of firing, to wit, of sea-coal, or any other combustible matter, to maintain and continue fire constantly burning for three whole days and three whole nights:" one fire being maintained at the expence of every twelve houses, and six bushels of coal allotted for the consumption of every twenty-four hours.* From fifteen to twenty, or more, large public fires, were also lit in different parts of the city; yet, if a judgment may be formed from the vast and rapid increase of deaths that immediately followed, these measures, instead of proving salutary, were most eminently deleterious. The dead augmented beyond the means of enumeration, the church-yards were no longer capable of receiving the bodies, and large open spaces, on the outskirts of the metropolis, were appropriated for the purpose. "Whole families, and indeed, whole streets of families, were swept away together, insomuch, that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go to such and such houses and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead."

The pestilence was now at its height; its ravages had extended into the borough of Southwark, and from the city into all the parishes eastward of the Tower. The digging of single graves had been long discontinued, and large pits had been excavated, in which the dead were deposited with some little regularity and decent attention; but now all regard to ceremony became impossible. The grave was indeed a 'yawning abyss:' deeper and more extensive pits were dug, and the rich and the poor, the young and the aged, the adult and the child, were all promiscuously thrown headlong together into one common receptacle. By day, the streets presented a most frightful aspect of desolation and misery; and at night, the 'dead carts,' moving with slow pace by torch-light, and with the appalling cry, 'Bring out your dead!' thrilled horror through every heart that was not hardened by suffering to calamity.†

* See London Gazette, for 1665; where also many other curious particulars of the plague may be found.

† Brayley's London, i. 391. This work contains a more full and comprehensive account of the two great calamities, the plague and the fire, than any other History of London.

In the three first weeks of September, the numbers returned dead in the bills amounted to upwards of 24,000; a most frightful aggregate in itself, yet a most imperfect one in respect to the actual number that fell victims to the plague alone within that period. Many of the searchers and other officers, whose duties enjoined them to make the returns, acknowledged their incorrectness; and many more, before they could give in their lists, were themselves numbered with 'those that were.'* The more probable calculation is, that at this time not fewer than 10,000 persons were carried off by the infection itself, without enumerating those who died by the different disorders which it generated, or of which it increased the malignancy. "Now, it was indeed a dreadful time," says De Foe, "and for about a month together, not taking any notice of the bills of mortality, I believe there did not die less than 1500 or 1700 a day, one day with another."†

In the last week of September, the pestilence began to abate in virulence; for though more persons were now sick than at any former period, the number of dead returned in the weekly bill had decreased upwards of 1800, viz. from 8,297 to 6,460. This alteration revived the hopes of the people, and gave new vigour to the magistracy.

"It is impossible" says De Foe, "to express the change that appeared in the very countenances of the people, that Thursday morning when the weekly bill came out; a secret surprize and smile of joy set on every body's face; they shook one another by the hands in the streets, who would hardly go on the same side together before; where the streets were not too broad, they would open their windows, and call from one house to another, and ask 'how they did, and if they had heard the good news that the plague was abated!' Some would return, when they said good news, and ask 'what good news?' and when they answered that the bills decreased almost 2000, they would cry out, 'God be praised!' and would weep aloud for joy; and such was the joy of the people, that it was, as it were, life from the grave."‡

From this period till the end of October, every week's report showed that the infection had lost much of its malignancy; for,

* Journal, p. 115. "For about nine weeks together, there died near a thousand a day, one day with another, even by the account of the weekly bills, which yet, I have reason to be assured, never gave a full account by many thousands; the confusion being such, and the carts working in the dark when they carried the dead, that in some places no account at all was kept, but they worked on; the clerks and sextons not attending for weeks together, and not knowing what number they carried. It was said, that within the year, the parish of Stepney had one hundred and sixteen sextons, grave-diggers, and their assistants; that is to say, bearers, bellmen, and drivers of carts for carrying off the dead bodies."

† Jour. p. 118. Dr. Hodges states, in his 'Loimologia,' that in one week in September, 12,000 died of the plague; of whom 4000 deceased in one night.

‡ Jour. p. 283.

though considerable numbers still died, the instances of convalescence were so numerous, that many thousands of those whom apprehension had driven from their homes, now daily returned in the full assurance of security. The conduct which this feeling inspired, merged into rashness; even the limited suggestions of common prudence were despised, and the healthy associated with the diseased, as if the contagion had no power to excite alarm. Through this imprudence, the deaths in the first week of November increased about 400; and "there were more people infected and fell sick now, when there did not die above 1000 or 1200 in a week, than there was when there died four or six thousand in a week; and the physicians had more work than ever, only with this difference, that more of their patients recovered, that is to say they generally recovered."* This doubtless may be attributed to the growing severity of the weather; "for the winter now came on apace, and the air was clear and cold, with some sharp frosts; and this increasing still, most of those that had fallen sick recovered, and the health of the city began to return."† From this time till the end of the year, the pestilence, with a few slight intermissions, gave place to returning sanity. The court came back to London in the beginniug of February, and before the expiration of that month, the contagion was regarded as having entirely ceased.

During the eight weeks, beginning with the 8th of August, and ending with October the 10th, when the mortality was at its greatest height, the number of deaths returned in the bills of mortality amounted to 59,870: of these 49,605 were recorded under the head Plague. It must be evident, however, from what has been said above, that nearly the whole of this melancholy aggregate ought to be referred to the infection, as the average of deaths from other causes would not have amounted to 2800 within the time mentioned. The entire number returned in the bills, as having died of the plague within the year, was 68,590; yet there can be no doubt that this total was exceeded by many thousands who fell by the infection, but whose deaths were not officially recorded. "I saw, under the hand of one," says De Foe, "that made as strict an examination as he could, that there really died 100,000 people of the plague, in that one year; and if I may be allowed to give my opinion of what I saw with my eyes, and heard from other people that were eye-witnesses, I do verily believe that there died, at least, 100,000 of the plague only, besides other distempers, and besides those which died in the fields, and highways, and secret places, out of the compass of the communication, as it was called; and who were not put down in the bills, though they really belonged to the body of inhabitants. It was known to us all, that abundance of poor despairing creatures who had the distemper upon them, and were grown stupid, or melancholy, by their misery, as many were,

* Jour. p. 265.

† Ibid. p. 263.

wandered away into the fields and woods, and into several uncouth places, almost any where, to creep into a bush or hedge, and die."* The whole number of deaths within the year, as given in the bills, was 97,306.

During the violence of the pestilence, vast sums were contributed towards the relief of the poor, by the benevolent in all parts of England; and many thousand pounds were also disbursed by the city for the like purpose. That nothing might be wanting to promote the general good, the college of physicians composed a set of 'directions' for the proper treatment of the disease in its different states, and this was published and distributed gratuitously.

Numerous lives were preserved by means of the shipping on the river Thames, which lying in rows, two and two, extended from the Pool to Long Reach; in some parts forming a double and triple line. Into these, the infection did not reach, excepting in some few instances immediately contiguous to the city, where due precaution in obtaining necessaries had not been exercised. Many of the watermen also took their whole families into their boats and small craft, and moved up the river, where they continued till the plague subsided; lying on each side the stream close to the shore, or in small huts or tents set up in convenient places. In the whole, upwards of 10,000 persons are estimated as having been thus secured from the contagion. The delivery of corn and coals at Bear quay and the contiguous wharfs, was subjected to such judicious regulations by the care of the lord mayor and aldermen, that the traders brought up their vessels with full confidence of safety; through which means, the metropolis was always well supplied with corn, and generally with coal.

The year 1665 was productive of an act of common council for the reformation of carmen and woodmongers, who had for several years oppressed the city by innovations and extortions. By this act, the number of carts was limited to four hundred and twenty, and they were placed under the regulation of the president and governors of Christ's hospital. The price of carriage was limited yearly by the court of aldermen; and coal sacks and measures sealed at Guildhall.

That the poor might be constantly supplied with coals in times of scarcity, and to defeat the combination of dealers in that article, the several city companies under-mentioned, were ordered to purchase and lay up yearly, between Lady-day and Michaelmas, the

* Jour. p. 116. "The number of those miserable objects was great. The country people would go and dig a hole at a distance from them, and then with long poles, and hooks at the ends of them, drag the bodies into these pits, and then throw the earth in as far as they could cast it, to cover them; taking notice how the wind blew, and so coming on that side which the seaman call to windward, that the scent of the bodies might blow from them, and thus great numbers went out of the world, who were never known, or any account of them taken, as well within the bills of mortality as without."

following quantities of coals, which in dear times were to be vended in such manner, and at such prices, as the lord mayor and court of aldermen should by written precept direct; so that the coals should not be sold to loss:

	Chaldrons		Chaldrons.
Mercers - -	488	Curriers - - -	11
Grocers - - -	675	Masons - - -	22
Drapers - - -	592	Plumbers - - -	19
Fishmongers - - -	465	Innholders - - -	45
Goldsmiths - - -	525	Founders - - -	7
Skinners - - -	315	Poulterers - - -	12
Merchant Taylors - -	750	Cooks - - - -	30
Haberdashers - -	578	Coopers - - -	52
Salters - - -	360	Tylers and Bricklayers -	19
Ironmongers - -	252	Bowyers - - -	3
Vintners - - -	375	Fletchers - - -	3
Clothworkers - -	412	Blacksmiths - - -	15
Dyers - - - -	105	Apothecaries - -	43
Brewers - - -	104	Joiners - - -	22
Leathersellers - -	210	Weavers - - -	27
Pewterers - - -	52	Woolmen - - -	3
Cutlers - - - -	75	Woodmongers - -	60
White-Bakers - -	45	Scriveners - - -	60
Wax-Chandlers - -	19	Fruiterers - - -	7
Tallow-Chandlers - -	97	Plasterers - - -	8
Armourers - - -	19	Brown-Bakers - -	12
Girdlers - - -	105	Stationers - - -	75
Butchers - - -	22	Embroiderers - -	30
Sadlers - - - -	90	Upholders - - -	9
Carpenters - - -	38	Musicians - - -	6
Cordwainers - - -	60	Turners - - -	13
Barber-Surgeons - -	60	Basket-makers - -	6
Painter-Stainers - -	12	Glaziers - - -	6

It is uncertain by what means this excellent institution sunk into disuse. Certainly it was well calculated to remove the inconvenience arising to the poor, both from the want of coals in times of scarcity, and the impositions of private dealers in that commodity.

All retail dealers in coals, by the same act, were prohibited from meeting the vessels, or by their agents contracting for that commodity, before the ships were arrived in the port of London; on the penalty of five shillings for every chaldron so forestalled, or bought by pre-contract.

The general manner in which the pestilence affected its victims, was by fevers, vomiting, head-ach, pains in the back, and tumours, or swellings in the neck, groin, and arm-pits, accompanied by inflammation and gangrene. In the height of the disease, the deaths occurred within two or three days after the patient was taken ill; and sometimes within three, four or six hours, where plague spots,

or tokens, as they were called, had shewn themselves without previous illness. In a few instances, the same persons had the distemper twice. The violence of the pain arising from the swellings frequently occasioned delirium; and where the tumours could not be matured, death was inevitable. In the milder stages of the contagion the deaths did not occur for eight or ten days; and when the disease was subsiding, the patient was relieved by profuse sweats, and the swellings dispersed or broke, without exciting that insufferable torment which had proved so destructive.*

The stoppage of the plague, after all human efforts had been tried as it were, with only partial success, was by many regarded as supernatural. De Foe was of this opinion, and he uses language

* Among the anecdotes connected with the plague, most persons have heard the story of the 'Blind Piper,' who having been taken up in the streets when stupidly intoxicated, was thrown into a dead-cart, but coming to himself whilst in the cart, he "set up his pipes," which affrighting the buryers, they all ran away. De Foe relates the tale differently. He says the circumstance occurred within the bounds of "one John Hayward," who was under-sexton (all the time of the plague) of the parish of St. Stephen Coleman-street, without ever catching the infection. "This John told me," says our author, "that the fellow was not blind, but an ignorant, weak, poor, man, and usually walked his rounds about ten o'clock at night, and went piping along from door to door, and the people usually took him in at public-houses, where they knew him, and would give him drink and victuals, and sometimes farthings; and he, in return, would pipe and sing, and talk simply, which diverted the people, and thus he lived. During the plague, the poor fellow went about as usual, but was almost starved; and when any body asked how did, he would answer, 'the dead-cart had not taken him yet, but had promised to call for him next week.' It happened, one night, that this poor fellow" having been feasted more bountifully than common, fell fast asleep, "and was laid all along upon the top of a bulk or stall, in the street near London Wall, towards Cripplegate, and, that upon the same bulk or stall, the people of some hearing a bell, which they always rung before the cart came, had laid a body, really dead of the plague, just by him; this being too, that this poor fellow had been a dead body as the other was, and laid there by some of the neighbours.

"Accordingly, when John Hayward, with his bell and the cart, came along, finding two dead bodies lie upon the stall, they took them up with the instruments they used, and threw them into the cart, and all this while the piper slept soundly. From hence they passed along, and took in other dead bodies, till, as honest John Hayward told me, they almost buried him alive in the cart, yet all this while he slept soundly. At length the cart came to the place where the bodies were to be thrown into the ground, which, as I do remember, was at Mount mill, and as the cart usually stopt some time before they were ready to shoot out the melancholy load they had in it, as soon as the cart stopped, the fellow awaked, and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when raising himself up in the cart, he called out 'Hey! where am I?' This frighted the fellow that attended about the work; but, after some pause, John Hayward recovering himself, said, 'Lord bless us! there's somebody in the cart not quite dead.' So another called to him, and said, 'Who are you?' The fellow answered, 'I am the poor piper. Where am I?' 'Where are you?' says Hayward, 'why, you are in the dead-cart, and we are a-going to bury you.' 'But I an't dead tho', am I?' says the piper; which made them laugh a little, though, as John said, they were heartily frighted at first: so they helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business." Jour. p. 106, 107.

particularly strong in expressing it. "Nothing," he says, "but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent power could have put a stop to the infection. The contagion despised all medicine; death raged in every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all, and of every thing that had a soul. Man every where began to despair, every heart failed them for fear: people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls, and the terrors of death sat in every countenance."*

Whatever deference may be given to the idea of an immediate interposition of providence, the alteration of the weather in September was doubtless a principal means by which the spreading of the pestilence was arrested. Echard, whose authority was Dr. Baynard, "an ingenious and learned physician," speaking of the state of the seasons whilst the infection raged, says, that 'there was such a general calm and serenity of weather, as if both wind and rain had been expelled the kingdom, and for many weeks together he could not discover the least breath of wind, not even so much as would move a fan.' That 'the fires in the streets with great difficulty were made to burn;' and that by the extreme rarefaction of the air, the birds did pant for breath, especially those of the larger sott, who were likewise observed to fly more heavily than usual.†

The stoppage of public business, in the height of the contagion, was so complete, that grass grew within the very area of the Exchange, and even in the principal streets of the city. All the inns of court were shut up, and all law proceedings suspended. Neither cart nor coach was to be seen from morning till night, excepting those employed in the conveyance of provisions, in the carriage of the infected to the pest-houses, or other hospitals, and a few coaches used by the physicians.‡ The pest-houses, of which there were only two, were situated in Bunhill-fields, near Old-street, and in Tothill-fields, Westminster. These were found to be of the greatest utility, yet the hurry and multiplicity of cases which the rapid increase of the pestilence occasioned, prevented the establishing of any more.

The apprehensions of the people during the early stages of the calamity were highly excited by the predictions of 'sooth-sayers and astrologers,' and for a time they furnished a rich harvest to the multitude of fortune tellers, cunning men, and cheating quacks, that infested the town. Their voice was, however, silenced by the progress of the pestilence; and the expounders of oracles, and the possessors of infallible recipes, were alike swept away with the mass of those upon whom they had imposed. With the ignorant, every

* Jour. p. 282. † Hist. of Eng.
‡ Jour. p. 118.

unusual occurrence in the heavens was tortured into a prodigy, and the appearance of a comet was regarded as a dire portent. This state of the public feeling was much aggravated by different publications affecting to disclose future events; and by the conduct of several visionary enthusiasts, who, with frantic gestures, and at different times, ran wildly through the streets, denouncing destruction to the whole city.* So strongly were the populace impressed with the belief of a continual occurrence of wonders, that mobs were often formed in different quarters, to listen to the wild ravings of some lunatic, who, in describing the morbid hallucinations of his own brain, pretended to be descanting on the prodigies which were then apparent to vision in the air.†

Since this dreadful period, the plague has entirely ceased in London; a circumstance that must be regarded as the more remarkable, when reference is made to the yearly bills of mortality for nearly all the preceding part of the century. It will be seen from them, that scarcely a year passed without some persons or other falling victims to the infection; and that, in 1609, and 1647, the numbers were respectively as high as 4240, and 3597; without distinguishing those years when the pestilence raged with great violence.

* One of these unhappy maniacs is described, by De Foe, as going about naked, excepting a pair of drawers, crying day and night—'Oh! the great and the dreadful God!" He "repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest or take any sustenance; at least, that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoken to him, but he would not enter into speech with me, nor any one else, but held on his dismal cries continually"—*Jour.* p. 26.

† In Lilly's 'Astrological Prediction,' published in 1648, is 'an astrologicall judgement of the conjunction of Saturn and Mars,' wherein occurs the following remarkable passage, the full value of which the believers in astrology will doubtless appreciate. "In the year 1656," says our author, "the aphelium of Mars who is the generall significator of England, will be in Virgo, which is assuredly the ascendant of the English monarchy, but Aries of the kingdom: when this absis, therefore, of Mars shall appear in Virgo, who shall expect less than a strange catastrophe of human affairs in this commonwealth, monarchy, and kingdom of England?—There will then either in or about those times, or neer that year, or within ten years more or lesse of that time, or within a little time after, appear in this kingdom so strange a revolution of fate, so grand a catastrophe, and great mutation unto this monarchy and government, as never yet appeared; at which, as the times now stand, I have no liberty or encouragement to deliver any opinion. Only it will be ominous to London, unto her merchants at sea, to her traffique at land, to her poor, to her rich, to all sorts of people inhabiting in her, or her liberties, by reason of sundry fires and a consuming plague," &c.—*Astro. Predic.* p. 41. The notable indecision with which Lilly has marked the time for the occurrence of these events, will not escape the attention of the intelligent reader, though the notice of 'fires and a consuming plague' is very remarkable.

The improved healthfulness of the metropolis must be ascribed principally to the alterations that were made in the widths of the streets, lanes, and other passages, in consequence of the great fire of 1666; to the improved and more open modes of building, by which a free circulation of air was secured; and to the greater cleanliness resulting from the constant supplies of water for domestic purposes, by means of the New River, and various water companies.

In April, 1666, John Rathbone, an old colonel, with seven others, 'formerly officers or soldiers in the late rebellion,' were convicted and executed for high treason, in forming a plan for surprising the Tower and the king's guard, killing the lord-general, and other persons, and setting fire to the city, 'the better to effect their hellish designs.'* The 3rd of September 'was pitched on for the attempt, as being found by Lillie's almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfall of monarchy."†

The most important event, perhaps, that ever happened in this metropolis, whether it be considered in reference to its immediate effects, or to its remote consequences, was the great fire of 1666; which broke out on the morning of Sunday, the 2nd of September, and, being impelled by strong winds, raged with irresistible fury nearly four days and nights, nor was it entirely mastered till the fifth morning after it began.

The following is the official account, as given in the London Gazette of September the 10th:

"Whitehall, September 8.

"On the 2nd instant, at one o'clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire in Pudding-lane, near New Fish-street; which, falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitch'd houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such destruction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as it ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following; [the fire] spreading itself up to Gracechurch-street, and downwards from Cannon-street, to the waterside, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

"The people in all parts about it, [were] distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods; many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals; but all in vain: the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all

* Lond. Gaz. 30th April. † Ibid.

Monday and Tuesday; notwithstanding his majesty's own, and his royal highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of the nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein; for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with the brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little, it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and his royal highness, never despairing or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council, before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple-church, near Holborn-bridge, Pye-corner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Coleman-street, at the end of Basing-hall-street, by the postern at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street and Leadenhall-street, at the standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fenchurch-street, near Clothworker's hall, in Mincing-lane, at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower Dock.

"On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished, but so as that evening, it unhappily burst out again at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks, as is supposed, upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his royal highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder to blow the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

"Divers strangers, French and Dutch, were, during the fire, apprehended upon suspicion that they contributed mischievously to it, who were all imprisoned, and informations prepared to make a severe inquisition thereupon by my lord chief justice Kneeling, assisted by some of the lords of the privy council, and some of the principal members of the city; notwithstanding which suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forward in all its way by strong winds, make us to conclude the whole was the effect of an unhappy chance, or, to speak better, the heavy hand of God upon us for our sins, shewing us the terror of his judgments, in thus raising the fire; and, immediately after, his miraculous and never enough to be acknowledged mercy, in putting a stop to it when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts for the preventing it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient.

"His majesty then sat hourly in council; and, ever since hath continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it, where the danger and mischief was greatest, till this morning, when he hath sent his grace, the Duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorable deliverance."

This most destructive conflagration commenced at the house of

one Farryner, a baker, in Pudding-lane, near New Fish-street-hill, and within ten houses of Thames-street, into which it spread within a few hours; nearly all the contiguous buildings being of timber, lath, and plaister, and the whole neighbourhood presenting little else than closely confined passages and narrow alleys. "It began" says a contemporary writer, "in a heap of bavins, and had gotten some strength ere discovered, yet [that discovery was made] seasonably enough to allow a merchant, who dwelt next door, to remove all his goods; but as soon as it felt the violent impressions of a strong east-north-east wind, leaving a small force to finish the conquest of the house where it received its birth, it ultimately directed its greatest strength against the adjacent ones. It quickly grew powerful enough to despise the use of buckets, and was too advantageously seated among narrow streets to be assaulted by engines: it was therefore proposed to the lord mayor, [Sir Thomas Bludworth,] who came before three o'clock, to pull down some houses to prevent its spreading; but he, with a pish, answering, that 'a woman might piss it out,' neglected that prudent advice, and was not long ere undeceived of the foolish confidence; for, before 8 o'clock, it had gotten to the bridge, and there dividing, left enough to burn down all that had been erected on it since the last great fire in 1633, and, with the main body, pressed forward into Thames-street"*

Among the various accounts of this dreadful fire, the most interesting are the following:—Lord Clarendon,† narrating the progress of the fire on its taking hold in Thames-street, says: "But in the night the wind changed, and carried the danger from thence; yet, with so great and irresistible violence, that it scattered the fire from pursuing the line it was in with all its force, and spread it over the city; so that they who went late to bed, at a great distance from any place where the fire prevailed, were awakened before morning with their own houses being in a flame; and whilst endeavours were used to quench that, other houses were discovered to be burning, which were near no place from whence they could imagine the fire could come, all which kindled another fire in the breasts of men, almost as dangerous as that within their houses.

"The fire and the wind continued in the same excess all Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday till afternoon, and flung and scattered brands burning into all quarters; the nights more terrible than the days, and the light the same, the light of the fire supplying that of the sun. And, indeed, whoever was an eye-witness of that terrible prospect, can never have so lively an image of the last conflagration till he behold it; the faces of all people in a wonderful dejection and discomposure, not knowing where they could repose themselves

* Malcolm's Lond. Red. vol iv. p. 74; from Manuscript Letters written by a resident in the Middle Temple and lent to the author by the late Rich. Gough, Esq.

† Printed in his History of his Life.

for one hour's sleep, and no distance thought secure from the fire, which suddenly started up before it was suspected; so that people left their houses, and carried away their goods from many places which received no hurt, and whither they returned again; all the fields full of women and children, who had made a shift to bring thither some goods and conveniences to rest upon, as safer than any houses, where yet they felt such intolerable heat and drought, as if they had been in the middle of the fire. The king and the duke, *who rode from one place to another, and put themselves into* great dangers amongst the burning and falling houses, to give advice and direction what was to be done, underwent as much fatigue as the meanest, and had as little sleep or rest; and the face of all men appeared ghastly, and in the highest confusion. The country sent in carts to help those miserable people who had saved any goods; and by this means, and the help of coaches, all the neighbouring villages were filled with more people than they could contain, and more goods than they could find room for; so that those fields became likewise as full as the others about London and Westminster.

It was observed, that where the fire prevailed most, when it met with brick buildings, if it was repulsed, it was so well resisted, that it made a much slower progress; and when it had done its worst, that the timber and all the combustible matter fell down to the bottom within the house, and the walls stood and enclosed the fire, and it was burned out without making any farther progress in many of those places; and then the vacancy so interrupted the fury of it, that many times the two or three next houses stood without much damage. Besides the spreading, insomuch as all London seemed but one fire in the breadth of it, it seemed to continue in its full fury, a direct line to the Thames side, all Cheapside, from beyond the Exchange, through Fleet-street; insomuch as for that breadth, taking in both sides as far the Thames, there was scarce a house or church standing from the bridge to Dorset-house, which was burned on Tuesday night after Baynard's Castle.

On Wednesday morning, when the king saw that neither the fire decreased nor the wind lessened, he even despaired of preserving Whitehall, but was more afraid of Westminster Abbey. But having observed, by his having visited all places, that where there were any vacant places between the houses, where the progress of the fire was menacing, they changed its course, and went to the other side; he gave order for pulling down many houses about Whitehall, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice goods by water to Hampton Court; as most of the persons of quality in the Strand, who had the benefit of the river, got barges and other vessels, and sent their furniture for their houses to some houses some miles out of the town. And very many on both sides of the Strand, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what they did, fled with their families out of their houses

into the streets, that they might not be within when the fire fell upon their houses.

But it pleased God, contrary to all expectation, that on Wednesday, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, the wind fell; and, as in an instant, the fire decreased, having burnt all on the Thames side of the new buildings of the Inner Temple next to White Friars, and having consumed them, was stopped by that vacancy from proceeding farther into that house; but laid hold on some old buildings that joined to Ram alley, and swept all those into Fleet street. And the other side being likewise destroyed to Fetter lane, it advanced no farther; but left the other part of Fleet street to the Temple Bar, and all the Strand, unhurt, but what damage the owners of the houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other parts of the town near the same time. The greatest care then was, to keep good guards to watch the fire that was upon the ground, that it might not break out again; and this was the better performed, because they who had yet their houses standing had not the courage to sleep, though they watched with much less distraction.

When the night, though far from being a quiet one, had somewhat lessened the consternation, the first care the king took was, that the country might speedily supply markets in all places, that they who had saved themselves from burning, might not be in danger of starving; and if there had not been extraordinary care and diligence used, many would have perished that way. The vast destruction of corn, and other sorts of provisions, in those parts where the fire prevailed, had not only left all those people destitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the bakers and brewers which inhabited the other parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their houses, and carried away all that was portable: insomuch, as many days passed before they were enough in their wits and in their houses to fall to their occupations; and those parts of the town which God had spared and preserved, were many hours without any thing to eat, as well as they who were in the fields; yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a supply of all kinds was brought from all places within four-and-twenty hours. And which was more miraculous, in four days, in all the fields about the town, which had seemed covered with those whose habitations were burned, and with the goods which they had saved, there was scarce a man to be seen: all found shelter in so short a time, either in those parts which remained of the city and in the suburbs, or in the neighbour villages; all kind of people expressing a marvellous charity towards those who appeared to be undone: and very many, with more expedition than can be conceived, set up little sheds of brick and timber upon the ruins of their own houses, where they chose rather to inhabit than in more convenient places, though they knew they could not long reside in those new buildings.—

The lord mayor, though a very honest man, was much blamed

for want of sagacity in the first night of the fire, before the wind gave it much advancement: for though he came with great diligence as soon as he had notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such spectacles, his consternation was equal to that of other men, nor did he know how to apply his authority to the remedying the present distress; and when men who were less terrified with the object, pressed him very earnestly, 'that he would give order for the present pulling down those houses which were nearest, and by which the fire climbed to go farther,' (the doing whereof at that time might probably have prevented much of the mischief that succeeded,) he thought it not safe counsel, and made no other answer than, 'that he durst not do it without the consent of the owners.' His want of skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some gentlemen of the Inner Temple, would not endeavour to preserve the goods which were in the lodgings of absent persons, nor suffer others to do it, 'because,' they said, 'it was against the law to break up any man's chamber!'*

Thomas Vincent, a non-conformist minister, who was ejected from the living of St. Mary Magdalen, in Milk-street, and during the great plague remained in the city, and preached regularly to the great comfort of the inhabitants under the affliction of the raging pestilence, was an eye-witness of this dreadful conflagration. He wrote 'God's terrible Judgments in the City by Plague and Fire,' and has left a circumstantial relation in that work of the progress made by the flames, and their effects on the people.

"It was the 2d of September, 1666, that the anger of the Lord was kindled against London, and the fire began: it began in a baker's house, in Pudding-lane, by Fish-street-hill; and now the Lord is making London like a fiery oven in the time of his anger, and in his wrath doth devour and swallow up our habitations. It was in the depth and dead of the night, when most doors and fences were locked up in the city, that the fire doth break forth and appear abroad; and, like a mighty giant refreshed with wine, doth awake and arm itself, quickly gathers strength, when it had made havoc of some houses; rusheth down the hill towards the bridge; crosseth Thames-street, invadeth Magnus church, at the bridge foot; and, though that church were so great, yet it was not sufficient barricado against this conqueror; but, having scaled and taken this fort, it shooteth flames with so much the greater advantage into all places round about; and a great building of houses upon the bridge is quickly thrown to the ground: then the conqueror, being stayed in his course at the bridge, marcheth back to the city again, and runs along with great noise and violence through Thames-street, westward; where, having such combustible matter in its teeth, and such a fierce wind upon its back, it prevails with little resistance, unto the astonishment of the beholders.

* Clar. Life, p. 355

Fire! fire! fire! doth resound the streets, many citizens start out of their sleep, look out of their windows; some dress themselves and run to the place. The lord mayor of the city comes with his officers; a confusion there is; counsel is taken away; and London, so famous for wisdom and dexterity, can now find neither brains nor hands to prevent its ruin. The hand of God was in it; the decree was come forth; London must now fall, and who could prevent it? No wonder, when so many pillars are removed if the building tumbles; the prayers, tears, and faith, which sometimes London hath had, might have quenched the violence of the fire; might have opened heaven for rain, and driven back the wind: but now the fire gets mastery, and burns dreadfully.

That night most of the Londoners had taken their last sleep in their houses; they little thought it would be so when they went into their beds; they did not in the least suspect, when the doors of their ears were unlocked, and the casements of their eyes were opened in the morning, to hear of such an enemy invading the city, and that they should see him, with such fury, enter the doors of their houses, break into every room, and look out of their casements with such a threatening countenance.

That which made the ruin the more dismal, was, that it was begun on the Lord's-day morning: never was there the like sabbath in London; some churches were in flames that day; and God seems to come down, and to preach himself in them, as he did in Mount Sinai, when the mount burned with fire; such warm preaching those churches never had; such lightning dreadful sermons never were before delivered in London. In other churches ministers were preaching their farewell sermons, and people were hearing with quaking and astonishment: instead of a holy rest which christians have taken on this day, there is a tumultuous hurrying about the streets towards the place that burned, and more tumultuous hurrying upon the spirits of those that sat still, and had only the notice of the ear of the quick and strange spreading of the fire.

Now the train-bands are up in arms watching at every quarter for outlandishmen, because of the general fear and jealousies, and rumours, that fire-balls were thrown into houses by several of them to help on and provoke the too furious flames. Now goods are hastily removed from the lower parts of the city; and the body of the people begin to retire, and draw upwards, as the people did from the tabernacles of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, when the earth did cleave asunder and swallow them up: or rather as Lot drew out from his house in Sodom before it was consumed by fire from heaven. Yet some hopes were retained on the Lord's-day that the fire would be extinguished, especially by them who lived in the remote parts; they could scarcely imagine that the fire a mile off should be able to reach their houses.

But the evening draws on, and now the fire is more visible and dreadful: instead of the black curtains of the night, which

used to be spread over the city, now the curtains are yellow; the smoke that arose from the burning parts seemed like so much flame in the night, which being blown upon the other parts by the wind, the whole city, at some distance, seemed to be on fire. Now hopes begin to sink, and a general consternation seizeth upon the spirits of people; little sleep is taken in London this night; the amazement which the eye and ear doth effect upon the spirit, doth either dry up or drive away the vapour which used to bind up the senses. Some are at work to quench the fire with water; others endeavour to stop its course, by pulling down of houses; but all to no purpose: if it be a little allayed, or beaten down, or put to a stand in some places, it is but a very little while; it quickly recovers its force; it leaps and mounts, and makes the more furious onset, drives back its opposers, snatcheth their weapons out of their hands, seizeth upon the water-houses, and engines, burns them, and makes them unfit for service.

On the Lord's day night the fire had run as far as Garlick-hithe, in Thames-street, and had crept up into Cannon-street, and levelled it with the ground; and still is making forward by the water-side, and upward to the brow of the hill, on which the city was built.

On Monday, (the 3d) Gracechurch-street is all in flames, with Lombard-street, on the left hand, and part of Fenchurch-street, on the right, the fire working (though not so fast) against the wind that way: before it were pleasant and stately houses, behind it ruinous and desolate heaps. The burning then was in fashion of a bow, a dreadful bow it was, such as mine eyes never before had seen; a bow which had God's arrow in it, with a flaming point: it was a shining bow; not like that in the cloud, which brings water with it; and withal signified God's covenant not to destroy the world any more with water: but it was a bow which had fire in it, which signified God's anger, and his intention to destroy London with fire.

Now the flames break in upon Cornhill, that large and spacious street, and quickly cross the way by the train of wood that lay in the streets untaken away, which had been pulled down from houses to prevent its spreading: and so they lick the whole street as they go: they mount up to the top of the highest houses; they descend down to the bottom of the lowest vaults and cellars; and march along on both sides of the way, with such a roaring noise, as never was heard in the city of London; no stately building so great as to resist their fury: the Royal Exchange itself, the glory of the merchants, is now invaded with much violence; and when once the fire was entered, how quickly did it run round the galleries, filling them with flames; then came down stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming volleys, and filleth the court with sheets of fire: by-and-by down fall all the kings upon their faces, and the greatest part of the stone-building after them, (the founder's

statue only remaining,) with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing.

Then, then the city did shake indeed; and the inhabitants did tremble, and flew away in great amazement from their houses, lest the flames should devour them; rattle, rattle, rattle, was the noise which the fire struck upon the ear round about, as if there had been a thousand iron chariots beating upon the stones: and if you opened your eye to the opening of the streets, where the fire was come, you might see, in some places, whole streets at once in flames, that issued forth as if they had been so many great forges, from the opposite windows, which folding together, were united into one great flame throughout the whole street; and then you might see the houses tumble, tumble, tumble, from one end of the street to the other, with a great crash, leaving the foundations open to the view of the heavens.

Now fearfulness and terror doth surprise the citizens of London; confusion and astonishment doth fall upon them at this unheard-of, unthought-of, judgment. It would have grieved the heart of an unconcerned person to see the rueful looks, the pale cheeks, the tears trickling down from the eyes, (where the greatness of sorrow and amazement could give leave for such a vent,) the smiting of the breast, the wringing of the hands; to hear the sighs and groans, the doleful and weeping speeches of the distressed citizens, when they were bringing forth their wives, (some from their child-bed,) and their little ones (some from their sick-bed,) out of their houses, and sending them into the country, or somewhere into the fields with their goods. Now the hopes of London are gone, their heart is sunk; now there is a general remove in the city, and that in a greater hurry than before the plague, their goods being in greater danger by the fire than their persons were by the sickness. Scarcely are some returned, but they must remove again, and, not as before, now without any more hopes of ever returning and living in those houses any more.

Now carts, and drays, and coaches, and horses, as many as could have entrance into the city, were loaded, and any money is given for help; 5*l*., 10*l*., 20*l*., 30*l*. for a cart, to bear forth into the fields some choice things, which were ready to be consumed: and some of the carmen had the conscience to accept of the highest price, which the citizens did then offer in their extremity; I am mistaken if such money do not burn worse than the fire out of which it was raked. Now casks of wine, and oil, and other commodities, are tumbled along, and the owners shove as much of their goods as they can towards the gate: every one now becomes a porter to himself, and scarcely a back either of man or woman, that hath strength, but had a burden on it in the streets: it was very sad to see such throngs of poor citizens coming in and going forth from the unburnt parts, heavy laden with some pieces of their goods, but more heavy laden with weighty grief and sorry of heart, so

Monday night was a dreadful night: when the wings of the night had shadowed the light of the heavenly bodies, there was no darkness of night in London, for the fire shines now round about with a fearful blaze, which yieldeth such light in the streets, as it had been the sun at noon-day. Now the fire having wrought backward strangely against the wind, to Billingsgate, &c. along Thames-street, eastward, runs up the hill to Tower-street, and having marched on from Gracechurch-street, making further progress in Fenchurch-street, and having spread its wing beyond Queenhithe, in Thames-street, westward, mounts up from the water-side, through Dowgate and Old Fish-street, into Watling-street: but the great fury of the fire was in the broader streets; in the midst of the night it was come down Cornhill, and laid it in the dust, and runs along by the Stocks, and there meets with another fire, which came down Threadneedle-street; a little further with another, which came up from Wallbrook; a little further with another, which comes up from Bucklersbur and all these four joining together, break into one great flame at the corner of Cheapside, with such a dazzling light, and burning heat, and roaring noise, by the fall of so many houses together, that was very amazing; and though it were something stopt in its swift course at Mercers'-chapel, yet with great force in a while it conquers the place, and burns through it; and then, with great rage, proceedeth forward in Cheapside.

On Tuesday (the 4th) was the fire burning up the very bowels of London; Cheapside is all in a light, (fire in a few hours time,) many fires meeting there, as in the centre; from Soper-lane, Bow-lane, Bread-street, Friday-street and Old Change, the fire comes up almost together, and breaks furiously into the Bread-street, and most of that side of the way was together in flames, a dreadful spectacle; and then, partly by the fire which came down by Mercers'-chapel, partly by the fall of the houses cross the way, the other side is quickly kindled, and doth not stand long after it. Now the fire gets into Blackfriars, and so continues its course by the water, and makes up towards Paul's church, on that side, and Cheapside fire besets the great building on this side, and the church, though all of stone outward, though naked of houses about it, and though so high above all buildings in the city, yet, within a while, doth yield to the violent assaults of the conquering flames, and strangely takes fire at the top: now the lead melts and runs down, as if it had been snow before the sun; and the great beams and massy stones with a great noise fall on the pavement, and break through into Faith church underneath; now great flakes of stone scale and peel off strangely from the side of the walls; the conqueror having got this high fort, darts its flames round about. Now Paternoster-row, Newgate-market, the Old Bailey, and Ludgate-hill, have submitted themselves to the devouring fire, which with wonderful speed rusheth down the hill into Fleet-street. Now Cheapside fire marcheth along Ironmonger-lane, Old Jewry, Lawrence-lane, Milk-street, Wood-street,

Gutter-lane, Foster-lane. Now it runs along Lothbury, Cateaton-street, &c. From Newgate-market, it assaults Christchurch, and conquers that great building, and burns through Martin's-lane towards Aldersgate, and all about so furiously, as if it would not leave a house standing upon the ground.

Now horrible flakes of fire mount up the sky, and the yellow smoke of London ascendeth up towards heaven, like the smoke of a great furnace; a smoke so great, as darkened the sun at noonday; (if at any time the sun peeped forth, it looked red like blood:) the cloud of smoke was so great, that travellers did ride at noonday, some miles together, in the shadow thereof, though there were no other cloud beside to be seen in the sky.

And if Monday night was dreadful, Tuesday night was more dreadful, when far the greatest part of the city was consumed; many thousands who on Saturday had houses convenient in the city, both for themselves, and to entertain others, now have not where to lay their head; and the fields are the only receptacle which they can find for themselves and their goods; most of the late inhabitants of London lie all night in the open air, with no other canopy over them but that of the heavens: the fire is still making towards them, and threateneth the suburbs; it was amazing to see how it had spread itself several times in compass; and amongst other things that night, the sight of Guildhall was a fearful spectacle, which stood the whole body of it together in view, for several hours together, after the fire had taken it, without flames, (I suppose because the timber was such solid oak,) in a bright shining coal, as if it had been a palace of gold, or a great building of burnished brass.

On Wednesday morning, (the 5th) when people expected that the suburbs would be burnt, as well as the city, and with speed were preparing their flight, as well as they could, with their luggage into the countries, and neighbouring villages, then the Lord hath pity on poor London; his bowels began to relent; his heart is turned within him, and he stays his rough wind in the day of the east wind; his fury begins to be allayed; he hath a remnant of people in London, and there shall a remnant of houses escape: the wind now is husht; the commission of the fire is withdrawing, and it burns so gently, even where it meets with no opposition, that it was not hard to be quenched, in many places, with a few hands: now the citizens begin to gather a little heart, and encouragement in their endeavours to quench the fire. A check it had at Leadenhall by that great building; a stop it had in Bishopsgate-street, Fenchurch-street, Lime-street, Mark-lane, and towards the Tower; one means, under God, was the blowing up of houses with gunpowder. Now it is stayed in Lothbury, Broad-street, Coleman-street; towards the gates it burnt, but not with any great violence; at the Temple also it is stayed, and in Holborn, where it had got no great footing; and when once the fire was got under, it was kept under, and on Thursday the flames were extinguished.

But on Wednesday night, when the people, late of London, now of the fields, hoped to get a little rest on the ground, where they had spread their beds, a more dreadful fear falls upon them than they had before, through a rumour that the French were coming armed against them to cut their throats, and spoil them of what they had saved out of the fire; they were now naked and weak, and in ill condition to defend themselves, and the hearts, especially of the females, do quake and tremble, and are ready to die within them; yet many citizens, having lost their houses, and almost all that they had, are fired with rage and fury: and they begin to stir up themselves like lions, or like bears bereaved of their whelps, and now 'arm! arm!' doth resound the fields and suburbs with a dreadful voice. We may guess at the distress and perplexity of the people this night, which was something alleviated when the falseness of the alarm was perceived.

"The ruins of the city were 396 acres: [viz. 333 acres within the walls, and 63 in the liberties of the city], of the six and twenty wards, it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered, and half burnt; and it consumed 400 streets, 13,200 dwelling houses, 89 churches, [besides chapels,] four of the city gates, Guild hall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries, and a vast number of stately edifices."*

The following relation is by the philosophic John Evelyn,† which will acquaint the reader with as much as can here be told of the most direful visatation the metropolis ever suffered.

* In a curious pamphlet, concerning the fire, which has been reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 282., is the following estimation of the value of the property destroyed. "The city, within the walls, being seated on about 460 acres, wherein were built about 15,000 houses, besides churches, chapels, schools, halls, &c. 12,000 houses were thought to be burnt, which is four parts in five, each house being valued, one with another, at 25l. per ann. rent, this, at twelve years purchase, makes 300l. the whole amounting to 3,600,000l. Eighty-seven parochial churches, besides St. Paul's cathedral, the Exchange, Guildhall, the Custom house, companies halls, and other public buildings, amounting to half as much, that is, 1,800,000l. The goods that every private man lost, one with another, valued at half the value of the houses, 1,800,000l. About twenty wharfs of coal and wood, valued at 1000l. a-piece, 20,000l. About 100,000 boats and barges; and 1000 cart loads, with portess, to remove the goods to and fro, as well for the houses that were burning as for those that stood in fear of it, at 20s. per load, 150,000l. In all, 7,370,000l." This calculation, in all probability, does not by any means approach to the extent of the loss. The city, properly so called, was, at that period, even more than at present, the very centre of trade, manufactures, and commerce, and in the confusion which was excited by the rapid progress of the flames, but comparatively few goods were preserved. The avenues of escape were, at times, completely choaked up, through the eagerness of the people to save every one their own; and "one while the gates were shut, that no hopes of saving any thing being left, [the people] might more desperately endeavour the quenching the fire, but that was presently found in vain, and occasioned the loss of much goods."

† Printed in his Diary recently edited by William Bray, Esq. F.S.A.

Sept. 2, 1666. This fatal night, about ten, began that deplorable fire near Fish-streete in London.

Sept 3. The fire continuing, after dinner I took coach with my wife and sonn, and went to the Bankside in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadful flames neare the water-side; all the houses from the bridge, all Thames-street, and upwards towards Cheapeside downe to the Three Cranes, were now consum'd.

The fire having continu'd all this night (if I may call that night which was as light as day for ten miles round about, after a dreadful manner,) when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very drie season: I went on foote to the same place, and saw the whole south part of the citty burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornehill, (for it kindl'd back against the wind as well as forward), Tower-streete, Fenchurch-streete, Gracious-street, and so along to Bainard's-castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paule's church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonish'd, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirr'd to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seene but crying out and lamentation, like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods, such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, publiq halls, exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house, and streete to streete, at greate distances one from the other; for the heate with a long set of faire and warme weather, had even ignited the air, and prepar'd the materials to conceive the fire which devour'd, after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and every thing. Here we saw the Thames cover'd with goods floating, all the barges and boates laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on the other, the carts, &c. carrying out to the field, which for many miles were strew'd with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh, the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as haply the world had not seene the like since the foundation of it, nor to be outdone till the universal conflagration. All the skie was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, the light seene above forty miles round about for many nights. God grant my eyes may never behold the like, now seeing above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like an hideous storme, and the aire all about so hot and inflam'd that at last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forc'd to stand still and let the flames burn on, which they did for neere two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds of smoke were dismall and reached, upon computation neer fifty miles in length. Thus I left it this after-

noone burning, a resemblance of Sodom or the last day. London was, but is no more!

Sept. 4. The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple, all Fleete-streete, the Old Bailey, Ludgate-hill, Warwick-lane, Newgate, Paul's Chain, Watling-streete, now flaming, and most of it reduc'd to ashes; the stones of Paules flew like granados, the melting lead running downe the streetes in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery rednesse, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopp'd all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The eastern wind still more impetuously drove the flames forward. Nothing but the almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vaine was the helpe of man.

Sept. 5. It crossed towards Whitehall; oh, the confusion there was then at that court! it pleased his majesty to command me among the rest to looke after the quenching of Fetter-lane end, to preserve, if possible, that part of Holborn, while the rest of the gentlemen tooke their several posts (for they now began to besti themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands acrosse), and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet ben made by the ordinary method of pulling them down with engines; this some stout seamen propos'd early enough to have sav'd neare the whole citty, but this some tenacious and avaritious men, aldermen, &c. would not permit, because their houses must have been of the first. It was therefore now commanded to be practic'd, and my concern being particularly for the hospital of St. Bartholomew neere Smithfield, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it, nor was my care for the Savoy lesse. It now pleased God, by abating the wind, and by the industry of the people, infusing a new spirit into them, that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noone, so as it came no farther than the Temple westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield north; but continu'd all this day and night so impetuous towards Cripplegate and the Tower, as made us all despaire: it also broke out againe in the Temple, but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soone made as with the former three days' consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing neere the burning and glowing ruines by neere a furlong's space.

The poore inhabitants were dispers'd about St. George's Fields and Moorefields, as far as Highgate, and severall miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or any necessary utensills, bed or board, who from delicatenesse, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnish'd houses, were now reduc'd to extreamest misery and poverty.

In this calamitous condition I return'd with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the mercy of God to me and mine, who in the midst of all this ruine was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

Sept. 7. I went this morning on foote from Whitehall as far as London-bridge, through the late Fleete-streete, Ludgate-hill, by St. Paules, Cheapside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorefields, thence thro' Cornehille, &c. with extraordinary difficulty clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was. The ground under my feete was so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the mean time, his majesty got to the Tower by water to demolish the houses about the graff; which being built intirely about it, had they taken fire and attack'd the White Tower, where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten downe and destroy'd all the bridge, but sunk and torne the vessells in the river, and render'd the demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the countrey.

"At my return I was infinitely concern'd to find that goodly church St. Paules now a sad ruine, and that beautiful portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repair'd by the king,) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining intire but the inscription in the architrave, shewing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defac'd. It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcin'd, so that all the ornaments, columns, freezes, and projectures of massie Portland stone flew off even to the very roofe, where a sheet of lead covering a great space was totally mealted; the ruines of the vaulted roofe falling, broke into St. Faith's, which being fill'd with the magazines of bookes belonging to the stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consum'd, burning for a weeke following.*

* Lord Clarendon says, that the loss sustained by the stationers' company "in books, paper, and other lesser commodities which are vendible in that corporation, was, and might rationally be, computed at no less than 200,000l."—"and if," he afterwards proceeds, "so vast a damage befel that little company in books and paper, and the like, what shall we conceive we lost in cloth, (of which the country clothiers lost all that they had brought up to Blackwell Hall, against Michaelmas, which was also burned with that fair structure,) in silks of all kinds, in linen, and those richer manufactures. Not to speak of money, plate, and jewels." When all the circumstances are considered, it can hardly be doubted but that the value of the property destroyed amounted to the vast sum of 10,000,000l. sterling.

The great loss sustained by the stationers and booksellers was attended by some remarkable circumstances. The immediate vicinity of St. Paul's was then, more particularly than at this time, the chief seat of the trade, and when the fire was making its approaches, "all those who dwelt near," says Clarendon, "carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's church, before the fire came thither: which vaults, though all the

It is also observable that the lead over the altar, at the east end, was untouch'd, and among the divers monuments, the body of one bishop remain'd intire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most antient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, besides neere one hundred more. The lead, yron worke, bells, plate, &c. mealted: the exquisitely wrought Mercers' chapell, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabriq of Christ church, all the companies halls, sumptuous buildings, arches, all in dust; the fountaines dried up and ruin'd, whilst the very waters remain'd boiling; the vorrago's of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did not see one load of timber unconsum'd, nor many stones but what were calcin'd white as snow. The people who now walk'd about the ruines appear'd like men in a dismal desart, or rather in some great citty laid waste by a cruel enemy; to which was added the stench that came from some poore creatures bodies, beds, &c. Sir Tho. Gresham's statue, tho' fallen from its nich in the Royal Exchange, remain'd intire, when all those of the kings since the conquest were broken to pieces, also the standard in Cornehill, and Q. Elizabeth's efligies, with some armes on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast yron chaines of the cittie streetes, hinges, bars and gates of prisons, were many of them mealted and reduced to cinders by the vehement heate. I was not able to passe through any of the narrow streetes, but kept the widest, the ground, and aire, smoake and fiery vapour, continu'd so intense, that my haire was almost sing'd, and my feete unsufferably surheated. The bie lanes and narrower streetes were quite fill'd up with rubbish, nor could one have knowne where he was, but by the ruines of some church or hall, that had some remarkable tower or pinnacle remaining I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where

church above the ground was afterwards burned, with all the houses round about, still stood firm and supported the foundation, and preserved all that was within them; until the impatience of those who had lost their houses, and whatsoever they had else in the fire, made them very desirous to see what they had saved, upon which all their hopes were founded, to repair the rest.

"It was the fourth day after the fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable heat, when the booksellers especially, and some other tradesmen, who had deposited all they had preserved in the greatest and most spacious vault, came to behold all their wealth, which to that moment was safe: but the doors were no sooner opened, and the air from without fanned the strong heat within, but first the dryest and most combustible matters broke into a flame, which consumed all, of what kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet they who had committed their goods to some lesser vaults, at a distance from the greater, had better fortune; and having learned from the second ruin of their friends to have more patience, attended till the rain fell, and extinguished the fire in all places, and cooled the air; and then they securely opened the doors, and received from thence what they had there."

one might have seene 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispers'd and lying along by their heapes of what they could save from the fire, deploring their losse, and tho' ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief; which to me appear'd a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His majesty and council indeede tooke all imaginable care for their reliefe, by proclamation for the country to come in and refresh them with provisions. In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarme begun, that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not onely landed, but even entering the citty. There was in truth some days before greate suspicion of those two nations joining; and now, that they had been the occasion of firing the towne. This report did so terrific, that on a suddaine there was such an uproare and tumult, that they ran from their goods, and, taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopp'd from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense or reason. The clamour and peril grew so excessive, that it made the whole court amaz'd, and they did with infinite paines and greate difficulty reduce and appease the people, sending troopes of soldiers and guards to cause them to retire into the fields againe, where they were watch'd all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repaire into the suburbs about the citty, where such as had friends or opportunity got shelter."

The following account of the fire of London by S. Pepys, Esq. will be found interesting :—

"Sept. 2. Lord's day. Some of our maids sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning to tell us of a great fire they saw in the city. So I rose and slipped on my night-gown, and went to her window, and thought to be on the back side of Marke-lane at the farthest, but being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off, and so went to bed again, and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was, and further off. So to my closet to set things to rights, after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish-street, by London-bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, sir J. Robinson's little son going up with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge; which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down with my heart full of trouble to

the lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the king's baker's house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned down St. Magnus church, and most part of Fish-street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house as far as the Old Swan already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Every body endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys, till they burned their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody to my sight endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods and leave all to the fire, and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the city; and every thing after so long a drought proving combustible, even the very stones of churches, and among other things, the poor steeple* by which pretty Mrs. —— lives; and whereof my schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down. I to White-hall (with a gentleman with me, who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire in my boat); and there up to the king's closet in the chapel, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried into the king. So I was called for, and did tell the king and duke of York what I saw, and that unless his majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the king commanded me to go to my lord mayor,† from him, and commanded him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The duke of York bid me tell him, that if he would have any more soldiers he shall; and so did my lord Arlington afterwards as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's and there walked along Watling-street as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sick people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my lord mayor in Canning-street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck To the king's message, he cried, like a fainting woman, 'Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses, but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it.' That he needed no more soldiers, and that, for

* St. Laurence Poultney, of which Thomas Elborough was curate.
† Sir Thomas Bludworth.

himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home; seeing people almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses too so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames-street; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. Here I saw Mr. Isaac Houblon, the handsome man, prettily dressed and dirty at his door at Dowgate, receiving some of his brother's things, whose houses were on fire; and, as he says, have been removed twice already; and he doubts (as it soon proved) that they must be in a little time removed from his house also, which was a sad consideration. And to see the churches all filling with goods by people, who themselves should have been quietly there at this time. By this time it was about twelve o'clock; and so home, and there find my guests, who were Mr. Wood and his wife, Barbary Sheldon, and also Mr. Moone: she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closet, and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be. While at dinner Mrs. Bateller come to inquire after Mr. Woolfe and Stanes (who, it seems, are related to them), whose houses in Fish-street are all burned, and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright. Soon as dined, I and Moone away, and walked through the city, the streets full of nothing but people, and horses and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another. They now removing out of Canning-street (which received goods in the morning) into Lumbard-street, and further: and among others, I now saw my little goldsmith Stokes receiving some friend's goods, whose house itself was burned the day after. We parted at Paul's; he home, and I to Paul's wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr. Carcasse and his brother, whom I met in the street, and carried them below and above bridge too. And again to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the king and duke of York in their barge, and with them to Queenhith, and there called sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge at the water-side; but little was or could be done, the fire coming upon them so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Buttolph's wharf below bridge, if care be used; but the wind carries it into the city, so as we know not by the water-side what it do there. River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water; and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but

there was a pair of virginalls* in it. Having seen as much as I could now, I away to White-hall by appointment, and there walked to St. James's park, and there met my wife and Creed, and Wood and his wife, and walked to my boat; and there upon the water again, and to the fire up and down, it still encreasing, and the wind great. So near the fire as we could for smoke; and all over the Thames, with one's faces in the wind, you were almost burned with a shower of fire-drops. This is very true; so as houses were burned by these drops and flakes of fire, three or four, nay, five or six houses, one from another. When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little ale-house on the Bank-side, over against the Three Cranes, and there staid till it was dark almost, and saw the fire grow, and as it grew darker, appeared more and more, and in corners, and upon steeples, and between churches and houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the city, in a most horrid malicious bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. Barbary and her husband away before us. We staid till it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long: it made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire, and flaming at once; and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruine. So home with a sad heart, and there find every body discoursing and lamenting the fire: and poor Tom Hater come with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which was burned upon Fish-street-hill. I invited him to lie at my house, and did receive his goods, but was deceived in his lying there, the news coming every moment of the growth of the fire; so as we were forced to begin to pack up our own goods, and prepare for their removal; and did by moonshine (it being brave dry and moonshine, and warm weather) carry much of my goods into the garden, and Mr. Hater and I did remove my money and iron chests into my cellar, as thinking that the safest place. And got my bags of gold into my office, ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts also there, and my tallies into a box by themselves. So great was our fear, as sir W. Batten hath carts come out of the country to fetch away his goods this night. We did put Mr. Hater, poor man, to bed a little; but he got but very little rest, so much noise being in my house, taking down of goods.

3rd. About four o'clock in the morning, my Lady Batten sent me a cart to carry away all my money, and plate, and best things, to sir W. Rider's, at Bednall-green. Which I did, riding myself in my nightgown in the cart; and, Lord! to see how the streets and the high ways are crowded with people running and riding, and getting of carts at any rate to fetch away things. I find sir W. Rider tired with being called up all night, and receiving things

* A sort of spinett, so called (according to Johnson) from young women playing upon it.

from several friends. His house full of goods, and much of sir W. Batten's and sir W. Pen's. I am eased at my heart to have my treasure so well secured. Then home, and with much ado to find a way, nor any sleep all this night to me nor my poor wife. But then all this day she and I, and all my people labouring, to get away the rest of our things, and did get Mr. Tooker to get me a lighter to take them in, and we did get them (myself some) over Tower-hill, which was by this time full of people's goods, bringing their goods thither; and down to the lighter, which lay at the next quay above the Tower Dock. And here was my neighbour's wife Mrs. ——, with her pretty child, and some few of her things, which I did willingly give way to be saved with mine; but there was no passing with any thing through the postern, the crowd was so great. The duke of York came this day by the office, and spoke to us and did ride with his guard up and down the city to keep all quiet (he being now general, and having the care of all). This day, Mercer being not at home, but against her mistress's order gone to her mother's, and my wife going thither to speak with W. Hewer, beat her there, and was angry; and her mother saying that she was not a 'prentice girl, to ask leave every time she goes abroad, my wife with good reason was angry; and when she come home bid her begone again. And so she went away, which troubled me, but yet less than it would, because of the condition we are in, in fear of coming in a little time to being less able to keep one in her quality. At night lay down a little upon a quilt of W. Hewer's, in the office, all my own things being packed up or gone; and after me my poor wife did the like, we having fed upon the remains of yesterday's dinner, having no fire nor dishes, nor any opportunity of dressing any thing.

"4th. Up by break of day, to get away the remainder of my things, which I did by a lighter at the Iron gate; and my hands so full, that it was the afternoon before we could get them all away. Sir W. Pen and I to the Tower-street, and there met the fire burning three or four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trays and dishes, and shovells, &c. were flung all along Tower-street in the kennels, and people working therewith from one end to the other; the fire coming on in that narrow street on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening sir W. Pen and I did dig another, and put our wine in it; and I my Parmazan cheese, as well as my wine and some other things. The duke of York was at the office this day, at sir W. Pen's; but I happened not to be within. This afternoon, sitting melancholy with sir W. Pen in our garden, and thinking of the certain burning of this office, without extraordinary means, I did propose for the sending up of all our workmen from the Woolwich and Deptford yards

(none whereof yet appeared), and to write to sir W. Coventry to have the duke of York's permission to pull down houses, rather than lose this office, which would much injure the king's business. So sir W. Pen went down this night, in order to the sending them up to-morrow morning; and I wrote to sir W. Coventry about the business, but received no answer. This night Mrs. Turner (who poor woman was removing her goods all this day, good goods into the garden, and knows not how to dispose of them), and her husband supped with my wife and me at night, in the office, upon a shoulder of mutton from the cook's, without any napkin, or any thing in a sad manner, but were merry. Only now and then walking into the garden, saw how horribly the sky looks, all on a fire in the night, was enough to put us out of our wits; and, indeed, it was extremely dreadful, for it looked just as if it was at us, and the whole heaven on fire. I after supper walked in the dark down to Tower-street, and there saw it all on fire; at the Trinity-house on that side, and the Dolphin tavern on this side, which was very near us, and the fire with extraordinary vehemence. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower-street, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more than any thing; but it stopped the fire where it was done, it bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled nothing almost. W. Hewer went this day to see how his mother did, and comes late home, telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in Pye-corner being burned so that the fire is got so far that way, and to the Old Bayly, and was running down to Fleet-street, and Paul's is burned, and all Cheapside. I wrote to my father this night, but the post-office being burned, the letter could not go.

"5th. I lay down in this office again upon Mr. W. Hewer's quilt, being mighty weary, and sore in my feet, with going till I was hardly able to stand. About two in the morning my wife calls me up, and tells me of new cryes of fire, it being come to Barking Church, which is the bottom of our lane.* I up, and finding it so, resolved presently to take her away, and did, and took my gold, which was about 2,350*l.* W. Hewer and Jane down by Proundy's boat to Woolwich; but Lord! what a sad sight it was by moonlight to see the whole city almost on fire, that you might see it plain at Woolwich, as if you were by it. There, when I come, I find the gates shut, but no guard kept at all; which troubled me, because of discourses now begun, that there is a plot in it, and that the French had done it. I got the gates open, and to Mr. Shelden's, where I locked up my gold, and charged my wife and W. Hewer never to leave the room without one of them in it night nor day. So back again, by the way seeing my goods well in the lighters at

* Seething-lane.

Deptford, and watched well by people home, and whereas I expected to have seen our house on fire, it being now about seven o'clock, it was not. But to the fire, and there find greater hopes than I expected; for my confidence of finding our office on fire was such, that I durst not ask any body how it was with us, till I come and saw it was not burned. But going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great help given by the workmen out of the king's yards, sent up by sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well at Marke-lane end, as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw; every where great fires, oyle cellars and brimstone, and other things, burning, I became afraid to stay there long, and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it; and to sir W. Pen's, and there eat a piece of cold meat, having eaten nothing* since Sunday but the remains of Sunday's dinner. Here I met with Mr. Young and Whistler, and having removed all my things, and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walked into the town, and find Fanchurch-street, Gracious-street, and Lumbard-street, all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Into Moorefields (our feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coals), and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and every body keeping his goods together by themselves (and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day); drunk there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside and Newgate-market, all burned, and seen Anthony Joyce's house in fire. And took up (which I keep by me) a piece of glass of Mercers' chapel, in the street, where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat of the fire, like parchment; I also did see a poor cat taken out of a hole in the chimney, joyning to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burnt off the body, and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight; though when rose I heard that there had been a great alarm of French and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week.

"6th. Up about five o'clock, and met Mr. Gauden at the gate

* He forgot the shoulder of mutton from the cook's the day before

of the office (I intending to go out, as I used, every now and then to-day, to see how the fire is), to call our men to Bishop's-gate, where no fire had yet been near, and there is now one broke out; which did give great grounds to people and to me too to think that there was a kind of plot in this (on which many by this time have been taken, and it hath been dangerous for any stranger to walk in the streets), but I went with the men, and we did put it out in a little time, so that that was well again. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the cannells, sweeping of water; but then they should scold for drink, and be as drunk as devils. I saw good butts of sugar broke open the street, and people give and take handsfull out, and put into beer, and drink it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat, and over to Southwarke, and took boat on the other side the bridge, and so to Westminster, thinking to shift myself, being all in dirt from top to bottom; but could not then find any place to buy a shirt or a pair of gloves, Westminster-hall being full of people's goods, those in Westminster having removed all their goods, and the exchequer money put into vessels to carry to Nonsuch,* but to the Swan, and there was trimmed: and then to White-hall, but saw nobody; and so home. A sad sight to see how the river looks; no houses nor church near it, where it stopped. At home did go with sir W. Batten and our neighbour Knightly (who, with one more, was the only man of any fashion left in all the neighbourhood thereabouts, they all removing their goods, and leaving their houses to the mercy of the fire) to sir R. Ford's, and there dined in an earthen platter—a fried breast of mutton; a great many of us, but very merry, and indeed as good a meal, though as ugly a one as ever I had in my life. Thence down to Deptford, and there with great satisfaction landed all my goods at Sir G. Carteret's safe, and nothing missed I could see or hear. This being done to my great content, I home, to sir W. Batten's, and there with sir R. Ford, Mr. Knightley, and one Withers, a professed lying rogue, supped well, and mighty merry, and our fears over. From them to the office, and there slept with the office full of labourers, who talked and slept and walked all night long there. But strange it is to see Clothworkers' hall on fire, these three days and nights in one body of flame, it being the cellar full of oyle.

"7th. Up by five o'clock; and, blessed be God! find all well; and by water to Paul's wharf. Walked thence, and saw all the towne burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Fayth's; Paul's school also, Ludgate, and Fleet-street. My father's house, and the church, and a good part of the Temple the like. So to Creed's lodging, near the new Exchange, and there find him laid down upon a bed; the house all unfurnished, there being fears of

* Nonsuch House, near Epsom, where the Exchequer had been formerly kept.

the fires coming to them. There borrowed a shirt of him and washed. To sir W. Coventry at St. James's, who lay without curtains, having removed all his goods; as the king at Whitehall, and every one had done, and was doing. He hopes we shall have no public distractions upon this fire, which is what every body fears, because of the talk of the French having a hand in it. And it is a proper time for discontents; but all men's minds are full of care to protect themselves, and save their goods; the militia is in arms every where. Our fleetes, he tells me, have been in sight one of another, and most unhappily by fowle weather were parted, to our great loss, as in reason they do conclude; the Dutch being come out only to make a shew, and please their people; but in very bad condition as to stores, victuals, and men. They are at Boulogne, and our fleete come to St. Ellen's. We have got nothing, but have lost one ship, but he knows not what. Thence to the Swan, and there drank; and so home, and find all well. My lord Brouncker, at sir W. Batten's, tells us the generall is sent for up, to come to advise with the king about business at this juncture, and to keep all quiet; which is great honour to him, but I am sure is but a piece of dissimulation. So home, and did give orders for my house to be made clean, and then down to Woolwich, and there find all well. Dined, and Mrs. Markham come to see my wife. This day our merchants first met at Gresham college, which by proclamation is to be their Exchange. Strange to hear what is bid for houses all up and down here; a friend of sir W. Rider's having 150l. for what he used to let for 40l. per ann. Much dispute where the Custom-house shall be, thereby the growth of the city again to be foreseen. My lord treasurer, they say, and others, would have it at the other end of the town. I home late, to sir W. Pen's who did give me a bed; but without curtains or hangings, all being down. So here I went the first time into a naked bed, only my drawers on; and did sleep pretty well, but still both sleeping and waking, had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took little rest. People do all the world over cry out of the simplicity of my lord mayor in generall; and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him. A proclamation is come out for markets to be kept at Leadenhall and Mile-end green, and several other places about the town; and Tower-hill, and all churches to be set open to receive poor people."*

The destructive fury of this conflagration was never, perhaps, exceeded in any part of the world, by any fire originating in accident. Within the walls, it consumed almost five-sixths of the whole city; and without the walls, it cleared a space nearly as extensive as the one-sixth part left unburnt within. Scarcely a single building that came within the range of the flames was left stand-

* Pepys' Diary, i. 445—456.

ing. Public buildings, churches, and dwelling houses were alike involved in one common fate; and, making a proper allowance for irregularities, it may be fairly stated, that the fire extended its ravages over a space of ground equal to an oblong square, measuring upwards of a mile in length, and a half a mile in breadth.

In the summary account of this vast devastation given in one of the inscriptions on the Monument, and which was drawn up from the reports of the surveyors appointed after the fire, it is stated, that 'The ruins of the city were 436 acres; [viz. 273 acres within the walls, and sixty-three in the liberties of the city;] that, of the six and twenty wards, it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and half burnt; and that it consumed 400 streets, 13,200 dwelling-houses, eighty-nine churches, (besides chapels;) the city-gates, Guildhall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries, and a vast number of stately edifices.'

The immense property destroyed in this dreadful time could never be properly calculated. Lord Clarendon says, "The value or estimate of what that devouring fire consumed, could never be computed in any degree: for besides that on the first night, which swept away the vast wealth of Thames-street, there was not any thing that could be preserved in respect to the suddenness and amazement, all people being in their beds till the fire was in their houses, and so could save nothing but themselves; the next day, with the violence of the wind, the destruction increased; nor did many believe that the fire was near them, or that they had reason to remove their goods, till it was upon them and rendered it impossible."*

The loss of merchandize was immense; and the houses of "very many of the substantial citizens and other wealthy men, who were in the country," were wholly destroyed, with all that they contained. "And of this class of absent men, when the fire came where the lawyers had houses, as they had in many places, especially Serjeants Inn, in Fleet-street, with that part of the Inner Temple that was next it and White Friars, there was scarce a man to whom those lodgings appertained who was in town: so that whatsoever was there, their money, books, and papers, besides the evidences of many men's estates, deposited in their hands, were all burned or lost, to a very great value."†

Whether the fire of London, as this tremendous conflagration has been emphatically denominated, were the effect of design, or of accident, is a question that has been productive of much controversy.

There was a general and strong belief among the people, that the burning of the city was a concerted scheme; and there

* Clar. Life, p. 355. † Ibid.

are many circumstances on record which certainly combine to establish belief, that this destruction of the city was preconcerted by the papists: yet, on a dispassionate consideration of all the circumstances, we must acquit them of so foul a crime.

Lord Clarendon informs us, that "Monday morning produced first a jealousy, and then an universal conclusion, that this fire came not by chance, nor did they care where it began; but the breaking out in several places at so great distance from each other made it evident, that it was by conspiracy and combination: and this determination could not hold long without discovery of the wicked authors, who were concluded to be all the Dutch and all the French in the town, though they had inhabited the same places above twenty years. All of that kind, or, if they were strangers, of what nation soever, were laid hold of; and after all the ill usage that can consist in words, and some blows and kicks, they were thrown into prison. And shortly after, the same conclusion comprehended all the Roman Catholics, who were in the same predicament of guilt and danger, and quickly found that their only safety consisted in keeping within doors; and yet some of them, and of quality, were taken by force out of their house, and carried to prison.

When this rage spread as far as the fire, and every hour brought in reports of some bloody effects of it, worse than in truth they were, the king distributed many of the privy council into several quarters of the city, to prevent, by their authorities, those inhumanities which he heard were committed. In the mean time, even they, or any other person, thought it not safe to declare, 'that they believed that the fire came by accident, or that it was not a plot of the Dutch and the French papists, to burn the city;' which was so generally believed, and in the best company, that he who said the contrary was suspected for a conspirator, or at best a favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a house that was distant a mile from any part of the fire could suddenly be in a flame, without some particular malice; and this case fell out every hour. When a man at the farthest end of Bread-street had made a shift to get out of his house his best and most portable goods, because the fire had approached near them, he no sooner had secured them, as he thought, in some friend's house in Holborn, which was believed a safe distance, but he saw that very house, and none else near it, in a sudden flame: nor did there want, in this woeful distemper, the testimony of witnesses who saw this villainy committed, and apprehended men who they were ready to swear threw fire-balls into houses, which were presently burning.*

"There was a very odd accident that confirmed many in what they were inclined to believe, and startled others who thought

* Clar. Life, p. 349.

the conspiracy impossible, since no combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that mischief, in which the immediate hand of God was so visible. Amongst many Frenchmen who had been sent to Newgate, there was one Hubert, a young man of five or six-and-twenty years of age, the son of a famous watch-maker in the city of Rouen; and this fellow had wrought in the same profession with several men in London, and had for many years, both in Rouen and in London, been looked upon as distracted. This man confessed, 'that he had set the first house on fire, and that he had been hired in Paris a year before to do it: that there were three more combined with him to do the same thing, and that they came over together into England to put it into execution in the time of the plague; but when they were in London, he and two of his companions went into Sweden, and returned from thence in the latter end of August, and he resolved to undertake it; and that the two others went away into France.'

"The whole examination was so senseless, that the chief justice (Keeling), who was not looked upon as a man who wanted rigour, did not believe any thing he said. He was asked, 'who it was in Paris that suborned him to this action?' to which he answered 'that he did not know, having never seen him before;' and in enlarging upon that point, he contradicted himself in many particulars. Being asked, 'what money he had received to perform a service of so much hazard,' he said, 'he had received but a pistole, but was promised five pistoles more when he should have done his work;' and many such unreasonable things, that nobody present credited any thing he said. However, they durst not slight the evidence, but put him to a particular, in which he so fully confirmed all that he had said before that they were all surprized with wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, 'if he knew the place where he first put fire;' he answered, 'that he knew it very well, and would shew it to any body.' Upon this the chief justice, and many aldermen who sate with him, sent a guard of substantial citizens with the prisoner, that he might shew them the house; and they first led him to a place at some distance from it, and asked him, 'if that were it?' to which he answered presently, 'no, it was lower, nearer to the Thames.' The house and all which were near it, were so covered and buried in ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could very hardly have said where their own houses had stood: but this man led them directly to the place, described how it stood, the shape of the little yard, the fashion of the door and windows, and where he first put the fire; and all this with such exactness, that they who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all particulars

This silenced all further doubts. And though the chief justice

told the king, 'that all his discourse was so disjointed that he did not believe him guilty;' nor was there one man who prosecuted or accused him; yet upon his own confession, and so sensible a relation of all that he had done, accompanied with so many circumstances, (though without the least shew of compunction or sorrow for what he said he had done, nor yet seeming to justify or take delight in it; but being asked whether he was not sorry for the wickedness, and whether to do so much, he gave no answer at all, or made reply to what was said; and with the same temper died,) the jury found him guilty, and he was executed accordingly. And though no man could imagine any reason why a man should so desperately throw away his life, which he might have saved, though he had been guilty, since he was only accused upon his own confession; yet neither the judges, nor any present at the trial, did believe him guilty, but that he was a poor distracted wretch weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way. Certain it is, that upon the strictest examination that could be afterwards made by the king's command, and then by the diligence of parliament, that upon the jealousy and rumour made a committee, who were very diligent and solicitous to make that discovery, there was never any probable evidence, (that poor creature's only excepted,) that there was any other cause of that woeful fire, than the displeasure of God Almighty: the first accident of the beginning in a baker's house, where there was so great a stock of faggots, and the neighbourhood of much combustible matter, of pitch and rosin, and the like, led it in an instant from house to house through Thames-street, with the agitation of so terrible a wind to scatter and disperse it."*

In regard to Hubert, who, as Lord Clarendon admits, was perfectly consistent in all that respected the fire, the committee subjected him to a similar experiment to that he had made with 'a guard of substantial citizens,' and, "Hubert, with more readiness than those that were well acquainted with the place, went to Pudding-lane, unto the very place where the house that was first fired, stood, saying, 'Here stood the house.'"† He also confessed, that "there were three-and-twenty complices whereof Peidlow was the chief."‡ Peidlow was a fellow-countryman, who had come to England in a Swedish vessel with Hubert, and landing with him "on that Saturday night in which the fire broke out," they both proceeded to Pudding-lane, where "Peidlow did fix 'vo fire-balls to a long pole, and put them into a window, and then he, the said Robert Hubert did fire one in the same manner, and put it in at the same window."§

Pepys, also, in his diary says, "I enquired about the Frenchman that was said to fire the city, and was hanged for it by his

* [illegible] Life, p. 350.
† A true and faithful acc[illegible] p. 8.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. p. 1[illegible]

own confession, that he was hired for it by a Frenchman of Roane, and that he did with a stick reach in a fire-ball in at a window of the house; whereas the master of the house, who is the king's baker, and his son, and daughter, do all swear there was no such window, and that the fire did not begin thereabouts. Yet the fellow, who, though a mopish besotted fellow, did not speak like a madman, did swear that he did fire it; and did not this like a madman: for being tried on purpose, and landed with his keeper at the Tower wharf, he could carry the keeper to the very house."*

Hubert's confession was, to a certain extent, corroborated by the evidence of Farryner, the baker, who stated to the committee that "it was impossible it should happen in his house by accident; for he had, after twelve of the clock that night, gone through every room thereof, and found no fire but in one chimney, where the room was paved with bricks, which fire he diligently raked up in embers. He was then asked whether 'no window or door might let in wind to disturb those coals?' He affirmed there was no possibility for any wind to disturb them; and that it was absolutely set on fire on purpose."†

In addition to the presumed insanity of Hubert, another ground has been taken to destroy the effect of his confession; and which, indeed, were it properly substantiated, would be most decisive. This will be found in Echard, who states, that "Laurence Peterson, the master of the ship that brought Hubert over [from Stockholm], upon his examination some time after, declared, that the said Hubert did not land till two days after the fire."‡ If this is to be depended on, we must doubt Lord Clarendon's statement, respecting his pointing out the site of the house when the fire commenced, and thus negative the idea that the city was set on fire purposely.

Mr. Brayley remarks, "that Bishop Burnet has some singular passages relating to the city having been intentionally burnt, though he concludes with saying, 'that the diversity of opinions was so great that he must leave the matter under the same uncertainty in which he found it.' He states, that after the English had burnt the Isle of Ely, "some came to De Witt," whom Mr. Fox has characterized as 'the wisest, best, and most truly patriotic minister that ever appeared upon the public stage:'§ and "offered a revenge, that if they were assisted, 'they would set London on fire:' but he rejected the proposition, and said that he would not make the breach wider, nor the quarrel irreconcileable. —He made no further reflections on the matter till the city was burnt; then he began to suspect there had been a design, and that they had intended to draw him into it, and to lay the odium of it

* Pepys' Diary, ii. 21,
‡ Hist. of England
† Clar. Life, p. 9.
§ Life of James II.

upon the Dutch; but he could hear no news of those who had sent that proposition to him."*

Burnet says of Hubert, that "he was a French Papist, seized on in Essex, as he was getting out of the way in great confusion. He confessed he had begun the fire, and persisted in his confession to his death; for he was hanged upon no other evidence but that of his own confession. It is true, he gave so broken an account of the whole matter, that he was thought mad; yet he was blindfolded, and carried to several places of the city, and then his eyes being opened, he was asked if that was the place: and he being carried to wrong places, after he had looked round about for some time, he said that was not the place; but when he was brought to the place where it first broke out, he affirmed that was the true place. And Tillotson told me, that Howell, then the recorder of London, was with him, and had much discourse with him; and that he concluded it was impossible that it could be a melancholy dream. The horror of the fact, and the terror of death, and perhaps some engagements in confession, might put him in such disorder, that it was not possible to draw a clear account of any thing from him but of what related to himself. Tillotson believed that the city was burnt on design."†

The report made to the house of commons, concludes with the following very singular sentence:—"I [the chairman] had order from the committee to acquaint you, that we traced several persons apprehended upon strong suspicion (during the fire) to the guards, but could not make further discovery of them."‡

Amidst all the confusion and multiplied dangers that arose from the fire, it does not appear that more than six persons lost their lives; and of these, two or three met their deaths through being too venturesome in going over the ruins, and thus 'sinking into vaults beneath their feet,' perished horribly.§

Whilst the city lay in ruins, various temporary edifices were raised for the public accommodation; both in respect to divine worship, and to general business. Gresham college, which had escaped the flames, was converted into an Exchange and Guildhall; and the Royal Society removed its sittings to Arundel House. The affairs of the Custom-house were transacted in Mark-lane; the business of the Excise-office was carried on in Southampton-fields, near Bedford-house; the General Post-office was removed to Brydges-street, Covent Garden; the offices of Doctors' Commons were held at Exeter-house, in the Strand; and the king's wardrobe was consigned from Puddle Wharf to York-buildings. The inhabitants, for a time, were mostly lodged in small huts, built in Finsbury and Moor-fields, in Smithfield, and on all the open spaces in the vicinity of the metropolis.

* Burnet's Hist. of his own time, i. 230.
† Ibid.
‡ True and Faithful Acc. p. 10.
§ Brayley's London, i. 432.

As soon as the general consternation had subsided, the rebuilding of the city became the first object of consideration. On the thirteenth of September, the king held a court of privy council at Whitehall, in which many judicious regulations were determined on, for "the immediate re-edification of the city, both for use and beauty;" so "that it should rather appear to the world as purged with the fire, (in how lamentable a manner soever) to a wonderful beauty and comeliness, than consumed by it."*

The proclamation that was issued in consequence, after reciting the circumstances of the fire, as a punishment from heaven, &c. proceeds to lay down some general rules for constructing a new and more beautiful city; some of which would be of essential use among the improvements of the present period.

"In the first place, the woeful experience in this late heavy visitation hath sufficiently convinced all men of the pernicious consequences which have attended the building with timber, and even with stone itself, and the notable benefit of brick, which in so many places hath resisted, and even extinguished the fire; and we do therefore hereby declare our express will and pleasure that no man whatsoever shall presume to erect any house or building, great or small, but of brick or stone; and if any man shall do the contrary, the next magistrate shall forthwith cause it to be pulled down, and such further course shall be taken for his punishment as he deserves; and we suppose that the notable benefit many men have rendered from those cellars which have been well and strongly arched, will persuade most men who built good houses to practice that good husbandry, by arching all convenient places.

"We do declare that Fleet-street, Cheapside, Cornhill, and all other eminent and notorious streets, shall be of such a breadth, as may with God's blessing prevent the mischief that one side may suffer if the other be on fire, which was the case lately in Cheapside; the precise breadth of which several streets shall be, upon advice with the lord mayor and aldermen, shortly published, with many other particular orders and rules which cannot be adjusted; in the mean time we resolve, though all the streets cannot be of equal breadth, yet none shall be so narrow as to make the passage uneasy or inconvenient, especially towards the water-side: nor will we suffer any lanes or alleys to be erected but where, upon mature deliberation, the same shall be found absolutely necessary; except such places shall be set aside which shall be designed only for building of that kind, and from whence no public mischief may probably arise.

"The irreparable damage and loss by the late fire, being next to the hand of God in the terrible wind, to be imputed to the

* "29th (March, 1667) the great streets in the city are marked out with piles drove into the ground; and if ever it be built in that form with so fair streets, it will be a noble sight.—*Pepys' Diary*, ii. 33.

place in which it first broke out, amongst small timber houses, standing so close together, that as no remedy could be applied from the river for the quenching thereof, to the contiguousness of the buildings, hindering and keeping all possible relief from the land side: we do resolve and declare, that there shall be a fair key or wharf on all the river side; that no house shall be erected within so many feet of the river, as shall be within a few days declared in the rules formerly mentioned; nor shall there be in those buildings which shall be erected next the river, which we desire may be fair structures for the ornament of the city, any houses to be inhabited by the brewers or dyers, or sugar bakers, which trades, by their continual smoak, contribute much to the unhealthfulness of the adjacent places; but we require the lord mayor and aldermen of London, upon a full consideration, and weighing all conveniences and inconveniences that can be forthseen, to propose such a place as may be fit for all those trades which are carried on by smoak, to inhabit together; or at least several places for the several quarters of the town for those occupations, and in which they shall find their account in convenience and profit, as well as other places shall receive the benefit in the distance of the neighbourhood; it being our purpose that they who exercise those necessary professions, shall be in all respects as well provided for and encouraged as ever they had been, and undergo as little prejudice as may be by being less inconvenient to their neighbours.

"The grounds and foundations being laid, from the substance whereof we shall not depart, and which being published are sufficient to prevent any man's running into, or bringing any inconvenience upon himself, by a precipitate engagement in any act which may cross these foundations, we have, in order to the reducing this great and gracious design into practice, directed, and we do hereby direct, that the lord mayor and court of aldermen do with all possible expedition, cause an exact survey to be made and taken of the whole ruins occasioned by the late lamentable fire, to the end that it may appear to whom all the houses and ground did in truth belong, what terms the several occupiers are possessed of, and at what rents, and to whom either corporations, companies, or single persons, the reversion and inheritance appertained; that some provision may be made, that though every man must not be suffered to erect what buildings and where he pleases, he shall not in any degree be debarred from receiving the reasonable benefit of what ought to accrue to him from such houses or lands; there being nothing less in our thoughts than that any particular person's right and interest should be sacrificed to the public benefit or convenience, without any such recompence, as in justice he ought to receive for the same. And when all things of this kind shall be prepared and adjusted by such commissioners, and otherwise which shall be found expedient, we make no doubt that such an

act of parliament will pass as shall secure all men in what they shall and ought to possess.

"By the time that this survey shall be taken, we shall cause a plot or model to be made for the whole building through these ruined places; which being well examined by all those persons who have most concernment as well as experience, we make no question but all men will be pleased with it, and conform to those orders and rules which shall be agreed for the pursuing thereof.

"In the mean time we do heartily recommend it to the charity and magnanimity of all well disposed persons, and we do heartily pray unto Almighty God that he will infuse it into the hearts of men speedily to endeavour, by degrees, to re-edify some of those many churches which in this lamentable fire have been burnt down and defaced, that so men may have those public places of God's worship to resort to, to humble themselves together before him upon this heavy displeasure, and join in their devotion for his future mercy and blessing upon us; and as soon as we shall be informed of any readiness to begin such a good work, we shall not only give our assistance and direction for the model of it, and freeing it from buildings at too near a distance, but shall encourage it from our own bounty, and all other ways we shall be desired.

"Lastly, that we may encourage men by our example, we will use all the expedition we can to rebuild our Custom House in the place where it formerly stood, and enlarge it with the most conveniences for the merchants that can be devised; and upon all other lands which belong unto us, we shall depart with any thing of our own right and benefit for the advancement of the public service and beauty of the city; and shall further remit to all those who shall erect any building according to this declaration, all duties arising to us upon the hearth money for the space of seven years.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 13th day of September, 1666, in the eighteenth year of our reign."

Accordant with the munificent endeavours used by the king for renovating the city, the parliament was convened with all possible dispatch, and on the 18th of this month, passed an act for erecting a court of judicature, by which was to be determined all differences between landlords and tenants respecting houses and buildings demolished by the late fire, and the justices of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and the barons of the Exchequer, were appointed to be of the said court. The integrity and impartiality with which the judges conducted themselves, induced the citizens, in token of their gratitude, to cause the portraits of those virtuous men, to be hung up in Guildhall, as monuments of their great merit; but the service has so long elapsed, that the benefactors are nearly forgotten, and the portraits are

mouldering into rottenness. A sad reflection on those to whom their preservation should have been a primary object.

The decisions of the judges were followed by an act of parliament for rebuilding the city; in which proper directions were given "how the houses should be constructed, and for the regulation of builders; for granting the corporation powers to open and enlarge the streets and lanes; for appointing an annual fast on the day the fire broke out; for erecting a column of brass or stone on the spot where it began, with a proper inscription to perpetuate the memory of the disaster; and for imposing a duty of one shilling per chaldron or ton, on coals for ten years, towards defraying the necessary expences of carrying the said act into execution."

The common council, on the 29th of April, 1667, also passed an act, in which they allotted what streets should be enlarged and widened, and to what respective widths they should be opened; and agreeably to the act of parliament, the following order was immediately framed, and presented to his majesty, who so highly approved of it, that, on the 8th of May following, he confirmed and enforced it by an order of council:—

"It is ordered that the surveyors take special care, that the breast summers of all the houses do range of an equal heighth, house with house, so far as shall be convenient, and there to make breaks by directions.

"And that they do encourage and give directions to all builders for ornament sake, that the ornaments and projections of the front buildings be of rubbed bricks; and that all naked parts of the walls may be done of rough bricks, neatly wrought, or all rubbed at the direction of the builders, who may otherwise enrich their fronts as they please.

"That if any person or persons shall desire, in any street or lane of note, to build on each side of the lane, opposite one to the other, six or more houses of the third rate, or that the upper rooms or garrets may be flat roofs, encompassed with battlements of bricks covered with stone, or rails, and bannisters of iron or stone, or to vary their roofs for the greater ornament of building; the surveyors, or one of them, shall certify their opinions therein to the committee for rebuilding, who shall have liberty to give leave for the same, if they see cause.

"That in all streets no sign posts shall hang across, but signs shall be fixed against the balconies, or some other convenient part of the side of the house.

"It is ordered, that a postern shall be made on the north side of Newgate, for conveniency of foot passengers; and that Holborn-bridge shall be enlarged to run strait on a bevel line from the timber house on the north side thereof, known by the sign of the Cock, to the front of the building at the Swan inn, on the north side of Holborn-hill.

"Forasmuch as it is provided in the late act for rebuilding, that the surveyors shall take care for the equal setting out of all party walls and piers, and no person be permitted to build till that be done; therefore, for preservation of any exaction in the taking of such surveys, and of all quarrels and contentions that may arise between the builders, it is ordered, that no builder shall lay his foundation, until the surveyors, or one of them (according to the act) shall view it, and see the party-wall and piers equally set out; and that all persons observe the surveyors' directions concerning the superstructure to be erected over the said foundation.

"And that, for defraying that and all other incident charges of measuring, staking out, taking the level, and surveying the streets and ground, each builder, before he lays his foundation, and such survey shall be taken, do repair to the chamber of London, and there enter his name, with the place where his building is to be set out, and to pay to the chamberlain the sum of six shillings and eight-pence for every foundation to be rebuilt. For which Mr. Chamberlain shall give acquittances; upon receipt of which acquittances, the surveyors shall proceed to set out such person's foundations.

"And it is ordered, that all persons who have already laid any foundations, shall forthwith pay into the chamber of London six shillings and eight-pence for every foundation.

"And this court is consenting and desirous that all straight and narrow passages, which shall be found convenient for common benefit and accommodation, and shall receive his majesty's order and approbation, shall and may be enlarged and made wider, and otherwise altered, before the 20th of May now next ensuing, as shall be fitting for the beauty, ornament, and conveniency thereof, and staked and set out accordingly.

"Several late inhabitants of Fleet-street intending to rebuild their houses, which did formerly stand backward of other foundations near adjoining, and desiring liberty to advance their houses, that the whole front may run on a straight line; the committee did agree to the same, if the right honourable the lord high chancellor of England and the other lords shall approve thereof, and procure his majesty's approbation to the same: and the committee do desire liberty may be given for other persons in other places where it shall be found convenient.

"And it is ordered, that the committee for rebuilding do present the particulars aforesaid to the right honourable the lord high chancellor of England and the other lords, and that the same, if they receive his majesty's approbation, shall be forthwith printed and published.

"Which being this day represented to the board by the right honourable the lord high chancellor of England, the same was approved of: and it was ordered that the same be punctually observed in every part thereof. And all persons concerned are

required and commanded to yield due obedience, and conform themselves thereunto."

And about the same time, an act of common-council was passed for preventing and suppressing of fires for the future; in which, among other things, it was enacted,

"1. That the city be divided into four divisions, and each thereof be provided with eight hundred leathern buckets, fifty ladders of different sizes, from twelve to forty-two feet in length, two brazen hand-squirts to each parish, twenty-four pick-axe sledges, and forty shod shovels.

"2. That each of the twelve companies provide themselves with an engine, thirty buckets, three ladders, six pick-axe sledges, and two hand-squirts, to be ready upon all occasions. And the inferior companies, such a number of small engines and buckets, as should be allotted them by the lord mayor and court of aldermen, according to their respective abilities.

"3. That the aldermen, passed the office of sheriffalty, do provide their several houses with twenty-four buckets, and one hand squirt each; and those who have not served that office, twelve buckets and one hand-squirt.

"4. And, for the effectual supplying the engines and squirts with water, that pumps be placed in all wells; and fire-plugs in the several main pipes belonging to the New River and Thames water-works.

"5. That the several companies of carpenters, bricklayers, plaisterers, painters, masons, smiths, plumbers, and paviours, do annually, for each corporation, elect two master workmen, four journeymen, eight apprentices, and sixteen labourers, to be ready, upon all occasions of fire, to attend the lord mayor and sheriffs for extinguishing the same.

6. That all the workmen and labourers belonging to the several water-works within the city, sea coal meters, Blackwell-hall, Leadenhall, ticket, package, and other porters, do constantly attend the lord mayor and sheriffs in all such services."

The citizens of London laboured but a short time under the inconveniences arising from their late calamity; for, by prudent vigilance, it was, to the astonishment of all Europe, rebuilt in the short space of four years,* in so different a manner from its orignal state, that those who beheld it before and after the fire, were no less astonished at the wealth of the citizens who could sustain so considerable a loss, than at the expedition and expence that was laid out in its restoration.

A favourable opportunity also offered, by which the city of London might have been rebuilt so as to have exceeded in beauty every

* It should be remarked, that what is here said of the rebuilding of the city in such a short period, refers to the erection of the dwelling-houses.

other city in the universe, had the following plans met with that countenance the ingenuity of the projectors merited.

The first of these plans was formed by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Christopher Wren, who had been appointed surveyor general and principal architect for rebuilding the whole city; the cathedral church of St. Paul; all the parochial churches (in number fifty-one, enacted by parliament in lieu of these that were burnt and demolished) with other public structures; and for the disposition of the streets. A charge so great and extensive, incumbent on a single person, disposed him to take to his assistance Mr. Robert Hook*, professor of geometry in Gresham college, to whom he assigned chiefly the business of measuring, adjusting, and setting out the ground of the private streets to the several proprietors; reserving all the public works to his own peculiar care and direction.

Immediately after the fire he took a survey of the ruined spot, by the king's order, and designed a plan for a new city. In this plan all the deformities and inconveniences of the old capital were to be remedied, by enlarging the streets and lanes, and rendering them as nearly parallel to each other as possible; by seating all the parish churches in a conspicuous and regular manner; by forming the most public places into large piazzas, the centers of eight ways; by uniting the halls of the twelve companies into one regular square annexed to Guildhall; and by making a commodious quay on the whole bank of the river, from Blackfriars to the Tower.

The streets were to be of three magnitudes; the three principal ones to run straight through the city, and one or two cross streets to be at least ninety feet wide; others sixty, and the lanes about thirty feet, excluding all narrow dark alleys, thoroughfares, and courts.

The Exchange to stand free in the middle of a piazza, and to be in the centre of the town, whence the streets should proceed to all the principal parts of the city; and the building to be formed like a Roman forum, with double porticos.

Many streets were also to radiate upon the bridge, Those of the two first magnitudes to be carried on as straight as possible, and to centre in four or five areas surrounded with piazzas.

* Robert Hook, a native of Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, was educated under Dr. Busby, in Westminster school, whence he removed to Christchurch college, Oxford. He was one of the most eminent geometricians of his time, having perfected the air-pump for Mr. Boyle, improved the pendulum for finding the longitude, and contrived the circular pendulum, besides his many discoveries in the muscular system; and was the author of numerous mechanical and philosophical discoveries, honourable to himself and to his country, particularly the ingenious construction of watches. Upon his appointment of assistant to Dr. Wren, his co-operation with that great renovator of the city, was essential and highly useful. And by the joint efforts of these great men London assumed its present improved appearance, though not that elegance and convenience which their wishes suggested.

The key or open wharf on the bank of the Thames, to be spacious and convenient, without any interruptions, with some large docks for barges deep laden.

The canal to be cut up at Bridewell, one hundred and twenty feet wide, with sasses at Holborn bridge, and at the mouth, to cleanse it from all filth, with stowage for coals on each side.

The churches were to be designed according to the best forms for capacity and hearing; and those of the larger parishes adorned with porticos and lofty ornamental towers and steeples; but all church-yards, gardens, and unnecessary vacuities, and all trades that use great fires, or produce noisome smells, were to be placed out of the town.

This excellent plan, which Sir Christopher laid before the king, is thus explained;

From that part of Fleet-street which escaped the fire, a straight street of ninety feet wide was to extend, and, passing by the south side of Ludgate, was to end gracefully in a piazza on Tower-hill.

In the middle of Fleet-street was to be a circular area surrounded with a piazza, the centre of eight ways, where, at one station, were to meet the following streets. The first, straight forward, quite through the city: the second, obliquely towards the right hand, to the beginning of the quay that was to run from Bridewell Dock to the Tower: the third, obliquely on the left, to Smithfield: the fourth, straight forward on the right, to the Thames: the fifth, straight on the left, to Hatton Garden and Clerkenwell; the sixth, straight backwards to Temple-bar: the seventh, obliquely on the right, to the walks of the Temple: and the eighth, obliquely on the left to Cursitor's-alley.

On passing down Fleet-street, and Ludgate-hill, Ludgate prison was to stand on the left side of the street, where a triumphal arch was to be formed, instead of the gate, in honour of king Charles II. the founder of the new city; and the cathedral of St. Paul was to be situated where it now stands, surrounded by a triangular piazza.

Leaving St. Paul's on the left, a straight street was to extend directly to the Tower, adorned all the way, at proper distances, with parish churches; and leaving that edifice to the right, the other great branches were to lead to the Royal Exchange, which was to be seated in the middle of a piazza, between two great streets, the one from Ludgate leading to the south front, and another from Holborn, through Newgate, and thence straight to the north front.

This excellent scheme was demonstrated to be practicable, without the least infringement on any person's property; for, by leaving out the church-yards, &c. which were to be removed at a distance from the town, there would have been sufficient room both for the augmentation of the streets, the disposition of the churches, halls, and all public buildings, and to have given every proprietor full satisfaction; for though few of them would have been seated ex-

actly upon the very same ground they possessed before the fire, yet none would have been thrown at any considerable distance from it; but the obstinacy of great part of the citizens, in refusing to recede from the right of rebuilding their houses on the old foundations, was an insurmountable obstacle to the execution of this noble scheme, which would certainly have rendered the city of London one of the most magnificent in the universe.

The other scheme was projected by Sir John Evelyn. In this plan Sir John proposed that some of the deepest valleys should be filled up, or at least made with less sudden declivities. That a new and spacious quay should run from the Tower to the Temple, and extend itself as far as lower water mark; by which means the channel of the river would be kept constantly full; and the irregularity and deformity of the stairs, and the dirt and filth left at every ebb, would also be prevented.

He also proposed, in order to create variety in the streets, that there should be breaks and enlargements, by spacious openings at proper distances, surrounded with piazzas, and uniformly built with beautiful fronts; and that some of these openings should be square, some circular, and others oval. The principal streets were to be an hundred feet in breadth, and the narrowest not less than thirty. Three or four large streets were to be formed between the Thames and London Wall, reckoning that of Cheapside for the chief, which might be extended from Temple Bar to the upper part of Tower Hill, or to Crutched Friars, bearing the cathedral of St. Paul, on its present site, upon a noble eminence. Amidst these streets were to stand the parochial churches, so interspersed as to adorn the profile of the city at all its avenues. Most of them were to be in the centre of spacious areas, adorned with piazzas, &c. so as to be seen from several streets, and others were to be at the abutments and extremities.

Round the piazzas of the churches, the stationers and booksellers were to have their shops, and the ministers their houses. Round St. Paul's was to be the episcopal palace, the dean and prebends' houses, St. Paul's school, a public library, the prerogative and first-fruits' office, &c. all which were to be built at an ample distance from the cathedral, and with very stately fronts, in honour of that venerable pile. In some of these openings, surrounded by piazzas, were to be the several markets, and in others, open and public fountains constantly playing.

"The college of physicians was to be situated in a principal part of the town, encircled with a handsome piazza, for the dwellings of those learned persons: with the surgeons, apothecaries, and druggists, in the streets about them. In this, as in other parts, 'all of a mystery' were to be destined to the same quarters. Those of the better sort of shop-keepers, were to be in the most eminent streets and piazzas; and the artificers in the more ordinary houses in the intermediate and narrow passages. The taverns and victualling

houses were to be placed amongst them, but so constructed as to preserve the most perfect uniformity.

The halls for the city companies were to be placed between the piazzas, market-places, and churches, and to be fronted with stone; among these was to be the Guildhall, distinguished from the rest by its being more pompous and magnificent; and, adjoining to this edifice, a magnificent house for the lord mayor, and two others for the sheriffs.

The Royal Exchange to front the Thames about the Steelyard, in an area bounded on three sides with piazzas, with vaults for warehouses beneath; and for such merchandize as could not be here preserved, might be erected buildings fronting the Thames on the other side the river, with wharfs before, and yards behind, for the placing of cranes, the laying of timber, coals, &c. and other gross commodities, while the quay over against it should be built for the owners, and the dwellings of the principal merchants; but if the warehouses must be on this side, they were to front Thames-street rather than the river, because of the dull and heavy appearance of those buildings. The little bay at Queenhithe was to have the Quay continued round it, and cloistered about for market people and fruiterers; and where the wharf then was, a stately avenue was to extend to St. Paul's Cathedral.

Four great streets were to extend along the city: the first from Fleet-ditch to the Tower; the second, from the Strand to the most eastern part of the city, where was to be a noble triumphal arch, in honour of the king; the third, from Newgate to Aldgate; and the fourth and shortest, from Aldersgate to Bishopsgate. Besides these, five principal cross streets were to extend from Blackfriars into West Smithfield; from the Thames, east of St. Paul's, to Aldersgate; from Queenhithe to Cripplegate; and from the Royal Exchange to Moorgate. The street from the bridge was to extend to Bishopsgate, and another from the Custom-house to Aldgate. Inftead of houses on the bridge, the sides were to be adorned with a substantial iron balustrade, ornamented at convenient distances, with statues on their pedestals, and a footway on each side for the convenience of passengers.

The hospitals, workhouses, and prisons were to be situated in convenient quarters of the city; the hospitals to form one of the principal streets; but the prisons, and court for the trial of criminals, to be built near the entrance. The gates of the city were to be in the form of triumphal arches, adorned with statues, relievos, and apposite inscriptions, neither to be obstructed by sheds, nor to have mean houses joined to them.

Along the wall, between Cripplegate and Aldgate, were to be the church-yards of the several parishes; the houses opposite to them were to form a large street for the common inns, with stations for the carriages, &c. which, being on the north of the city, and nearest the confines of the fields and roads, would least en-

cumber the town, and have a far more commodious and free access by reason of their immediate approaches through the traverse streets, than if they were scattered up and down without distinction. All noisome trades to be removed out of the city to convenient distances.

During the rebuilding of the city, some public events caused great commotion among the people. The shameful neglect of the king in not providing a naval force whilst engaged in a war with Holland, led to a bold enterprise on the part of De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral; who, in June, 1667, entering the river Thames with a powerful fleet, detached Van Ghent with seventeen light ships, besides fire-ships, and he sailed up the Medway, nearly as high as Rochester, and destroyed and carried off several men of war. The consternation which this news excited was very great, for it was known that the Dutch fleet might then have reached London without opposition. Burnet says, that the king 'was intending to retire to Windsor; but that looked so like a flying from danger, that he was prevailed on to stay:' and though 'a day or two after that he rode through London, accompanied with the most popular men of his court, and assured the citizens he would live and die with his people, the matter went heavily. The city was yet in ashes, and the jealousy of burning it on design had got so among them, that the king himself was not free from suspicion.'* The Dutch, however, did not advance, and time was obtained to construct temporary batteries along the banks of the Thames, and to execute other necessary measures.

In July, 1669, a proclamation was issued for suppressing conventicles, which 'abounded in all parts of the city; it having been thought hard to hinder men from worshipping God any where, as they could, when there were no churches nor ministers to look after them.'† The new act was principally a revival of the former one, but with additional and more severe clauses, which were executed with great rigour. The Quakers were more particularly tenacious of the public right of toleration than most other sects: and after their meeting-houses had been shut up by order, they held their assemblies in the streets before the closed doors.‡

Another act was passed by the same parliament, for empowering the citizens to widen various other streets and places than had before been agreed to; and for granting an additional sum of two shillings per chaldron on coals, for the term of seventeen years and five months, 'to rebuild the churches and other public works within the city and its liberties,' &c. By the same authority, the sole power of regulating, cleansing, pitching, and paving the

* Bur. Hist. i. 250. † Ibid. p. 270.

‡ Brayley's London, i. 442.

streets of the city, and making and cleaning all drains and sewers, was vested in the corporation.* In the following year, a very judicious act, partly founded on the above statute, and partly on the ancient regulations, was made by the common council, for the local purposes just mentioned.

The profligate course which Charles and his court was now pursuing, raised the indignation of the independent members of the house of commons; and one of them, sir John Coventry, K. B. in a debate on the propriety of the tax on play-houses, which, to use the strong expression of Burnet, had then become 'nests of prostitution,' sarcastically enquired, in answer to an assertion that 'the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure,' 'whether did the king's pleasure lie among the men or the women actors.'† This having been reported in the court, the king ordered some of the guards to way-lay the indiscreet orator, and 'leave a mark upon him;' and the Duke of Monmouth, Charles's son by Lucy Walters, was commanded to see the order obeyed. On the 25th of December, 1670, therefore, as Coventry was going to his lodgings, he was beset in the streets by sir Thomas Sandys, and others, who, after a sharp conflict, succeeded in disarming him, and 'then they cut his nose to the bone, to teach him to remember what respect he owed to the king.'‡ This outrage was highly resented by the parliament, which assembled in the January following, and passed, what has since been called the Coventry Act, by which the punishment of death was awarded against all who should, in future, 'maliciously maim or dismember another;' and the perpetrators of the late crime, who had fled from justice, were adjudged to banishment for life; a clause was also inserted in the act, that it 'should not be in the king's power to pardon them.'§ On this occasion, 'the names of the court and country party, which till now had seemed forgotten, were again revived.'‖

The commencement of the year 1672, was distinguished by the infamous measure of shutting up the exchequer,¶ from which the

* Stat. at Large, 22 and 23 Cha II. c. 17.

† Bur. Hist. i. 269.

‡ Ibid. p. 270.

§ Ibid.

‖ Brayley's London, i. 443.

¶ Echard relates a singular tale respecting the origin of the scheme of shutting up the exchequer, from a manuscript of sir John Tyler's; the substance of which is as follows:—The king promised the white staff to any one of his ministers who would devise a means of raising 1,500,000l. without applying to parliament. The next day, lord Ashley told sir Thomas Clifford that there was a way to do this; but that it was dangerous, and in its consequences might inflame both parliament and people. Clifford, impatient to know the secret, contrived to allure the lord Ashley into a conversation on the king's indigence, after he had flushed him with drink, in which he obtained the information he wished. Sir Thomas, on the same night, went to Whitehall to the king, and having obtained a renewal of the promise, provided the money could be found, disclosed the important secret. The project was soon put into execution; Clifford was advanced to the Treasurership, and created a peer. Ashley, feeling indignant, said that 'Clifford had ploughed with his heifer:' so to satisfy him, he was first made earl of Shaftesbury, and afterwards Lord Chancellor.—*Ech. Hist.* iii. 288.

bankruptcy and ruin of many of the principal bankers, merchants, and traders of London, almost immediately ensued. Long before this period, indeed, Charles, upon whose good faith the bankers had depended, had 'entered into that career of misgovernment,' to use the appropriate language of Fox, 'which that he was able to pursue it to its end, is a disgrace to the history of our country.' His councils were now directed by those shameless instruments of arbitrary power, whom history has denominated the CABAL,* who, equally with their royal, yet ignoble master, were the secret pensioners of France. Yet, through the want of a sufficiently 'genuine and reciprocal confidence' between the sovereign and his ministers, the nation was at this time saved from the degrading tyranny which was subsequently established.

In the year 1674, on the accession of Sir Robert Vyner to the mayoralty, the king was magnificently entertained at Guildhall, where he accepted of the freedom of the city; the copy and seal of which were, in December, presented to him at Whitehall, in two large boxes of massive gold.

On lord mayor's day, 1677, the sovereign, with his queen, the duke of York, and his two daughters, Mary and Anne, the prince of Orange, and most of the nobility, were again sumptuously feasted by the citizens in Guildhall.

That the court had a latent design to introduce popery again into England was much suspected by many, and more particularly so, after it was known that the duke of York was a declared catholic. This feeling raised a far stronger spirit of resistance in the parliament than could have been thought probable in a body of men of whom so many were in the practice of receiving annual bribes from the king. The supplies, therefore, were generally withheld till other acts had been passed, more congenial to the sentiments of the people than to the intentions of the sovereign, who, by this means, was continually retarded in his endeavours to assume despotic power. The test act, at that period a measure of sound policy, however it may now disgrace the statute-book, was passed in March, 1673; in October, 1675, the commons drew up a test to be taken by their own members, disclaiming the receiving of any bribe or pension from the court; in April, 1677, the writ *de Hæretico comburendo* was repealed; in November, 1678, papists were disabled from sitting in either house of parliament; and, in the next month, several popish lords were impeached by the commons; in this extremity, Charles ordered the parliament to be dissolved by proclamation on the 25th of January, 1679.

* The word CABAL was formed from the initials of the five persons who composed this cabinet council of political infamy; viz. sir Thomas Clifford, the popish lord treasurer, who, with sir Anthony Ashley, (Cowper) earl of Shaftesbury, devised the scheme of shutting up the exchequer; the profligate duke of Buckingham, the unprincipled earl of Arlington, and the haughty and tyrannical duke of Lauderdale.

About this period, the metropolis was strongly agitated by the inquiry that had been made into the reality of the Popish Plot, which had been first broached by the infamous Titus Oates and Dr. Tongue, in September, 1678; and had received an apparent confirmation through the mysterious murder of the protestant justice, sir Edmondbury Godfrey, in the following month. It is wholly inconceivable how such a plot as that brought forward by Tongue and Oates could obtain any general belief; nor can any stretch of candour make us admit it to be probable, that all who pretended a belief of it did seriously entertain it.

So little attention was at first given by Charles and his council to Oates' discoveries, that nearly six weeks were suffered to elapse, before any serious or strict examination was made into the truth or falsehood of the plot, even though the basis of it was said to be the assassination of the king. At length, Oates, and his accomplice Tongue, resolved in some way to make the matter public: and as a preparatory step, Oates drew up a narrative of particulars, to the truth of which he solemnly deposed before sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who was an eminent justice of the peace that resided near Whitehall. This, says Burnet, "seemed to be done in distrust of the privy council, as if they might stifle his evidence; which to prevent, he put in safe hands. Upon that, Godfrey was chid for his presuming to meddle in so tender a matter;" and, as appeared from subsequent events, a plan was immediately laid to murder him; and this, within a few weeks, was but too fatally executed.

The council had now taken up the business with warmth, ordering various arrests to be made; and among the number of those committed to prison, were sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, Richard Langhorn, a lawyer of eminence, Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, and several other Jesuits and Papists. Coleman was at first committed to the charge of a messenger, whilst in whose custody, it was generally believed, that he had a long private conversation with sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who, "it is certain," says Burnet, "grew apprehensive and reserved; for meeting me in the street, after some discourse on the present state of affairs, he said, he believed he himself should be knocked on the head."* About a fortnight afterwards, (on Saturday, October 12,) Godfrey was missing; nor could the most sedulous endeavours obtain any other tidings of him for some time, but that he was seen near Saint Clement's church in the Strand, about one o'clock on the day mentioned. On the Thursday evening following, his body was found in a ditch near Chalk farm, then called the White House, Primrose-hill. "His sword was thrust through him, but no blood was on his clothes, or about him; his shoes were clean; his money was in his

* Bur. Hist. i. 429. Godfrey's suspicion of his own danger was also confirmed by evidence, before the house of commons.

pocket; but nothing was about his neck, [although when he went from home he had a large laced band on,] and a mark was all round it, an inch broad, which shewed he was strangled. His breast was likewise all over marked with bruises, and his neck was broken:—and it was visible he was first strangled, and then carried to that place, where his sword was run through his dead body."* This full confirmation of the suspicions of the public, for that sir Edmoudbury was murdered, had been the general discourse long before any proof appeared, was regarded as a direct testimony of the existence of the Popish Plot; and though the king, in his opening speech to the parliament, which met on the 25th of the month, took but a very slight notice of the rumoured conspiracy, both houses entered into the examination with great ardour; and the commons ordered warrants to be signed for the apprehension of twenty-six persons, who had been implicated by Oates, and among whom were the lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellasis, and Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart.; these noblemen surrendered themselves, and were committed to the Tower. Shortly afterwards, all popish recusants were commanded, by proclamation, to depart from the cities of London and Westminster, and all places within ten miles. The papists, says Rapin, "accordingly departed out of London; though for so short a space, that in less than a fortnight they returned again, whether they had leave from their leaders to take the oaths, or knew that such proclamations were never strictly enforced."†

On the last day of October, the remains of sir Edmondbury Godfrey, which had been embalmed, were carried with great solemnity from Bridewell hospital to St. Martin's church, to be interred. The pall was supported by eight knights, all justices of the peace, and the procession was attended by all the city aldermen, together with seventy-two London ministers, who walked in couples before the body; and great multitudes followed after, in the same order. As yet, however, the perpetrators of his murder had not been discovered, though a reward of 500*l.* and the king's protection had been offered to any person making the disclosure; but within a few days afterwards, one William Bedloe, a man of abandoned character, who had once been servant to the lord Bellasis, and afterwards an ensign in the Low Countries, was brought to London from Bristol, where he had been arrested by his own desire, on affirming that he was acquainted with some circumstances relating to Godfrey's death. On his different examinations, he stated that he had seen the murdered body in Somerset-house (then the queen's residence,) and had been offered a large sum of money to assist in removing it.‡ He also corroborated Oates's testimony in

* Bur. Hist. i. 429.

† Rap. Hist. ii. 692.

‡ "Besides Bedloe's oath," says Burnet, "that he saw Godfrey's body in Somerset-house, it was remembered that, at that time, the queen was for

many particulars respecting the Popish Plot, and on their joint evi dence, Coleman was soon afterwards convicted of high treason, in carrying on a traiterous correspondence with Father de la Chaise, confessor to Lewis the Fourteenth, " in order to subvert the established religion and government." He suffered at Tyburn on the 3rd of December; but died protesting his innocence of any other design than to make 'the king and the duke as high as he could.' It was given out, says Burnet, " to make the duke more odious," that he was kept up from making a confession by the hopes the duke sent of a pardon at Tyburn, and this was subsequently corroborated by a man named Stephen Dugdale, who had been lord Aston's bailiff, and came forward as a third evidence in support of the reality of the Popish Plot. He stated that he had learned from one Evers, a Jesuit, that 'the duke had sent to Coleman, when he was in Newgate, to persuade him not to make any discovery;' and also, that he had inquired " whether he had ever discovered their designs to any other person; and that Coleman sent back answer that he had spoke of them to Godfrey; upon which the duke gave orders to kill him."

Soon afterwards Oates and Bedloe implicated the queen as having been concerned in the plot, but the king refused to listen to it, and told Burnet, that though " she was a weak woman, and had some disagreeable humours, she was not capable of a wicked thing." Soon afterwards, on December the 6th, the commons impeached the imprisoned lords, and on the twenty-first, they also impeached the earl of Danby, lord treasurer; but before the Lords had resolved on his committal to the Tower, the king, who saw himself and his brother aimed at in the person of his minister, prorogued the parliament, which in the following month was dissolved by proclamation, as mentioned before.

On the same day that the commons had impeached the lord treasurer, Miles Prance, a goldsmith, who had sometimes wrought in the Queen's chapel, was taken up on suspicion of having been concerned in the death of Godfrey; and, on his subsequent confession and testimony, confirmed by Bedloe, and others, Green, Hill, and Berry, all of them in subordinate situations at Somerset-house, were convicted of the murder, which they had effected in conjunction with two Irish Jesuits who had absconded. It appeared that the unfortunate magistrate had been inveigled in at the water-gate to Somerset-house, under the pretence of his assistance being wanted to allay a quarrel, and that he was immediately strangled with a twisted handkerchief, after which, Green, 'with all his force, wrung his neck almost round.' On the fourth night after, the assassins conveyed his body to the place where it was discovered near Prim-

some days in so close a confinement that no person was admitted. Prince Rupert came there to wait on her, but was denied access. This raised a stronger suspicion of her; but the king would not suffer that matter to go any farther."

rose Hill, and there one of the Jesuits run his sword through the corpse, in the manner it was found. Green and Hill were executed on the twenty-first of February; but Berry was reprieved till the twenty-eighth of May. All of them affirmed their innocence to the very last; and Berry declared himself a Protestant.*

In the ensuing elections for a new parliament, which had been summoned to meet on the sixth of March (anno 1679,) such a preponderating majority of the country party was returned, that Charles thought it expedient to command his brother to go "beyond the seas," a few days previous to the commencement of the session. When the commons had assembled, after a six days' contest respecting their right of choosing a speaker without the king's interference, they proceeded to make further inquiries into the Popish Plot, and addressed the king that the 500*l.* promised by the proclamation for the discovery of Godfrey's murder, should be paid to Bedloe, which was accordingly done. Shortly afterwards, a bill of attainder was brought in against the earl of Danby, who, to prevent its effect, surrendered himself in April, and was committed to the Tower. In May, the *Habeas Corpus Act*, which Mr. Fox has characterized as "the most important barrier against tyranny, and best-framed protection for the liberty of individuals, that has ever existed in any ancient or modern commonwealth,"† was passed; and a bill for excluding the duke of York from the succession to the throne, was also brought in, but the king prevented its passing at that time, by proroguing the parliament.

Shortly before this, the metropolis was much agitated by a new design of the papists to destroy London, which was attempted to be carried into effect by a maid servant, who set fire to her master's house in Fetter-lane, by the instigation of one Stubbs; by whom it was declared, that he had persuaded her to the attempt, on the assurance of Father Gifford, his confessor, that 'it was no sin to burn all the houses of the heretics.' Four Jesuits, who were implicated in this design, were executed; but the commons obtained pardon for Stubbs and the servant, on account of their ready confession.‡ To quiet the alarm, a new proclamation was issued for expelling all papists to the distance of twenty miles from the city.

The presumed reality of the Popish Plot may be contravened from the fact of the discoveries of Oates and Bedloe not having been all unfolded at the same time. Both of them were at different periods asked, whether they had stated all they knew; and both of them protested that they had, though they afterwards made many new and important disclosures. It was probably from this circumstance, connected with the despicable character of the witnesses, and the many improbabilities, and some known falsehoods in their evidence, that impressed the mind of Mr. Fox with the belief that

* Brayley's London, i. 451. † Life of Jam. II. p. 35

‡ Ecl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 540.

the whole plot was a fiction; yet, however intricate the circumtances, and difficult of developement as they must be regarded, there still appears sufficient proof of a design having been then actually on foot to subvert the established religion. The hypothesis of a double plot, perhaps; of one of which, the most active, the duke of York was leader; and, of the other, the most latent, the king himself, would seem to unravel many of the difficulties that perplex this gordian knot of British history.

In the month of October, the rumour of a new plot became prevalent in London; and one Dangerfield, whom Burnet describes as 'a subtle and dextrous man, who had gone through all the shapes and practices of roguery,' gave information of a design to seize the royal family, and change the form of the government. He accused the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earl of Essex, the lord Halifax, and several eminent citizens, of being parties in this scheme; but a nefarious attempt which he made to introduce forged papers into the lodgings of colonel Mansel,* led to the disclosure of his villany, and he was committed to Newgate. Two days afterwards, 'the scheme of the whole fiction' was found fairly written, hidden in a meal-tub, whence this acquired the appellation of the Meal-tub-plot, in the house of a popish midwife, with whom Dangerfield had an intrigue; the latter finding himself thus detected, sent for the lord mayor and made a full disclosure of all the circumstances of the pretended plot, which had been chiefly contrived by the countess of Powis, for the purpose of stigmatizing the protestants, and furthering the popish cause. The countess, and Roger Palmer, earl of Castlemain, were shortly afterwards sent to the Tower; and Gadbery, the astrologer, Mrs. Cellier, the midwife, and some others were also committed to prison: all of them being implicated by Dangerfield's evidence, yet eventually they were all cleared, the different juries not crediting his testimony.†

The people were rendered so indignant by the detection of the Meal-tub Plot, that they determined to express their feelings against the papists in a marked way. Accordingly, on the 17th of November, the anniversary of queen Elizabeth's accession, which, at that time, was a popular holiday, the annual solemnity of 'burning the pope,' was performed with additional ceremonies of mock grandeur. Priests in copes, Carmelites, Grey-friars, Jesuits, Bishops, and Cardinals, all marched *in pontificalibus*, in the procession, which was headed by a man on horseback, personating the dead body of sir Edmondbury Godfrey, with a bell-man to remind the people of his murder: the cardinals were followed by the pope, who was enthroned in state, attended by boys scattering incense,

* In Axe-yard, King-street, Westminster; Dang. Nar. p. 42.

† Burnet's Hist. i. 475-6; and Rap. Hist. ii. 711. Mrs. Cellier afterwards published an account of her trial, mingled with 'libellous remarks,' for which she was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and fined 1000l.

and 'the devil, as his prime minister, whispering in his ear.' The procession commenced at Bishopsgate, and after his holiness had been paraded through the principal streets of the city, he was conducted in the evening to Fleet-street, and there committed to the flames, amidst the huzzas of a vast multitude of spectators.

The proceedings of the king, during the whole course of this year, had betrayed a decided intention of governing without a parliament; though, as if in deference to the public voice, he had, in April, chosen a new council, into which many of the whigs, as the country party were now denominated, had been admitted.* Without the concurrence of this body, however, he, in July, dissolved one parliament; and, in October, forbade any of its members to say a word against his resolution of proroguing another, though the latter had not yet assembled; but the king, having 'watched the elections,' justly apprehended that it would prove inimical to his designs. On this, the principal members in the whig interest resigned their places at the council-board, which gave the duke's party a decided influence. The metropolis, as well as the whole country, was now in great ferment. Petitions for the meeting of parliament flowed in from every part, and many of them were conceived in such strong language, that the king prohibited them by proclamation. Still they had the effect of occasioning him to summon the parliament to meet in January, 1680, instead of in the November following, as he had intended; yet the session was of very short continuance, for after Charles, in a brief speech, had said that 'the unsettled state of the nation rendered a long interval of the parliament absolutely necessary,' a prorogation was commanded till the 15th of April. Two days afterwards, the king declared in council that he had recalled his brother, from 'not having found such an effect from his absence, as should incline him to keep him longer from him;' and on the 24th of February, the duke arrived in London. On the 8th of March, Charles and his brother were sumptuously entertained by sir Robert Clayton, the lord mayor, at his house in the Old Jewry.

The lord Stafford being tried and convicted of high treason,

* The appellations of Whig and Tory, which have continued through all the subsequent reigns, originated in the feuds of that of Charles the Second; the respective parties distinguishing each other by these terms in derision. The courtiers reproached their antagonists with their resemblance to the rigid covenanters in Scotland, who were said to live upon sour milk, called whig, whence they were denominated whigs; and the latter discovered a similitude between their opponents and the Irish robbers and cut-throats, called Tories; and however inappropriate the terms themselves they are still regarded as characteristic of those parties, which are supposed to represent either the independent and popular interests of the country, or the more immediate friends of the crown as opposed to the rights

for being concerned in the late popish plot, received sentence to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. This judgment, upon application to the king, was commuted into beheading; which Bethel and Cornish, the sheriffs, entertaining some scruples about, occasioned their presenting the following queries to the house of commons:—"1. Whether the king, being neither judge nor party, can award the execution? 2. Whether the lords can award the execution? 3. Whether the king can dispense with any part of the execution? 4. If the king can dispense with some part of the execution, why not all?" But, lest the commons interfering in the affair should prevent Stafford's execution, they were willing he should enjoy his majesty's favor of being beheaded; which was executed on the 29th of November on Tower-hill.

On the 13th of January, 1681, a strong petition was presented to the king, by the lord-mayor and common-council, for reassembling the parliament on the 20th, (the day to which it had been prorogued,) yet, on the 18th, as if in contempt of the city, the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and a new one was summoned to meet at Oxford, on the 21st of March. The most strenuous exertions were now made by both parties to secure a preponderance. Several of the more patriotic members of the privy council were struck off the list by the king's own hand, and other changes were made favourable to his purposes. The country party mostly re-chose their old members; and, in particular, the city of London, for which sir Robert Clayton, sir Thomas Player, Thomas Pilkington, and William Love, esquires, were a third time returned. As soon as the election was over, the citizens assembled in common-hall, and after their 'most hearty thanks' to their representatives for their past conduct, they 'resolved, by God's assistance, to stand by them with their lives and fortunes; being confidently assured that the said members for the city will never consent to the granting any money or supply till they have effectually secured them against popery and arbitrary power.'

The divisions between Charles and the commons appeared strongly to indicate a renewal of civil war, and the ordering the parliament to assemble at Oxford was by no means calculated to allay this suspicion. Many of the members, apprehending violence, attended in that city on the day appointed, with armed retinues; and, in particular, the London representatives, who came with 'a numerous body of well-armed horse,' having ribbands in their hats, with the words—"No Popery! No Slavery!" woven in them.

The king, finding the commons were not to be diverted from their favourite measure of excluding the duke entirely from the succession, suddenly commanded them to attend in the house of lords, where the king dissolved the parliament, and then immediately taking coach, departed for Windsor, and the next day

returned to Whitehall. His resolution never to call another parliament was now fixed: it had been made, indeed, one of the stipulations to which he was bound by the French king, and on which he was to receive his stipend.*

The whole history of the remaining part of his reign exhibits an uninterrupted series of attacks upon the liberty, property, and lives of his subjects. The city of London seemed to hold out for a certain time, like a strong fortress in a conquered country; and by means of this citadel, Shaftesbury and others were saved from the vengeance of the court. But this resistance however honorable to the corporation who made it, could not be of long duration. The weapons of law and justice were found feeble, when opposed to the power of a monarch who was at the head of a numerous and bigotted party of the nation, and who, which was most material of all, had enabled himself to govern without a parliament. The court having wrested from the livery of London, partly by corruption, and partly by violence, the free election of their mayor and sheriffs, did not wait the accomplishment of their plan for the destruction of the whole corporation, which, from their first success, they justly deemed certain; but immediately proceeded to put in execution their system of oppression. Pilkington, Colt, and Oates were fined 100,000l. each, for having spoken disrespectfully of the duke of York; and Barnardiston 10,000l. for having, in a private letter, expressed sentiments deemed improper; and Sidney, Russell, and Armstrong found that the just and mild principles which characterize the criminal law of England could no longer protect their lives, when the sacrifice was called for by the policy or vengeance of the king.'†

Every possible endeavour was henceforth made to discredit the reality of the popish plot, and various trials were instituted to overawe the supporters of parliament. As yet, however, the measures of the king were thwarted by the firmness of the citizens, but on the election of the lord mayor at Michaelmas, the court party prevailed, and sir John Moor was chosen into that office.

At this time, party matters running very high in the city, each side exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner to secure the sheriffs of London and Middlesex in their interest; therefore, sir John Moor, willing to run all lengths to serve the court, resolved to secure one of the sheriffs in the same interest for the year ensuing, by insisting on his right of nomination, by the ceremony of drinking to one of his fellow-citizens; and accordingly, says an author of the time, (who published a true and impartial account of the proc edings of the common-hall of the city of London at Guildhall, on the 24th of June, 1682, for electing of sheriffs) at the Bridge-house feast, the 18th of May, his lordship

* Brayley's London, i. 458. † Life of James II. p. 43—45.

was pleased to pass the compliment of drinking to Dudley North, esq; a ceremony, whereby the person so drank to has been looked upon as put in nomination, or to be, in the judgment of the chair, very fit man to be one of the sheriffs, if the common-hall shall elect him.

Soon after, Mr. North, before he was chosen by the common-hall, and indeed a considerable time before the day of election, merely upon such my lord's drinking to him, came to a court of aldermen, and gave bond to hold sheriff.

The right honourable the lord mayor then issued forth his precept to the respective companies; but it ran in an unaccustomed form as followeth:

"By the mayor.

"These are to require you, that on Midsummer-day next, being the day appointed as well for confirmation of the person who hath been by me chosen, according to the ancient custom and constitution of this city, to be one of the sheriffs of this city and county of Middlesex for the year ensuing, as for the election of the other of the said sheriffs, and other officers, you cause the livery of your company to meet together at your common hall early in the morning, and from thence to come together decently and orderly in their gowns to Guildhall, there to make the said confirmation and election. Given the 19th of June, 1682.

JOHN MOOR."

This occasioned much discourse and some distraction amongst the companies, some issuing out their summons to their members, 'to meet and chuse sheriffs,' &c. (as anciently) others (after this new mode) for confirmation and election, and some only for electing city officers.

On Friday, the 23rd day of June, the matter being taken into debate at the court of aldermen, after some time, it was desired that Mr. Recorder would deliver his sentiments; who, in a judicious speech, gave his opinion, that the right of election of both the sheriffs lay in the commonalty, and that the sheriffs *pro tempore* were judges of the poll, if any were: and the whole court acquiesced therein Whereupon some companies that had sent forth summons for confirmation and election, awarded new ones for election only.

On Midsummer-day, the annual appointed day for choice, the liverymen assembled in common-hall very numerous; and, after the lord mayor and aldermen were come upon the hustings, the common crier made proclamation, and said to this purpose: 'you gentlemen of the livery of London, attend your confirmation.' Upon which the common hall vigorously interrupted, and cried 'No confirmation! no confirmation!' and so continued urging their right in that behalf near half an hour, not suffering him to go on. After which, Mr. Recorder stepped upon the hustings, and made a speech; wherein he set forth the excellence of

government in general, and the happiness particularly of our own, and especially of this great and opulent city, more immediately as to their great privilege of chusing their own sheriffs, citing for the same the grant in the charter of king John, &c.

The lord mayor and aldermen then withdrew, and Mr. Common Serjeant offering to speak, the common-hall cried 'election! election! and the work of the day!' But the sheriffs desiring their patience, he went on, and spake a few words, relating in general to the business of the day.

The hall then proceeded in the usual ancient method; and the contest about confirmation being relinquished, there were put in nomination for sheriffs the before-named Dudley North, Thomas Papillion, John Dubois, and Ralph Box, esqrs.

Upon view of the hands, the election was declared to fall upon Mr. Papillion and Mr. Dubois, they having apparently the majority by a thousand or twelve hundred hands. But however a poll was demanded and granted for all the said candidates.

Between two and three o'clock the poll began, eight or nine books and writers being prepared in Guildhall-Yard, and persons appointed to inspect them on either side. It was desired by some, that a distinct column might be for such as were for confirmation; but that being resolved in the negative, and the only dispute now not being for or against confirmation, but which two of the four gentlemen should be chosen by the common-hall for sheriffs, the same was refused as impracticable and impertinent, but all left at liberty to poll for which of the four competitors they pleased. Yet some few factious and troublesome men, only to create occasion for cavil, demanded to be polled for confirmation (as they called it) yet refused to declare who they would confirm, or name any that they would poll for, and yet complained to the court of aldermen, and some of them (as particularly Mr. Masters in St. Paul's church-yard) offered to make oath, that they were denied or refused to be polled.

It was to be taken notice of, that there were fluttering up and down the hall a great many swordsmen and hectoring persons (no citizens) who insolently affronted people; as some of them did Mr. Recorder, and others some of the aldermen and citizens, giving unreasonable and almost insufferable provocations, especially in the afternoon, on purpose, as 'tis reasonably believed, to cause some disturbance; but the moderation of the citizens was such, as scorned to take notice of these foolish extravagants, further than modestly to reprove their want of respect to authority, and their incivility.

It appearing that the suffrages were likely to fall upon Papillion and Dubois, several that were there for North and Box applied themselves to my lord mayor, suggesting as if they were denied to poll, and that many of their party were absent, and the like complaints, which occasioned his lordship's coming to the

hall, (some people following very rudely, with huzzas and unusual clamour.) His honour sending for the sheriffs into the council-chamber, they excused themselves for the present, being busy in the work of the day, but promised to wait on his lordship as soon as the poll concluded. His lordship came to the polling-place, and seemed to forbid the further proceeding in the poll; but the sheriffs offered several reasons why they ought to go on, being in the legal discharge of their office, and so proceeded.

About seven o'clock in the evening, the mayor, and some few aldermen came to the hustings (the sheriffs being still polling in the yard), where the common crier, by direction from his lordship, spoke to the promiscuous company in the hall to this effect: "All you that were summoned to appear here this day, are required to depart, and to give your attendance on Tuesday, at nine o'clock in the morning.' But omitting to mention the occasion, some of the people asked 'for what?' But the generality called 'a poll! a poll!' However, his lordship being gone, the sheriffs continued the poll as before, intending, for the ease of their fellow-citizens, to have dispatched it that night; but it growing near nine o'clock that night, and there being present some small number of persons who then unseasonably demanded to be polled, the sheriffs thought fit to adjourn into the hall for half an hour, in which time there were assembled in the great hall three or four thousand people, calling out 'a hall! a hall!' until the sheriffs came upon the hustings, and then Mr. sheriff Shute spoke to this effect: 'Gentlemen, we have had a poll to-day; and we, the sheriffs, as we are the king's ministers, so we have done and will act therein with all fairness and honesty, as becomes us. My lord mayor hath taken upon him to adjourn this court; but we do now tell you, that we do adjourn this court until Tuesday morning nine o'clock, then to declare the poll, or to poll any such as have right to poll, or have not yet polled already.'

Then the sheriffs went home, attended with great multitudes of citizens, following them with loud and grateful acclamations of 'God bless the Protestant sheriffs, God bless Papillion and Dubois,' &c. However, upon the complaint of the mayor that he was there almost jostled off his legs, the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, were commanded to attend the privy council the Monday following; and being severally examined concerning the late riot, Mr. Pilkington and Mr. Shute, the sheriffs, and alderman Cornish, were committed prisoners to the Tower of London, by a warrant signed by twenty-four privy counsellors, who at the same time gave orders to the attorney general to exhibit an information in the court of king's bench against them, and all such as upon examination should be found to have been promoters and encouragers of the late tumult, to be proceeded against to the utmost severity of the law.

On the Friday following the said prisoners were, by a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, carried by the lieutenant of the Tower to the

king's-bench bar, where having pleaded not guilty, they were admitted to bail; whereupon the sheriffs met a common-hall on the first of July, when the lord mayor, though indisposed, sent an order to the recorder, to adjourn the hall to the seventh following; but the sheriffs again denying the validity of such adjournment, proceeded in the election, and declared Papillion and Dubois duly elected.

Pursuant to this adjournment, the lord mayor and his party met on the 7th of July, and heard council on the validity of the late adjournments; but coming to no conclusion, the court was again adjourned to the 14th, at which time the following order of council was produced:

'His majesty being informed by the lord mayor, and divers of the aldermen of London, that the disorders and riots arisen in the city, upon the day appointed for the election of sheriffs, have been chiefly occasioned by the proceedings of the common hall in an irregular way, contrary to what hath been anciently accustomed; his majesty, by the advice of his council, hath thought fit, for the better keeping of the peace of the city, to direct, and hereby to require the lord mayor to maintain and preserve entire the ancient customs of the city; and, for the better doing thereof, to take effectual order, that, at the common hall to be held to-morrow, all proceedings be begun anew, and carried on in the usual manner, as they ought to have been upon the twenty-fourth of June last.'

This order being read in the common-hall, it was vigorously opposed by many of the most eminent citizens, as an innovation, tending to destroy their ancient rights and privileges. However, the lord mayor, in obedience to the said order, declared North duly elected by him, without the sanction of a common-hall; and then proceeded to a poll for another sheriff, to which none coming that had voted for Papillion and Dubois at the former election, Box was chosen without opposition, and North and he were returned duly elected; while Papillion and Dubois were left to seek their remedy at law.

On the twenty-seventh of the same month, the court of lord mayor and aldermen re-assembled in Guildhall, where, for their greater security, a company of trained bands were posted. Thither great number of citizens resorted from all parts, and required an answer to their late petition, for the swearing in of Papillion and Dubois, as sheriffs for the year ensuing; whereupon some of the principal of them being called in, they received, as final, this disagreeable answer:

'Gentlemen,

'This court hath considered of your petition, and will take care that such persons shall take the office of sheriffs upon them as are duly elected, according to the law and the ancient customs of this city; and in this, and all other things, this court will endeavour to maintain the rights and privileges of the chair, and of

the whole city; and wherein ye think we do otherwise, the law must judge between us.'

Mr. Box, it seems, being sensible that the manner of his election could not be legally justified, prudently declined serving the office of sheriff, by paying the accustomed fine of exemption. Wherefore it was necessary to proceed to a new election, to which end a common hall was summoned, wherein Mr. Peter Birch (bishop Burnet calls him Rich) was chosen; who, together with Mr. North, was sworn before the lord mayor.

The violence and injustice with which this matter was managed, showed that the court was resolved to carry their point at any rate; and this gave great occasion of jealousy that some wicked design was on foot; for which it was necessary, in the first place, to be sure of favourable juries. And it appears also to have been the opinion of others, for Lord Russel takes notice of these proceedings in his dying words, after the same manner, and concludes, that 'he was not much surprised to find the consequence to fall upon himself.'

Soon after, sir William Hooker and sir Henry Tulse, aldermen of this city, informed against their brother, alderman Pilkington, for saying that 'the duke of York has fired this city, and is now come to cut our throats.' The duke commenced a process against Pilkington for *scandalum magnatum*, which was tried on the 24th of November, when the jury gave the plaintiff no less than an exorbitant sum of one hundred thousand pounds damage. So forward were the juries of this time to oblige the court at the expence of the ruin of their fellow-citizens! Whereupon Pilkington surrendered himself in discharge of his bail; and North, one of the sheriffs, was chosen to succeed him as alderman.

At the time, as it was sworn, that Pilkington reflected upon the duke of York, besides Hooker and Tulse, sir Patience Ward, the late lord mayor, was also present; who, upon Pilkington's trial, deposed, that, to the best of his remembrance, he did not hear the words spoken said to be criminal. This seems to have been crime enough; for, two having swore it, it must of course be true; and the third, for not hearing it, must be deemed perjured; therefore, Ward was indicted and convicted of perjury: which occasioned Burnet to say, that juries at that time were a reproach to religion, and a scandal to the nation.*

In the May following, Pilkington and Shute, the late sheriffs, together with twelve aldermen and principal citizens of the whig party, were condemned in large fines for continuing the poll for sheriffs in the preceding year, after the lord mayor had ordered it to be adjourned.

Among the attempts to enslave the people, was the invasion of the chartered rights of the whole kingdom, by writs of *quo war-*

* Maitland, i. 476.

ranto, and many towns and boroughs had already surrendered their dearest privileges, rather than enter into a contest with despotic power. The right of having those persons nominated for sheriffs of London who were most at the will of the crown, was liable to be annually contested, a more decisive blow was therefore meditated against the city, and sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney-general, by the advice and authority of sir Edmund Sanders, undertook to procure the forfeiture of the city charters, on the most unjustifiable pretexts.

The substance of these were, first, that the court of common-council having presented a petition to the king on his proroguing the parliament, when they were about to try several noble persons on the popish plot; and by their printing and publishing the said petition, which was deemed seditious, had possessed the people with an ill opinion of the king and government:—Secondly, that on rebuilding the markets, after the great fire, certain tolls had been established by the corporation on goods brought to market, towards defraying the expences; which, to suit the present intentions of the court, were said to be illegal:—Thirdly, that all the crown gave was forfeitable to the crown again upon a malversation of the body:—Fourthly, that as the common-council was the body of the city, chosen by all the citizens, so they were all involved in what the common-council did:—and Fifthly, since they had both scandalized the king's government and oppressed their fellow-subjects, they had, in consequence, forfeited their liberties.

To this the corporation pleaded, First, that upon the warrant of many charters they claimed to be, and were a body politic, which traversed their usurping upon the king:—Secondly, that by the same warrant, and the liberty and franchise thus granted, they claimed to make and constitute sheriffs:—Thirdly, that by several patents of Charles the First, they claimed to be justices and to hold sessions.

To make the iniquity against the city more palpable, it is observable, that when the demurrer in this cause was joined, sir Francis Pemberton sat as chief justice of the King's Bench; but, before the ensuing term, when it was to be argued, he was removed to the court of Common Pleas merely to provide for sir Edward Sanders, who, for drawing out and advising these pleadings, was promoted to be chief justice of England.

The endeavours of the citizens to support their conduct, and repel these infringements on their dear-bought liberties, were strenuously resisted by the ministry, which was determined at all events to crush them. Accordingly, in Trinity term, on the 12th of June, 1683, the *quo warranto* being argued and determined, justice Jones, Sanders having died during the interim, pronounced, by order of the court, the following sentence on the city:—That a city might forfeit its charter; that the malversations of the com-

mon-council were acts of the whole city; and that the two points set forth in the pleadings, were just grounds for the forfeiture of a charter. Upon which premises, the conclusion seemed to be that, therefore the city of London had forfeited its charter.

But what is singular, although it was determined that the king might seize the liberties of the city, yet, contrary to what is usual in such cases, the attorney-general was ordered to move that the judgment might not be recorded.

The alarmed citizens immediately summoned a court of common-council to deliberate on what measures were most proper to pursue in such an exigency. The country party moved to have the judgment entered; but this was overruled by the court party, who basely insisted upon an absolute submission to the king, before judgment was entered: and though this was, in effect, a voluntary surrender of the city liberties, and depriving themselves of the means of obtaining the judgment to be reversed, the act of submission was carried by a great majority. The consequence was, that a petition was drawn up and carried to the king at Windsor, on the 18th of June, by the lord mayor, at the head of a deputation from the council; in which petition they acknowledged their own misgovernment, and his majesty's lenity; solicited his pardon, and promised constant loyalty and obedience and humbly begged his majesty's commands and direction.

When the king had read the petition, the lord-keeper North, by his majesty's order, after reproaching the citizens for not having been more early in their application, told them that the king would not reject their suit on the following conditions:—First, that no lord mayor, sheriff, recorder, common serjeant, town-clerk, or coroner of the city of London, or steward of the borough of Southwark, should be capable of, or admitted to, the exercise of their respective offices, before his majesty had approved them under his sign manual. Secondly, that if his majesty should disapprove the choice of any person to be lord mayor, and signified the same under his sign manual, the citizens, within one week, were to proceed to a new choice: and, if his majesty, in like manner, disapproved of the second choice, he might, if he pleased, nominate a person to be lord mayor for the ensuing year. Thirdly, that the lord mayor and court of aldermen might also, with the leave of his majesty, displace an alderman, recorder, or other officer. Fourthly, upon the election of an alderman, if the court of aldermen should judge and declare the person presented to be unfit, the ward to choose again; and, upon a disapproval of the second choice, the court to appoint another. Fifthly, the justices of the peace to be by the king's commission; and the settling of these matters to be left to his majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, and council learned in the law. The lord keeper added, 'that these regulations being made, his majesty would not only stop this prosecution, but would also confirm their charter;' and

he concluded thus: 'My lord mayor, the term draws at an end, and Midsummer is at hand, when some of the officers used to be chosen; whereof his majesty will reserve the approbation. Therefore, it is his majesty's pleasure that you return to the city, and consult the common council, that he may speedily know your resolutions thereupon, and accordingly give his directions. That you may see the king is in earnest, and the matter is not capable of delay, I am commanded to let you know he hath given orders to his attorney-general to enter upon judgment on Saturday next, unless you prevent it by your compliance in all these particulars.'

On the return of the lord mayor to the city, a court of common council was immediately summoned to determine whether or not these stipulations should be accepted; and violent debates ensued on the question: the friends of liberty declared they would sacrifice all that was dear to them, rather than yield to such slavish conditions; nevertheless, their opposition was at length rendered nugatory by a majority of eighteen.*

Though the submission of the city had been sufficiently degrading, the king appears to have thought otherwise, and he therefore commanded the judgment that had been given upon the *quo warranto* to be entered up; and this was no sooner done, than, by a commission under the great seal, he appointed the lord mayor, sir William Pritchard, and the sheriffs, Peter Daniel and Samuel Dashwood, esquires, to hold their respective offices, during pleasure; at the same time, he displaced the recorder, sir George Treby, and preferred Mr. Thomas Jenner to the vacant place. Charles was now seated on the pinnacle of despotism: the example of the city had spread a general alarm, and most of the other corporations 'tamely resigned their charters,' nor could they obtain new ones till they had paid considerable sums; and, even then, all places of power and profit, like those of the capital, were left at the disposal of the crown, in which state they remained till the revolution.

In the course of this year, the Rye-house Plot was made the pretext for effecting the destruction of those eminent patriots, Russel and Sydney, 'two names,' says Mr. Fox, 'that will, it is hoped, be for ever dear to every English heart; when their memory shall cease to be an object of respect and veneration, it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell that English liberty will be fast approaching to its final consummation.'† William, lord Russel, was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn-fields, on the 21st of July; and Algernon Sidney, on Tower-hill, on the 7th of December. They both died with exemplary firmness; 'their deportment was such as might be expected from men, who knew themselves to be suffering, not for their crimes, but their virtues.'‡ Several other persons, who were implicated in the

* For more extended particulars, see Mait. Lond. i. 477—483; and Burnet's Hist. i. 533—535.

† Life of James II. p. 50.

plot, whether by truth or falsehood, were also executed at different times; and the earl of Essex, as there is strong reason to believe, was basely murdered in the Tower, on the 13th of July (the day on which lord Russel was tried) by the duke's connivance, though it was given out that he had committed suicide to avoid his impending fate for high treason.

The year 1684 was as distinguished by similar violations of law and justice as the preceding one. In February, John Hampden, esq. grandson to the patriot Hampden, was tried for a treasonable misdemeanor, and the jury declaring him guilty, agreeably to the express charge of the infamous Jefferies, (who, for his services to the court, had been made lord chief justice of the King's Bench,) who told them, that unless they condemned him, 'they would discredit all that had been done before;'* he was fined 10,000l. A few days afterwards, sir Samuel Barnardiston, bart. was convicted for 'defaming and scandalizing the government,' by writing four letters reflecting on the deaths of Russel and Sydney, &c. For this he was sentenced to a fine of 10,000l. and, on default of payment was committed to the King's Bench, where he continued till the revolution. In June, sir Thomas Armstrong, who had been implicated in the Rye-house Plot, and outlawed, was betrayed in Holland, and cruelly put to death at Tyburn; notwithstanding the statute declaring that an outlawed person coming in within the year should have a trial, if required. When Armstrong was brought before the court, after some argument, he said, he 'asked nothing but the law.' The brutal Jefferies replied, 'that you shall have, by the grace of God: you shall have it to the full: and he then ordered him to be executed within six days.'† He was drawn on a sledge to Tyburn; and, having been dismembered as a traitor, his quarters were fixed on the city gates, and his head upon Westminster-hall, between Cromwell's and Bradshaw's.‡

In furtherance of the design of the court to overawe or ruin all the leaders of the popular party, Thomas Papillion, esq. was, in November, brought to trial before Jefferies, in the court of King's Bench, for causing, though in due course of law, a writ to be executed on the person of sir William Pritchard, when lord mayor in 1682, for not having returned him sheriff, after he had been duly elected by his fellow-citizens. Not a shadow of proof was offered that Papillion had acted illegally, yet he was condemned to pay a fine of 10,000l.; a sentence that obliged him to quit the country till the period of the Revolution.

On the 6th of February, 1685, the king died at Whitehall,

* Bur. Hist. i. 576.

† Ibid. p. 579.

‡ "When Jefferies came to the king at Windsor, soon after this trial, the king took a ring of good value from his finger, and gave it him for these services: the ring thereupon was called his blood stone."—*Ibid,* p. 580.

having previously received the sacrament of the mass, and extreme unction. It was vehemently suspected that his death was occasioned by poison.

CHAPTER XV.

History of London during the reign of James the Second.

On the 6th of February James, duke of York, was proclaimed king in London, with the accustomed ceremonies, by the title of James the Second; and, on the 23rd of April, he was crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, the usual cavalcade from the Tower being dispensed with to avoid the charges.

Within two days after his accession, James went openly to mass; and notwithstanding his public declaration that he would 'make it his endeavour to preserve the government, both in church and state, as now by law established,' he immediately begun to betray his determination to rule arbitrarily, by ordering the continuance of the levies of the customs and additional excise of duties, though, according to the grant of parliament, those duties had expired with his brother's life. The vigour of the nation was at that time depressed, and no Hampden could be then found dauntless enough to risk the hazard of opposing this assumption of illegal authority.

Mr. Brayley justly remarks that James's first object was unquestionably the establishment of an absolute monarchy: his second, the complete restoration of the Catholic hierarchy; and, to this latter design, the most obnoxious witnesses to the reality of the popish plot, by whose agency, at least, the attempt had been retarded in the late reign, were now to be traduced and punished. On the 8th and 9th of May, Titus Oates was tried by judge Jefferies, in the court of King's Bench, for perjury on two points of his evidence: his conviction had been predetermined, and he was sentenced to be stript of his canonical habits; to be fined two thousand marks; to stand five times a year in the pillory, in different parts of London and Westminster; to be closely imprisoned for life; and as a prelude to the whole, to stand in the pillory at Westminster Hall and at the Royal Exchange, on five successive days; on the third day to be whipt from Aldgate to Newgate; and on the fifth, to be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn. The scourging was executed with merciless severity; Rapin says, 'with such cruelty as was unknown to the English nation,' and Oates swooned several times with the excess of the pain, whilst tied to the cart. Dangerfield was twice pilloried and whipped from Aldgate to Tyburn, for his concern i

the discovery of the Meal-tub Plot; and this led to his death, for, when on his return, in a coach, after the second whipping, he was insulted near Hatton-garden, by a barrister of Gray's-inn, who being irritated at some reproachful words used in reply, violently thrust the end of a small cane into Dangerfield's eye, which, in two hours, put a period to his life. The barrister was condemned to be hanged; and James, who, on this occasion, seems to have felt what was due to justice, refused to pardon him, though strongly solicited for that purpose; he was therefore executed according to his sentence The aged and respectable Presbyterian minister, Richard Baxter, was soon after condemned to fine and imprisonment, for his writings against the Catholic bishops.

The first attempt to overthrow the despotic authority which James had now assumed, was made by the earl of Argyle and the duke of Monmouth; the former of whom landed in Scotland on the 20th of May, and the latter, at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June. Fatally, however, for themselves and their adherents, they were both unsuccessful: the earl, after having been treated with extreme indignity, was beheaded at Edinburgh; and the duke, who had been attainted by parliament, suffered the like fate on Tower-hill, on the 15th of July. He fell, highly regretted by the people, with whom he had ever been a great favourite. Many of the duke's partisans were almost immediately proscribed and put to death in various parts of the kingdom, and, particularly in the western counties, under circumstances of extreme cruelty. London was the scene of several executions; and, among others, of Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt, a benevolent woman, who had given shelter to a person that had been concerned in the late insurrection: and who, with a peculiar degree of base ingratitude, secured his own pardon by betraying his humane benefactress. She suffered with great magnanimity; though, according to the then existing laws of treason, as applicable to women, it was her horrid fate to be burnt alive. 'She died,' says Burnet, 'rejoicing that God honoured her to be the first that suffered by fire in this reign, and that her suffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love.'

The next distinguished sufferer in London was Henry Cornish, an alderman of this city, who was singled out as a sacrifice to popery; for, being sheriff of London in the year 1680, he had exerted himself in an uncommon manner in the detection and prosecution of the popish plot, and inquiring into the mystery of Fitz-Harris's treason; wherefore the papists deemed this a very proper time to revenge themselves upon him. To which end on the 13th of October following he was apprehended and committed to Newgate, without the use of pen, ink, or paper, until Saturday noon, when he received notice of an indictment of high treason being prepared against him, on which he was to be tried the Monday following. In the interim, his children humbly petitioned the king

for time for their father to prepare for his defence. James, artfully to avoid the imputation of injustice, referred their petition to the judges, who, he well knew, would run all lengths to serve him: answerable to this opinion, they unjustly denied their humble and equitable request, though the unhappy prisoner knew not whether they intended to proceed against him for a crime in this or the preceding reign: besides, his most material evidence then was above an hundred and forty miles from London. And, to exult over the misfortunes of this innocent gentleman, the attorney-general told him, that he had not so well deserved of the government, as to have time allowed him, which, in plain English, is as much as if he had said, that he was to expect neither favour nor justice in the prosecution.

Cornish was on the Monday following indicted for conspiring with other false traitors to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, to destroy the king, and subvert the constitution in the late reign. The only material evidence against him was colonel Rumsey, an infamous and profligate wretch; and Goodenough, the other evidence, an outlaw in the highest degree, was pardoned, and his testimony made legal, for his appearing against Cornish; and though what he deposed did not affect the prisoner, he was nevertheless condemned, and on the 23rd of the same month hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the end of King-street, Cheapside, fronting his own house.

Had the aforesaid iniquitous judges granted the reasonable and moving requests set forth in the petition of Cornish's children, his innocence would soon have appeared, from Rumsey's former depositions, as it was soon after his death clearly evinced, insomuch that it is said, that the king not only regretted his unfortunate end, but likewise restored his estate to his family, and the witnesses were lodged in remote prisons during their lives.

The year 1686 became memorable from a measure that threatened destruction to the church of England, this was, the proposed exemption from all penal laws in respect to religion, which James wished the Dissenters to believe was for their benefit, but which, in fact, was intended as the means of rendering Popery paramount to Protestantism. Such an innovation excited the strictures of the most eminent divines, who united their abilities in the endeavour to counteract it; of these none were more assiduous than Dr. John Sharp, rector of St. Giles' in the Fields, and afterwards Archbishop of York. This divine 'had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zeal.' Such a man, therefore, could not escape the notice and animadversion of James and his courtiers; and a particular sermon which he had preached at his parish church, upon some points of the controversy then existing, gave so much offence, that the king ordered a mandatory letter to be sent to Dr. Compton, bishop of London, 'requiring him immediately to suspend Sharp, and examine the matter.' The bishop declined proceeding in such a summary way, but requested Sharp to abstain from offi-

ciating till the charge was investigated. By this mild conduct that prelate, who had already rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the court, gave such high offence, that he was now marked as an eminent example for severity; but as there was no law by which he could be punished, the king, by the advice of Jefferies, revived the high commission court, under the new name of a court of delegates for ecclesiastical affairs. Before this court, which was empowered to proceed in a summary and arbitrary way, without any legal rule to govern its proceedings, and constituted as it was, in defiance of the express words of the act of parliament by which the high commission court had been abolished in 1640, bishop Compton was arraigned for contumacy, in not suspending Dr. Sharp, and was himself suspended from exercising his episcopal functions. Dr. Sharp, wl had expressed his sorrow for having excited his sovereign's displeasure, was eventually dismissed with a gentle reprimand only, and suffered to return to the exercise of his clerical duties.*

The protection given to the papists, at this period, was so undisguised and decided, that the host was carried in procession through the streets of London, and "monks," says Rapin, "appeared in the habits of their order at Whitehall and St. James's, and scrupled not to tell the protestants, that 'they hoped, in a little time, to walk in procession through Cheapside.'"† A camp of 15,000 men was also formed upon Hounslow-heath, in which the king had a small chapel, wherein mass was daily celebrated.‡ All vacant preferments were likewise given to the papists; and in many instances, protestant incumbents were deprived of their benefices to make room for catholic priests. A premature embassy was also sent to the court of Rome, for the purpose of reconciling "the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the Holy See," but the pontiff, Innocent XI. having more discrimination than to be the dupe of such a visionary scheme, treated the English ambassador with so much incivility, bordering on rudeness, that the latter, considering himself insulted, returned to England without having accomplished any material object of his mission.§

On the 22d of April, 1688, the king's second declaration of Liberty of Conscience was promulgated; and an order of council was forthwith issued, "enjoining the bishops to cause it to be sent and distributed throughout their dioceses, to be read at the

* Brayley's London, i. 470.
† Rap. Hist. vol. ii. p. 755.
‡ Bur. Hist. vol. i. p. 703.
§ Whenever the earl of Castlemain, ames's ambassador, had an audience of the Pope, and had begun to enter upon his mission, the holy father was instantly seized with a fit of coughing, which always broke off the interview. At length, the earl threatened to return home, unless he was permitted to proceed to the business of his embassy; and this being reported to the pontiff, the latter coldly observed, "Well, let him go; and tell him it were fit he rise early in the morning that he may rest himself at noon; for in this country it is dangerous to travel in the heat of the day."—*Welwood's Mem.* p. 156.

usual time of divine service, in all churches and chapels on certain days named in the order." This new attack upon the principles and doctrines of the established church, was considered by some of its principal divines, as a direct violation of its fundamental interests, and several of the bishops held a conference on the subject, at Lambeth palace, the result of which was a resolution, "That it was better to obey God than man, and their case being such, that they could not obey the king without betraying their own consciences, they ought, without further consideration, to expose themselves to the approaching storm." Dr. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. Turner, bishop of Ely; Dr. Lake, bishop of Chichester; Dr. White, bishop of Peterborough; and Drelawney, bishop of Bristol, then drew up a petition to the king, wherein, "after professing their tenderness to all dissenters, they prayed to be relieved from the dispensing power which the declaration professed, and that they could not, in prudence, honour, or conscience, make themselves so far parties to it, as to cause its distribution through the kingdom." This petition was immediately presented by the bishops to the bigotted James, who was so incensed at its unexpected boldness, that he answered with passion, "he would be obeyed, and that they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him."* All the reply made by the prelates was, "The will of God be done!" and they directly quitted the royal presence.

So great was James' infatuation, that he determined to accomplish his design by upraising the strong arm of power. By way of setting an example which none could mistake, he resolved to proceed with the utmost rigour against the seven bishops, who were ordered to appear before a privy-council devoted to his will, on the 8th of June. The proceedings were most extraordinary. On their appearance, "the king, holding the petition in his hand, asked them whether they had signed that paper? They made a low bow, and said nothing. 'What,' said the king, 'do you deny your own hands?' Upon which they silently bowed again. Then the king told them, if they would 'own it to be their hands, upon his royal word not a hair of their heads should be touched.' Whereupon the archbishop said, 'Relying upon your majesty's word, I confess it to be my hand,' and so said all the rest. Then being ordered to withdraw, when they were called in again, they found the king vanished, and Jefferies in the chair."† This stern judge immediately required them to give bond for their appearance in the court of King's Bench, to answer for their high misdemeanour. On their steady refusal to comply, they were all committed to the Tower, and the crown lawyers were directed to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

* Bur. Hist vol. i. p. 739.
† Tindal, from the information of the bishop of Durham; Rap. Hist ii. 763, note.

"These proceedings," says Burnet, "set all the whole city into the highest fermentation that was ever known in the memory of man;" and it not being accounted safe to send the bishops to the Tower by land, they were conveyed thither by water, yet not so privately but that the people, flocking in multitudes to the river side, hailed them as they past with loud acclamations, and on their knees solicited their blessing.*

On the 15th of June, the bishops were discharged from imprisonment on their own recognizance to appear on the 29th at Westminster hall, to take their trial; which they accordingly did, amidst one of the most crowded courts that had ever assembled. On this occasion, the judges were not unanimous in their charge to the jury, and the latter deliberated on their verdict during the whole night; but, on the next morning, they pronounced the prelates 'Not Guilty!' The acclamations of the crowd, at this decision, were loud and incessant, and the whole metropolis rung with repeated shouts of joy.

The decided tone of the public voice at length convinced James of his error; he discovered, when too late, that the small band of papists which surrounded him, could oppose no effectual barrier against the tide of popular resentment. Alarmed at the dangers of his situation, in this dilemma he applied to the venerable prelates whom he had so lately persecuted; and requested their advice conjointly with the other bishops, as to the steps which he should pursue in the present emergency. At the same time, he restored the bishop of London to his functions, and ordered the base Jefferies himself to carry back the charter to the city of London, as though he had been willing to revert to true constitutional principles. He dissolved the new ecclesiastical court, and signified his intention to call a free parliament; but it became evident, from his hypocritical conduct, that no terms could be kept with him; the adherents of the prince of Orange therefore effected the revolution, by which the constitution of the realm was restored to all its fundamental principles, whilst James pusillanimously abdicated the throne which he was unworthy to fill. He quitted Whitehall, in disguise, with sir Edward Hales, on the night between the 10th and 11th of December; and having thrown the great seal into the Thames, crossed the river, and proceeded to Faversham, near which, at Shellness, he embarked in a small vessel that had been hired by sir Edward to convey him to France. The weather being tempestuous, they could not immediately sail, and James being discovered he was obliged to write to the lords of the council, in London, who dispatched the earls of Faversham, Hilsborough, Middleton, and Yarmouth, with a strong guard of horse, to escort him to Whitehall, if he could be prevailed on to return. On his arrival at the palace, he wrote to the prince of Orange, at Windsor, inviting him to St. James's, that "they might

* Bur. Hist. i. 741; and Rap. Eng. ii. 763.

amicably and personally confer together about the means of redressing the public grievances." To this the prince of Orange replied not, but calling a council of the English lords, who were with him, they resolved that it was expedient that James should remove from his palace to Ham, in Surrey; and, on the same night, the Dutch guards took possession of all the posts about Whitehall and St. James's. The king, seeing his power thus circumscribed, requested, and obtained permission to retire to Rochester instead of Ham; and from Rochester, two days afterwards, December the 23rd, he privately withdrew, and was conveyed in a small frigate to Ambleteuse, in France, never more to revisit the kingdom he had so arbitrarily governed.*

When James first quitted the metropolis, a meeting of thirty spiritual and temporal lords assembled at Guildhall, where they sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, to consult with them respecting the state of the realm, and they resolved to depute some of their body to inform the prince of Orange that they had determined to adhere to his protection, and to request him to honour the city with his presence. The possession of the Tower of London had been previously secured and placed in the custody of lord Lucas.

Though all the precautions imaginable were taken to preserve the peace and safety of the city against the evil designs of papists, and dangerous tumults of others, by keeping the militia of London and Westminster continually in arms, till the arrival of the prince of Orange, yet nevertheless a considerable commotion happened; for the populace, regarding the papists as the authors of their late misfortunes and present distractions, assaulted the houses of the Spanish and Tuscan ambassadors, which were the asylums of the principal papists, and wherein they had deposited their best and most valuable effects; both of which they pillaged of every thing of value; and what they could not carry off, they burnt; among which was a very valuable library both of printed and manuscript books. But, by the succeeding parliament, the ambassadors received ample satisfaction for their several losses. From those places they hastened to the king's printing-house, where all the papers, printed and unprinted, they committed to the flames.

* Brayley's London i. 475.

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