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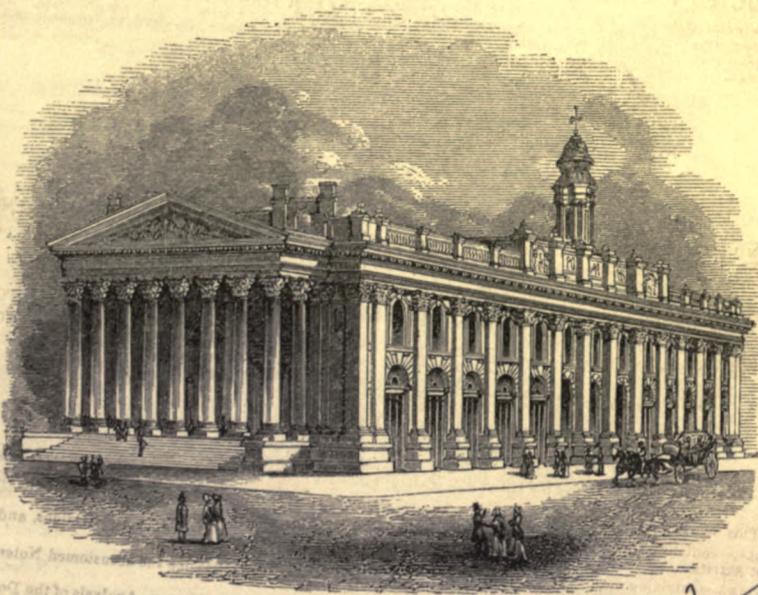
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L O N D O N.



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L O N D O N



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[St. Olave's School.]

CXXVI.—EDUCATION IN LONDON.

No. I.—ANCIENT.

It is fortunate, in one respect at least, that our ancient English historians had not the same view as the moderns of the dignity of history, for if they had we should have been often *told of* men and things, instead of having them vividly *shown* to us; we should have had polished periods, and critical acumen, and weighty philosophy, but we should have lost the gossip, frequently so instructive, and generally so entertaining and characteristic. That there was, for instance, a free school at Westminster so early as the reign of the Confessor, in which grammar and logic were taught, and that the Queen Edgitha took a personal interest in it, are valuable facts when we consider that they are the very earliest of which we have any cognizance relating to the great subject of education in the metropolis, and derive interest, however told, from that consideration, whenever the subject is before us; but if they are to remain with us at all times in the memory, and be frequently recalled with pleasure to the thoughts, they must be made interesting in themselves; we must learn them, as in the present case, from such relaters as Ingulphus. This writer, the well-known monk of Croyland, having spoken of himself as an humble servant of God, born of English parents, in the most beautiful city of London, and told us that to attain to learning he was put to Westminster School, further informs us, "I have seen how, often, when being but a boy, I came to see my father, dwelling in the King's court, and often coming from school, when I met the queen, she would oppose me touching my learning and lesson. And falling from grammar to logic, wherein she had some knowledge, she

would subtilly conclude an argument with me. And by her handmaiden give me three or four pieces of money, and send me unto the palace, where I should receive some victuals, and then be dismissed."* From Westminster School, Ingulphus went to Oxford, where he studied the Aristotelian philosophy, and the rhetorical writings of Cicero: the first express mention also, by the way, of the famous university. How long before this period the school in question may have existed, what other schools were contemporary with or may have preceded it, or what was the nature of the studies generally pursued, are questions that can be only answered by a glance at the general state of education in England during these early ages.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the man to whom we owe the establishment of Christianity among us, Augustin, should also be the presumed founder of our earliest schools, those at Canterbury, where the golden book of the learning in philosophy of the ancients was, it is supposed, first opened to the eyes of our countrymen. Augustin's successor in the archbishopric, Theodore, greatly improved and enlarged these schools, and, with his friend Adrian, as Bede tells us, personally instructed crowds of pupils in divinity, astronomy, medicine, arithmetic, and in the Greek and Latin languages. The impulse thus given spread. Schools multiplied until in a very short space of time they were to be found generally in connexion with monasteries, and more particularly at the different seats of the bishops. London therefore, in the seventh century, had doubtless schools of some kind, most probably the original foundations of the present St. Paul's and Westminster. But good teachers could no more be created suddenly then than now; and, in consequence, the relations of the sister island and England assumed an aspect curiously opposed to all that has since characterised them. Ireland, strange as the statement seems to us, was the chief seat of European learning during the seventh and the two or three following centuries: thither, accordingly, in common with students from different parts of the continent, flocked our English youth; and the circumstances under which they were received appear still more extraordinary. Bede, having told us it was customary for English *of all ranks*, from the highest to the lowest, to retire to Ireland for study and devotion, adds, that they were hospitably received, and supplied *gratuitously* with food, with books, and with instruction. This was, indeed, making tuition a labour of love;—learning, and the diffusion of it, its own reward. Bede's statement is corroborated by his contemporary Aldhelm, whose remarks are the more significant that they come in the shape of a complaint of such a state of things. "Why," says he, "should Ireland, whither troops of students are daily transported, boast of such unspeakable excellence, as if in the rich soil of England, Greek and Roman masters were not to be had to unlock the treasures of divine knowledge? Though Ireland, rich and blooming in scholars, is adorned like the poles of the world with innumerable bright stars, it is Britain has her radiant sun, her sovereign pontiff, Theodore;" who, it may be as well to observe, was a patron of Aldhelm. It was probably to check this wholesale emigration, as well as from a conviction of their superiority, that Irish teachers were obtained for some of the more eminent of the English schools. Alcuin, one of the most learned men of the eighth century, has given us an interesting account of what he learnt

* Transcribed from Stow's Survey, ed. 1633, p. 63.

at the school at York, where he was educated, and what he himself afterwards taught, when he had become eminent as a teacher. The former comprised, in addition to grammar, rhetoric, and poetry, in which Alcuin was evidently a proficient, "the harmony of the sky, the labour of the sun and moon, the five zones, the seven wandering planets, the laws, risings, and settings of the stars, and the aerial motions; of the sea, earthquakes, the nature of man, cattle, birds, and wild beasts, with their various kinds and forms, and the sacred Scriptures;" whilst as to the latter Alcuin tells us, "To some I administer the honey of the sacred writings; others I try to inebriate with the wine of the ancient classics. I begin the nourishment of some with the apples of grammatical subtlety. I strive to illuminate many by the arrangement of the stars, as from the painted roof of a lofty palace." Alcuin's instruction combined, in short, what in the phraseology of the time was called the *totum scibile*, or entire circle of human learning.

The impulse, however, originally given by Augustin and Theodore to learning in England, was gradually subsiding even at this time; and before the piratical Danes appeared to level learning, religion, civilization, and freedom, in one common ruin, scarcely a single school of the highest class seems to have been preserved in its integrity. It is well known that Alfred, in the second half of the ninth century, could find no masters to instruct him in the higher branches of knowledge. This simple fact tells us all we can need to know with regard to the state of education in the metropolis at the time. That truly great monarch, however, had scarcely obtained peace in his dominions before he set himself earnestly to the task of removing the dreary state of ignorance in which he found his country, and of which he had himself so seriously felt the disadvantages. He invited to his court the best scholars of the period from all quarters. At the age of forty he began the study of Latin; with what admirable object let his own words to Wulfsig, Bishop of London, declare:—"I think it better," he says, "if you think so, that we also translate some books, the most necessary for all men to know, that we may all know them; and we may do this with God's help very easily, if we have peace; so that all the youth that are now in England, who are freemen, and possess sufficient wealth, may for a time apply to no other task till they first well know to read English. Let those learn Latin afterwards, who will know more, and advance to a higher condition." It is most probable that the principal schools of a former time that had been destroyed with the monasteries by the Danes, or which had sunk into decay with the previous decay of learning, were now restored, and animated by a new spirit. But Alfred's biographer, Asser, only expressly mentions the one he founded for the sons of the nobility, and for the support of which he devoted the enormous amount of one-eighth of his kingly revenue. This school must have presented an interesting scene. In it were to be found the nobleman of mature age almost commencing his education side-by-side with the youthful son of the wealthy burgher (for Asser expressly says the school was attended by many of the inferior classes), and with the servant of some other man of rank, who, having neither son nor kinsman, thus availed himself of the final alternative which could alone excuse his own absence: the King was determined they should read one way or another, either with their own eyes, or with the eyes of those who would be generally about them, and ordained accordingly. This school has been supposed

to have been the commencement of the University of Oxford, a supposition, however, utterly unsupported by any evidence of weight, and which has therefore been rejected by some of our best writers. Is it not then most probable that the seat of this important establishment was London, which we know to have enjoyed Alfred's especial care and attention? If he did not, like the Roman Emperor, find a city of brick and leave it of marble, he found it of wood, and left it of brick and stone. The period from Alfred's reign to that of the Confessor, when Ingulphus was a scholar at Westminster, was marked by a second decline of education, in consequence of the wars that preceded the conquest by Canute, and then a new rise, through the liberality and wisdom of that monarch, when he was firmly settled upon the throne.

The next direct record that we possess, with regard to the early schools of London, is no less interesting than that left us by Ingulphus, and somewhat more detailed. This is Fitz-Stephen's, the secretary of Thomas A'Becket, whose account of London, during the reign of Henry II., we have so often had occasion to mention in our pages. "In the reign of King Stephen and of Henry II.," he writes, "there were in London three principal churches which had famous schools, either by privilege or ancient dignity, or by favour of some particular persons, as of doctors, which were accounted notable and renowned for knowledge in philosophy. And there were other inferior schools also. Upon festival days the masters made solemn meetings in the churches, where their scholars disputed logically and demonstratively; some bringing enthymems, others perfect syllogisms; some disputed for show, others to trace out the truth; and cunning scholars were brave scholars when they flowed with words. Others used fallacies; rhetoricians spoke aptly to persuade, observing the precepts of art, and omitting nothing that might serve their purpose. The boys of divers schools did cap or pot verses; and contended of the principles of grammar. There were some, which, on the other side, with epigrams and rhymes, nipping and quipping their fellows, and the faults of others, though suppressing their names, moved thereby much laughter among their auditors." We see here very plainly that love of wrangling, and disputation for its own sake, which was so characteristic of the learned men of the middle ages, and which one of them, John of Salisbury, contemporary with Fitz-Stephen, so pleasantly ridicules in his treatise *Metalogicus*, where he describes them as exerting their intellects in the discussion of such knotty questions as Whether a person in buying a whole cloak bought the cowl also; or as When a hog was carried to market with a rope about its neck, held at the other end by a man, whether the man or the rope was really the carrier. The scene of the discussions to which Fitz-Stephen refers, was the Churchyard of St. Bartholomew, where the scholars sat on a "bank boarded about under a tree," as described by Stow, in whose time the custom still existed.* The three principal schools mentioned by Fitz-Stephen are supposed by Stow to be those respectively attached to the Cathedrals of St. Paul and Westminster, and to the Abbey of Bermondsey: the ordinance of the General Council of Lateran, in 1179, that there should be a school with a head teacher in every cathedral, who should have authority over all the scholars of the diocese, making it tolerably certain that there must have been a school then established at St. Paul's, if there

* See our account of the Priory and Church of St. Bartholomew, No. XXVIII. p. 43.

had not been one previously in existence,—Ingulphus's notice having determined the fact of the existence of a school at Westminster, and there being no other great religious house then founded in London to which the third school could have belonged but Bermondsey. From these notices we may judge that education was progressing upon the whole, though with many pauses and goings back. About this very time, or at least but a few years before, namely, in 1164, the Earl of Arundel, having been associated with other noblemen, and some ecclesiastical dignitaries, in an embassy from Henry to the Pope, found it necessary at the close of the Latin harangues, delivered by his clerical companions, to commence his own address in the mother-tongue thus:—"We, who are illiterate laymen, do not understand one word of what the Bishops have said to your Holiness," &c. As an incidental feature of Metropolitan Education at the period in question, it may be mentioned that the Jews had now a school in London as well as in several other large towns of England; and the fact, taken in connexion with the superior character of the education given in these schools—arithmetic and medicine being generally taught with such higher branches of study as Hebrew and Arabic—forms an instructive comment on the opinion which our nobles and others made it the fashion to hold of the Jews, as to their debased and avaricious nature. It is farther noticeable that the Jewish schools were open to the children of Christians, and that the latter did not hesitate to allow their children to participate in the advantages offered. Knowledge was then even more emphatically power than now, because restricted to a smaller number: that any particular class of persons, but especially the Jews, who needed all available weapons both of offence and defence against the oppressions to which they were subject, should have been ready to impart their knowledge, does seem to be a highly honourable circumstance. Only last century, the governors of a school not many hundred yards distant from the locality where the ancient Jews resided, and where, no doubt, was their school, excluded Jews by express ordinance from the benefit of an institution founded for the children of all nations and countries indifferently: we allude to the Merchant Tailors!

Again, for a century or more, the history of Metropolitan Education is a blank; but there are satisfactory and interesting evidences that the education itself must have been progressing rapidly during a part at least of the period. At the beginning of the fourteenth century we are told, and the statement seems all but incredible, that there were 30,000 students at Oxford, and probably still more at Paris: it has been truly said that this looks something like an almost universal diffusion of education. Ingulphus's brief personal history shows us that Oxford, even in the eleventh century, had assumed the character it has ever since maintained, that of a place for instruction in the higher branches of learning in their highest stages of development only. How numerous and how efficient then must have been the preliminary schools of England and France in the fourteenth century to supply such an army of students! And what was the quality of the education whilst the quantity was so extraordinary? We may partly answer by a little anecdote. In 1362 the Rector and Masters of the Faculty of Arts, in the University of Paris, petitioned for the postponement of the hearing of a cause in which they were concerned, on grounds that a dignitary of Oxford or Cambridge of the present day would certainly never guess: "We have," said they, "diffi-

culty in finding the money to pay the Procurators and Advocates, whom it is necessary for us to employ—*we whose profession it is to possess no wealth.*” When men of learning devoted themselves to the business of education, and could think and speak thus, who can doubt that education must have been essentially high? Chaucer, who, after receiving in all probability the rudiments of knowledge in a London school, passed through the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris, will satisfy us that such sentiments were by no means confined to the other side of the Channel; indeed, we may observe in passing, that the two countries were evidently engaged in a very different and thousand times more glorious kind of contest than that which, at the same time, was draining the blood and treasure of both; and a most interesting feature of the period it is—this contest—this under-current of sympathy, such as kindred tastes, objects, and success must have caused between the men of learning of France and England, under circumstances so adverse to their existence. To return: Chaucer’s character of the Clerk in the ‘*Canterbury Tales*,’ to which we referred, is decisive both as to the honourable and cheerfully-accepted poverty, which was the lot of a scholar in the fourteenth century, and of the high standard of moral as well as intellectual perfection which Universities then must have had in view.

“A Clerk there was of Oxenford also
 That unto logic hadde long ygo;*
 As lené was his horse as is a rake;
 And he was not right fat, I undertake,
 But looked hollow, and thereto soberly.
 Full threadbare was his overest courtepy,
 For he had gotten him yet no benefice,
 Ne was nought worldly to have an office;
 For him was lever have at his bed’s head
 A twenty bookes, clothed in black or red,
 Of Aristotle, and his philosophy,
 Than robes rich, or fiddle, or sautrie;
 But all be that he was a philosópher,
 Yet had he but little gold in coffer;
 But all that he might of his friendes hent, †
 On bookes and on learning he it spent;
 And busily gan for the soules pray
 Of them that gave him wherewith to scholay.
 Of study took he moste care and heed:
 Not a word spake he moré than was need;
 And that was said in form and reverence,
 And short and quick, and full of high senténce.
 Sounding in moral virtue was his speech,
 And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.”

Much difference exists in the present day as to both the end and the means of education; for our part we should desire no better evidence of one good system at least, than that it leaves men in the position described in the last of these noble lines.

The schools of London still continued attached (probably exclusively) to the religious houses, and increased as they increased. A proof of the regular nature of the connexion is to be found in the circumstances attending the gradual dissolution of the latter from the time of Henry V. downwards. Stow, alluding

* Gone.

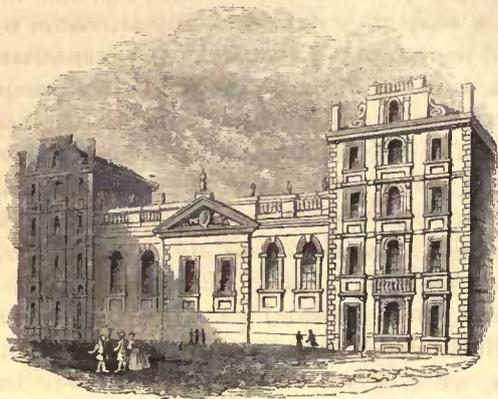
† Borrow.

to that monarch's suppression of the alien Priors, does not think it necessary to state formally that those of London had schools attached to them, but goes on to speak of the schools that were then broken up as a natural consequence, and to point out that Henry VI., to remedy the evil, appointed that there should be Grammar Schools at St. Martin's-le-Grand, St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, St. Dunstan's in the West, and St. Anthony's Hospital. The year following this ordinance, or in 1446, four other Grammar Schools were added by Parliament, namely, in the parishes of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Allhallows the Great, St. Peter's, Cornhill, and St. Thomas-of-Acon's Hospital, Cheapside. It may be doubted whether this last measure proceeded beyond the stage of enactment; certain it is that, ten years later, we find four clergymen of the City petitioning Parliament for the power of providing each a Grammar School "*to teach all that will come:*" one of these was John Neil, the Master of St. Thomas-of-Acon's. The petitioners complained at the same time that teaching had become a monopoly, and observed, "Where there is a great number of learners and few teachers, and all the learners are compelled to go to the few teachers, and to none others, the masters wax rich in money, and the learners poor in learning, as experience openly showeth, against all virtue and order of public weal." Comparing the state of things here revealed, with that of the preceding century, we have another striking evidence of the exceedingly fluctuating character of the history of education in this country. The prayer of the petition having been granted, a school was founded by John Neil and his associates in connexion with their establishment; from that the present Mercers' School may be said to be descended.

The Reformation in England had a two-fold effect upon education; by breaking up the religious houses it destroyed nearly the whole of our schools; on the other hand the general awakening of intellect which characterised the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of which the Reformation itself may be said to be but one effect, was evidently in the highest degree favourable to the inculcation of knowledge. The intense desire for classical learning (which, preceding the religious movement, was afterwards strongly acted upon and forwarded by it, chiefly through the circumstance that the Greek Version of the New Testament became the universal standard of authority to which the Reformers appealed in all their religious contests) was a still more direct influence tending to the establishment and diffusion of education. New Colleges at the Universities sprang into existence with startling rapidity; new schools were established almost as fast as the reforming king had destroyed them. Hence it is that of the exceedingly numerous body of grammar-schools scattered over every part of the country, nearly the whole were founded in one century, the sixteenth; hence it is that the whole of the older schools of the metropolis, with the single exception of the Charter House, founded in the beginning of the seventeenth, date their establishment on the present basis from the same period. Of these, Christ's Hospital, and the Charter House, having been already treated of at length in our pages, need not further be referred to here.

We may infer from the personal history of Colet, the founder of the earliest of these last-mentioned establishments, that the ordinary motives of a religious Reformer of the sixteenth century for desiring the extension of education, acted upon him with so much force as to lead in a great measure to the foundation of

the school. His appointment as Dean of St. Paul's was soon distinguished by his vigorous and searching discipline; among other matters recorded of him, it appears, he introduced the practice of preaching himself on Sundays and



[St. Paul's School, St. Paul's Churchyard, as it appeared before the Fire of London.]

great festival days. The more luxurious of the clergy could perhaps have forgiven this inroad upon their habits; but the use to which he directed his public preachings, as well as his private influence and conversation—his freedom of opinion—his contempt for the abuses of the religious houses—his aversion to clerical celibacy—above all his inclination to the new principles of which he was indirectly one of the most active promoters;—all this they could not forgive. Dean Colet very naturally, as his biographer tells us, became highly obnoxious to the metropolitan clergy. They even had a notion of honouring him by a Smithfield martyrdom. No man could better afford such dislike, for no man had truer or better friends. Linacre, the eminent physician, the founder of the College of Physicians, and one of the best scholars of the age, was one of them. Latimer was another. Both these, with Lyly, the first master of Colet's school, he had become acquainted with in Italy, where the three were all studying Greek, and where Colet himself had gone for general improvement. Of the relations between Colet and the illustrious author of the 'Utopia,' the following passage from one of More's letters, written to the former while he was abroad, will give the best idea. "Return, therefore, my dear Colet; either for Stepney's sake [where Colet then resided], which mourneth for your absence, no less than children do for the absence of their loving mother; or else for London's sake, in respect it is your native country, whereof you can have no less regard than of your parents; and, finally (though this be the least motive), return for my sake, who have wholly dedicated myself to your directions, and do most earnestly long to see you. In the mean time I pass my time with Grocine, Lanacer [Linacre], and Lily; the first being, as you know, the director of my life in your absence; the second, the master of my studies; the third, my most dear companion. Farewell, and see you love me as you have done hitherto.—London, 21st Oct., about 1510." The delightful spirit that pervades these sentences needs no comment. They come from the heart, and therefore speak directly to it. Lastly, Erasmus was, if possible, even more than any of these the constant companion of Colet, when in

England, his constant correspondent when abroad. And the unflinching nervous intellect and irrepressible enthusiasm of the Dean must have finely contrasted with the subtler but more temporising spirit of the eminent Reformer. Colet's biographer, Knight, has given us a pleasant peep into the privacy of their society, on an occasion when their respective characteristics were happily shown. He refers to a period immediately following the commencement of their intimacy. "These two friends, being now happy in each other's acquaintance, were not wanting to improve it to the mutual benefit of one another, particularly at a public dinner in the University, after a Latin sermon; where the table talk was scholastical and theological, Master Colet sitting as Moderator. Among other discourse, Colet said that Cain's greatest offence, and the most odious in God's sight, was his distrusting the bounty of our great Creator, and placing too much confidence in his own art and industry, and so tilling the ground; while his brother Abel, content with the natural productions of the earth, was only feeding sheep. Upon this argument the whole company engaged; the divine arguing by strict syllogisms, while Erasmus opposed in a more loose and rhetorical manner. 'But in truth,' said Erasmus, 'this one divine, Master Colet, was more than a match for us all. He seemed to be filled with a Divine Spirit, and to be somewhat above a man: he spoke not only with his voice, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole demeanour.' When the disputation grew too long, and was too grave and severe for such a cheerful entertainment, Erasmus broke it off by telling an old story of Cain, from a pretended ancient author, though purely of his own invention on the spot; and so they parted friends."*

Is not this Erasmus all over?—the man who led the way to the Reformation by his witty exposure of the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church, but left others to undertake the business of reformation; the man, in short, who, as it was said, laid the egg of the Reformation, but left Luther to hatch it? To the foregoing particulars of Colet, we must add a few derived from Erasmus, who gives us some interesting particulars of the domestic life of his friend;—of his dining without state among his family, but always, if possible, with some strangers for his guests,—of his short sitting at meals, that there might be more time after for the discourses which pleased only the learned and the good,—of the preliminary reading of the chapter from the Bible by some boy with a good voice, as suggestive of the matter of the discourse,—of his servant reading to him when he had no companions to his mind,—of his dress, plain black, while the clergy generally of his rank wore purple,—of his hospitality in handing over regularly to his steward the entire receipts of his offices in the church for the maintenance of his household, whilst he kept his own private estate for charitable uses. Such was Dean Colet, the man who, in 1509, devoted nearly the whole of that private estate to the admirable purpose of founding St. Paul's School; where children of every nation, country, and class were to be educated free, to the number of 153: the number, with that fondness for conceit peculiar to the time, is borrowed from the number of fish taken by St. Peter. This school he endowed with lands and houses to the value of 122*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.*, now worth between 5000*l.* and 6000*l.* That a clergyman should have stepped out of his class to find trustees among laymen, and more particularly with regard to a school founded upon an older establishment

* Knight, p. 39.

that had always been under the direction of the Cathedral dignitaries, is of itself a significant feature of Colet's views with relation to the religious differences of the period, and agrees in the main with Erasmus's statement. "After he had finished all," he says in a letter to Justus Jonas, "he left the perpetual care and oversight of the estate, not to the clergy, not to the bishop, not to the chapter, nor to any great minister at court, but amongst the married laymen, to the Company of Mercers, men of probity and reputation. And when he was asked the reason of so committing the trust, he answered to this effect—that there was no absolute certainty in human affairs; but, for his part, he found less corruption in such a body of citizens than in any other order or degree of mankind." If ever trustees were solemnly called upon to discharge their duties with fidelity, and in a mode that should at the same time animate them with the best possible spirit for so doing, it was surely in such words. We are afraid, however, that if the Dean were aware that his property had increased so greatly, whilst the scholars remained at the magical number of 153, and that the classics, then in many respects so much more important than now, were all that these 153 are taught, he would hardly compliment the trustees on their observance of the spirit of his wishes: he might be apt to ask even what attention had been paid to their letter, considering that he had expressly empowered the Company of Mercers to make such other regulations for the governance of the school as time and circumstances might render necessary, with the advice and assistance of "good, lettered, and learned men." The first head master appointed by the Dean was William Lily, the eminent grammarian, "the most dear companion" of Sir Thomas More. The choice was probably determined by that high idea of the value of classical and especially of Greek learning and literature, which the Reformers in particular among our learned men had at the time in question, Lily being the first teacher of Greek in the metropolis after the revival of letters. The success of the school under Lily showed the Dean's selection to have been a wise one. During the twelve years that he lived to conduct it, a host of excellent scholars were sent forth into the different departments of public life, including such men as Sir Anthony Denny, privy counsellor to Henry VIII., Sir Edward, afterwards Lord North, and the eminent antiquary, Leland. It was not, however, without considerable opposition and some obloquy, it would seem, that he and the founder were allowed to carry out their wishes of teaching the classics freely; the latter, in a letter to Erasmus, relates, that one of the prelates of the church, esteemed among the most eminent for his learning and gravity, had, in a great public assembly, accused him in the severest terms for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in his new seminary, which, on that account, he styled a house of idolatry. Lily died of the plague in 1523, six years after his friend and patron, Colet. The school at present consists of eight forms or classes, the first receiving the pupil for instruction in the rudiments, the last dismissing him with a sound classical and mathematical education, including the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages. The school is strictly a free one. The age of scholars at admission must not exceed fifteen. The Mercers' Company are the admitters. There are numerous exhibitions at the University in connexion with the school. Of the eminent men since Lily's time, who have been educated here, we must not forget such names as John Milton, the physician Scarborough, the gossip Pepys, the divine Calamy, and the

warrior Marlborough. We have given an engraving of the school as built by Colet. The present building was erected in the years 1823-1824.

The principal other old metropolitan schools were established in the following order:—the Mercers' own free-grammar school, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. ; the Merchant Tailors' in 1567 ; St. Saviour's, 1562 ; St. Olave's, 1570 ; and Westminster, 1590. The Mercers' School originally, as we have seen, formed a part of the Hospital of St. Thomas-of-Acon's, a religious establishment of such great wealth and rank that its master, at the time of the dissolution, was a mitred abbot, and the revenues truly princely. Henry VIII. sold the buildings and a part of its land to the Mercers' Company, stipulating for once that the school should be maintained. But the merit of this precaution seems to belong to Sir Thomas Gresham, who, Strype says, was instrumental in the making of the arrangement. From this period the school became a regular free-school. In 1804 the Company wisely departed from the strictly classical system previously pursued, by including the other branches of a sound general education ; and in 1809 increased the numbers of its scholars from 25 to 35, and since then again to 70 : a circumstance highly creditable to the Company, and the more necessary to be mentioned inasmuch as we have alluded to the different mode in which they have dealt with the foundation of Dean Colet, at St. Paul's. There are no restrictions as to age or place of residence of scholars, but a certain amount of proficiency is deemed indispensable. The instruction is perfectly gratuitous ; and there is attached to the school the farther advantage of two University exhibitions of 50*l.* per annum each, for five years, to reward occasionally the most meritorious students. Of this school Colet was a member, also Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Lionel, afterwards Lord, Cranfield, and Bishop Wren. The masters are four in number. The school, like that of St. Paul's, is constantly full.

The school of the Merchant Tailors is an honourable instance of the application of surplus funds by a City company, assisting, as it does, to a considerable extent, in the education of no less than 250 pupils. It was founded in 1561 for children of all nations and countries indifferently, which in 1731 was interpreted to mean that Jews were to be excepted, or else the Company had grown in the interim less tolerant in its views. Notwithstanding the Company's assistance, the education is still expensive, averaging, on the whole, not less than ten pounds



[Merchant Tailors' School, Cannon Street.]

yearly. Attached to the school are thirty-seven fellowships at St. John's College, Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas White for its scholars: in consequence, several of the best are yearly sent to the University. A long list of eminent names graces the pages of the school-records of Merchant Tailors': we read there Lancelot Andrews, Juxon, Charles I.'s spiritual companion on the scaffold, William Lowth the elder, and who is said to have been a profounder scholar even than his better known son, the translator of Isaiah, Sandys, the traveller, Dr. Schomberg, Sir James, and Bulstrode Whitelock, Robert, the first Lord Clive, with archbishops, bishops, &c., too numerous to mention. The education here is strictly classical and mathematical; and conducted by four masters.

The school of St. Saviour deserves respectful mention, were it only for the admirable practical rules drawn up by its founders. According to one of these, the Master is to be a man of a wise, sociable, and loving disposition, not hasty or furious, nor of any ill example; he shall be wise and of good experience, *to discern the nature of every several child*; to work upon the disposition for the greatest advantage, benefit, and comfort of the child; to learn with the love of his book: unfortunately, it was necessary then as now to add, "if such a one may be got." The sports of the scholars, by the same rules, were directed to be shooting with the long-bow, chess, running, wrestling, and leaping. Scholars pay, according to Carlisle,* 1*l.* entrance-money, and 2*l.* per annum; the present expense, we are informed by authority, is about the same. This agrees but ill with one part of the intentions of the founders in 1526, that the school should be for children, as well of the poor as of the rich. The founders of St. Olave's, in 1570, seem to have had these words in view when they formed their establishment for "children and younglings as well of rich as the poor," being inhabitants of the parish. Elizabeth consented, it seems, to become the patron, and it was, consequently, called her school; but her name and a legal status seem to have been all she gave to it. An excellent general education was provided, which was to be so truly free that not even books were to be paid for, and the masters were not to receive any fee or reward, directly or indirectly, on any pretence whatever. The age of admittance is six or seven, and the boys remain generally till fourteen, when those of humbler condition are apprenticed; others, who are studying for the learned professions, may remain an almost unlimited time. Two exhibitions of 80*l.* each at the Universities are connected with the school. St. Olave's is now one of the most valuable of metropolitan schools. The funds have been so greatly increased in progress of time, that they amount at present to about 3000*l.* a-year. With the enlargement of the means the ends have been pursued, of late years at least, in a correspondingly liberal spirit. The school is exclusively for the parish, or rather the two parishes, into which the old St. Olave's has been divided, and is only the more efficient from that very exclusiveness: since the number of children taught (limited only by the capacity of the buildings) is so large, nearly six hundred, that undue preferences, whether of persons or of classes, become alike unnecessary and impracticable to any important extent: the parish therefore is and must be done justice to. The establishment is divided into two schools—the classical, forming, with the head master's house, the chief portions of the exceedingly elegant and appropriate

* Endowed Grammar Schools.

architectural pile shown in our engraving, and the English, or branch, situated at a little distance in the neighbourhood. The tuition in the two schools merely differs in this, that whilst all the ordinary branches of English education, with the classics, are taught in the one, in the other the classics are omitted. This difference points to the practical difference that exists between the classes of society to which the children of the schools respectively belong, the classical school receiving generally those of the middle, the English those of the poorer inhabitants of the parish. The number of boys in the first is now about 320, in the second about 250; taught, in each case, by three masters.

The last, best known, and historically the most important, of all the old schools of London remains yet to be noticed. Who has not heard of the Westminster boys, of their plays and disputations, of their illustrious roll of great men who have been educated within the Old Abbey precincts, and of the Masters who have made the world ring again with the fame of their learning, almost as much as they have made the school walls reverberate with the sounds of the lash and the cries of the lashed? Personify all the awful visions that ever shook the nerves of the youthful dreamers of punishment yet to be received for hours of unlicensed absence, or tasks too late taken in hand, and whose but Dr. Busby's terrible shadow rises to the view? It is said that much of the traditional character of this exemplar of pedagogues is exaggerated; we hardly think it. When the great quarrel took place between Dr. Busby and his second master, Bagshawe, which ended in the latter's dismissal, the severity of the former's discipline was one of the chief points urged by Bagshawe against him. He has "often complained to me," observes the latter, "and seems to take it ill, that I did not use the rod enough." In the *Life of some Schoolmaster in 'Nicholl's Literary Anecdotes,'* it is observed that he would chastise pretty severely; but it is still pointed out to his credit that he never did what it is stated was a common habit with Busby—send boys home with a piece of buckram appended to a particular part of their apparel, as a necessary temporary substitute for the part that had been flogged away by the master's zeal for his young friend's intellectual welfare. But to do the Doctor justice, we have no doubt whipping with him was a piece of honest enthusiasm, and not by any means a mere ebullition of impatience or ill temper. Pointing to a scholar, he said one day, "I see great talents in that sulky boy, and I shall endeavour to bring them out." Dr. South was the result of the discipline that followed. How could the physician help having faith thenceforward in his medicine? Some boys, to be sure, could not perhaps pass through the ordeal, and these he frankly acknowledged had no business at Westminster. He said his rod was his sieve, according to Dr. Johnson, and whoever could not pass through that was no boy for him. Busby, it appears, had his "white boys," or favourites. Witty in himself, it is creditable to him that he is said to have liked wit in others, even though they were his own scholars, and the joke was at his own expense. It must have been a terrible piece of business though for a boy to have committed himself to a bad joke in such experiments. The only trustworthy anecdote of Busby that has been received in reference to the wit of which we spoke, seems to be this. Sitting once in company between Mrs. South and Mrs. Sherlock, the conversation turned on wives; Dr. Busby said that he "believed wives in general

were good, though, to be sure, there might be a bad one *here* and a bad one *there*." For fifty-five years did Dr. Busby rule the destinies of the school; and during that time so many able scholars passed through his "sieve," that he was able at one time to boast that sixteen out of the whole Bench of Bishops had been educated by him. The "rod" must have been in glorious occupation after these recollections. Of the Masters prior to Busby, the most worthy of notice is Camden, who was made Under-Master in 1571, and whilst in that position composed his great work, the 'Britannia.' In 1592 he received the appointment of Head-Master. Ben Jonson was one of his scholars. As to the Masters since Dr. Busby, the first was the brother of the eminent Physician, of whom we have had occasion, in the 'College of Physicians,'* to relate an interesting anecdote referring to his confinement in the Tower: the following verses were published in consequence of this appointment:—

Ye sons of Westminster, who still retain
Your ancient dread of Busby's awful reign,
Forget at length your fears—your panic end;
The monarch of your place is now a *Freind*.

This Dr. Freind caused much speculation in the school on the occasion of his brother's arrest, by giving for a theme, *Frater ne desere Fratrem*. To give any adequate idea of the number of the scholars who, by their subsequent career, have shed a glory over the school that educated them, is all but hopeless. Embarrassed apparently by too much wealth, the historian of the school does not attempt to mention any but those who have been distinguished by their election to the Universities. Among these we find Dryden, in 1650, who signalised himself at the school by translating the Third Satire of 'Perseus,' for a Thursday night's exercise, as he has informed us in a prefatory advertisement to the published Satire. Next comes Locke, who was elected to Oxford in 1652. Then a batch of poets, Smith, Prior, Rowe, and Dryden's rival, Elkanah Settle. Smith's election was marked by a very unusual compliment. His performances as a candidate were so remarkable, that a contest ensued between the electors of the two Universities as to which should have him; those of Cambridge had that year the preference, and they elected him; but the Oxford people, no less determined, did what they could; they offered the young scholar a studentship in one of the colleges, and he accepted it. Bishop Newton follows, and then two more poets, the friends Churchill and Lloyd. The last was for a short time an usher in the school. As to Churchill, when he applied for matriculation at Oxford, on leaving the school, he was, according to some, rejected on account of his deficiency, whilst others relate the matter in a very different manner, saying that he was so hurt at the trifling questions put to him by the Examiner, that he answered with a contempt which was mistaken for ignorance. He was subsequently admitted at Cambridge. Warren Hastings, and a host of more recent men, continue the list of distinguished Westminster scholars. There are some curious points in the management of this school. The mode of election of boys upon the foundation is one of these. We must premise that the present school forms a constituent part of the establishment of the Cathedral, and dates therefore from the final settlement of the latter in 1560, when it was determined, as

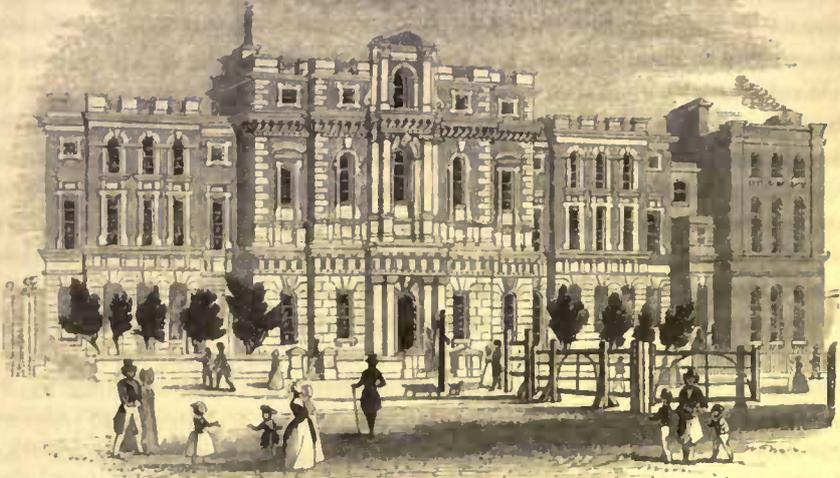
* See the College of Physicians, No. XXVII. p. 28.

regards the school, that there should be two Masters, and forty King's or Queen's scholars. These are distinguished by a peculiar garb, an academical-looking cap and gown; and enjoy peculiar and highly estimated advantages. Owing to the high patronage under which such a school necessarily existed, admission into it has always been greatly desired by parents of the highest rank for their children. Hence the necessity for a less restricted admission. "Town boys" are therefore received as well as Queen's scholars, and from the first the second are elected. No one who has once witnessed the mode of election will ever forget it. At the commencement of Lent, a certain number of boys, generally from twenty to thirty, announce themselves to the Master as candidates for college. An arduous training is passed through by each boy before the day of contest arrives, under the care of one who has already passed the ordeal, and a most interesting feature of the business is the zeal of these assistants for their "men," as they call them. Morning, noon, and eve they are constantly by their side, teaching them all the tactics of the intellectual *carte* and *tierce* for which they are preparing. The great event commences at last. The candidates are arranged according to their forms in the school, and their places in the forms. The "helps" are at hand to give all possible assistance. A lesson, some Greek epigrams, perhaps, is set, and the two lowest boys, figuratively speaking, enter the arena. The lowest of these is the challenger, and now calls upon his adversary to translate one of the epigrams, to parse any particular number of words in it, and to answer any grammatical questions connected with the subject. Demand after demand is made and correctly replied to. Baffled, but still determined, the challenger pursues, and at last some unlucky mistake is made; the head master, who sits as judge, triumphantly appealed to,—“It was a mistake” is the decision; the challenger and the challenged change places on the form, and then the latter, with a fierce eagerness, repeats the process by putting his questions. This continues till one of them is exhausted, feels he is beaten, and resigns the contest. The conqueror, flushed with victory, now turns to the boy above him, and supposing him to be one of those heroes who occasionally “flash amazement” on all around, will pass step by step upwards, taking ten, fifteen, aye, twenty places in succession, before he too is stopped and quails under a greater spirit. The result is, that from seven to ten of the boys are elected into the college, according to their precedence on the list of the most successful competitors, to take the places of those sent to the Universities. There are four studentships at Christ Church, Oxford, and three or four scholarships at Trinity, Cambridge: election to the former involves the important privilege of a living on quitting the University, to all who choose to accept it. The selection of Queen's scholars to fill the University vacancies is made yearly, after an examination by the heads of the two Colleges. In looking at the character of the foregoing examination, we are so strongly reminded of the meetings on the bank boarded about at St. Bartholomew's that the question naturally occurs, whether the one custom is not a remnant of the other? and on referring to Stow's notice to see what schools shared in those ancient disputations, we find the boys of “St. Peter's, Westminster,” expressly mentioned with those of St. Paul's, the Mercers' (or St. Thomas-of-Acon's), and St. Anthony's. The plays of Terence, annually performed in the large dormitory erected in the time of Atterbury's deanship, from a design by

the Earl of Burlington, are grand events in the histories of Westminster boys, and of their parents, who are regularly invited;—it might also be added, of the world also, if we are to judge by the long accounts which usually appear in the newspapers on such occasions: a circumstance that makes it the less necessary for us to dwell upon the performances here. One or two matters connected with them are, however, worth mentioning. The early scenery of the school, which was the gift of William Markham, Archbishop of York, was prepared under the direction of no less an authority than David Garrick. Another set of scenery was presented by Dr. Vincent. During performance, the pit is set apart for “old Westminsters,” who, as may be anticipated, contribute liberally to the “captain’s cap,” which is handed round at the end of the play. As much as 400*l.* have been collected on some occasions, from which the expenses, generally heavy, having been deducted, the remainder is divided among the senior Queen’s scholars, who have that evening fretted their hour upon the stage. This school, though partially supported from the cathedral revenues, is anything but a free-school. Both Town boys and Queen’s scholars pay for their education, and that pretty handsomely. There is an entrance fee of ten guineas, and the annual payments after are for the Queen’s scholars seventeen guineas, the Town boys twenty-three. Many of the Town boys, and of course the whole of the Queen’s scholars, are boarders; the former pay fifty-three guineas per annum, the latter twenty-four. The Queen’s scholars sleep in the dormitory before mentioned, and dine in the fine old hall, formerly the Abbot’s refectory; and there, in less degenerate times, they also breakfasted, on bread and cheese and beer, at six o’clock in the morning. The prosperity of the school has somewhat declined of late years. When Carlisle wrote, in 1818, he spoke of the number of boys as about three hundred; now one hundred is about the average. A magnificent increase, however, we understand, is about to be made to the power and influence of the school, in connexion with the University endowments for its scholars, through the liberality of its late master, Dr. Carey, the present bishop of St. Asaph, who has left a large sum in his will for that purpose—it is said twenty-five thousand pounds. This must do much to bring back to Westminster School all its former prosperity. The number of assistant masters varies with that of the scholars; there are two now, making, with the head master and the second master, four in all. The education here, we need hardly mention, is essentially classical.



[Westminster School.]



[British and Foreign School, Borough Road.]

CXXVII.—EDUCATION IN LONDON.

NO. II.—MODERN.

WHAT is Education? is a question we may not unfitly pause a moment to ask, in passing from the scholastic establishments—originated in an earlier—to those of the present time; for never before did the spirit of improvement, fast spreading on all sides, promise to work more radical changes of principle, as well as of detail, in all our educational arrangements, because never before did the necessity of improvement appear to be so vitally connected with all the best interests of society. What is Education? then, we ask, and for answer step into one of the lowest class of schools, such as are to be found in all parts of the metropolis, from Westminster to Bethnal Green, the Dame Schools; and we see there that education means the keeping out of the streets the children of those who are not able, or who are unwilling, to take care of them at home, and that the educator is a person who, being utterly unfit for anything in the world else of any importance, naturally resorts to this. It is true that at such intervals of time as the mistress can spare from her needle-work, her washing-tub, or her culinary operations—perhaps even during these avocations—she teaches reading and spelling; but her labours are more meritorious than successful: “I have not,” says the Inspector of the British and Foreign Metropolitan Schools, “met with any of

these children who could read.* Religious instruction, we apprehend, fares no better in their hands than secular. One worthy mistress of a provincial dame-school being asked the number of her scholars, replied, "It was unlucky to count them. It would be a flat flying in the face of Providence. No, no, you shan't catch me counting: see what a pretty mess David made of it when he counted the children of Israel."

Ascending a step in the educational scale, let us seek in the humbler order of day-schools for a similarly practical answer to the query, What is Education? Not cleanliness, it should seem, nor health, nor enjoyment, at all events. Here is a picture of an English day-school in the nineteenth century:—"In a garret, up three pair of dark broken stairs, was a common day-school, with forty children, in the compass of ten feet by nine. On a perch forming a triangle with the corner of the room, sat a cock and two hens; under a stump bed, immediately beneath, was a dog-kennel in the occupation of three black terriers, whose barking, added to the voices of the children and the cackling of the fowls on the approach of a stranger, were almost deafening; there was only one small window, at which sat the master, obstructing three-fourths of the light it was capable of admitting." This, which occurred in Liverpool, was, no doubt, an extreme case; but when we know from the partial examinations that have been made in London, that the dame and day schools (of the class referred to) are *generally* confined and badly ventilated, it becomes tolerably evident that particular cases must abound in the poorer districts, similar in kind, however they may differ in degree from that we have mentioned. The tuition in such schools includes reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, but the results are, no doubt, what they have been described, "very middling." Considering indeed the character of the masters, who have in most cases filled some other profession, and not succeeding, have taken up that of schoolmaster, we need not be surprised that some odd mistakes will occur. One master, ambitious to distinguish himself above the ordinary teachers of geography, was found in possession of a pair of globes, and being asked if he used both, or only one, replied, "Both: how could I teach geography with one?" It appeared he thought they represented the two different halves of the world, and when the relator of the story explained the error, turned him out of the room. Negative merits sometimes deserve record; that the teachers in such schools do *not* attempt to teach anything beyond the commonest rudiments of knowledge, is a decided merit, for which we cannot be too thankful. Morality, for instance, with them is looked upon in a light quite as original as that in which the dame before referred to seems to have beheld religion. To the inquiry, Do you teach morals? One master replied, "That question does not belong to my school, it belongs more to girls' schools." Another answered to the same question, pointing to his ragged flock, "Morals! how am I to teach morals to the like of these?" Who, after this, can help sympathising in the views of such men, as expressed by one of their number: "I hope the Government, if they interfere, will pass a law that nobody that is not high larnt shall teach for the future; then we shall have some chance." "Of 540

* Report from the Select Committee on Education of Poorer Classes in England and Wales, 1838. We may here observe, to prevent a multiplicity of references, that the illustrations in the above and subsequent pages are, unless it is otherwise stated, drawn from this, the most trustworthy publication on the subject of late years.

schoolmasters and schoolmistresses (in Westminster and Finsbury, says the Report of the Committee of the Statistical Society on Popular Education in London), who were asked whether they had any other occupation than their schools, 260 (or 48·1 per cent.) answered that they kept a shop, or took in washing or needle-work, or had other laborious employment: the rest answered that they had no other occupation than their schools. But although they might not have any other ostensible occupation, it can hardly be supposed that they were in a condition to devote their whole energies to their scholastic duties. On the contrary, the mistresses of the common day-schools were sometimes young persons unable to go to service from ill-health, or desirous of staying at home with a sick or aged parent, and glad to add something to their means of maintenance: some, again, were mothers of large families; and, in all cases, even the most favourable, the female teachers had their own household work to attend to. A very large portion of the masters of common day-schools, and still more of middling day-schools, were men in distressed circumstances, or who had, at some time or another, failed in trade, and seemed to have taken up the profession of schoolmaster as a last resource. The little estimation in which the proprietors, and more especially the mistresses, of schools hold their profession is shown by the circumstance, that whenever they had any other trade or calling, they entered that other trade by preference at the census of 1841. Thus a woman who took in needle-work would be almost certain to describe herself as 'dress-maker,' not as 'schoolmistress.' When the whole of the census of 1841 is published, it will probably be found that the figures under the head of 'Schoolmasters, &c.' will bear a very small proportion to the real number. An inspection of the census schedules leads us to believe that the same kind of prejudice holds good for and against many other professions also. Your Committee *hardly ever* entered, for any length of time, into conversation with the proprietor of a common or middling day-school but he or she began to talk of having been '*in better circumstances*' and of '*unforeseen difficulties.*' We need not ask what is education in the better order of day-schools, or in those old foundations which engaged our attention in the preceding number, since the views of their supporters and directors are so well known; being, in short, the views generally held, or at least acted upon, by society at large, that education means a certain amount of knowledge simply, which the schools in question, no doubt, give.

The incidental notices contained in the foregoing passages will have given our readers some slight notion of the general quality of the education hitherto afforded for the children of the poor in the metropolis, as well as in all the other great towns of England; the quantity demands a few words of direct notice. In 1837, an inquiry was instituted by the Statistical Society of London into the state of the parishes of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Clement Danes, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Paul, Covent Garden, and the Savoy; when the result showed that but one in fourteen of the population received any education at all; and that of those who did nominally receive instruction, one-fourth were the attendants merely of the dame and common day-schools. If we go from the western to the eastern parts of the metropolis, we find matters, as we might expect, worse. About one in twenty-one of the population seems to be there, the average number of those who attend any sort of school. The Inspector of the British and Foreign Schools

remarked to the Committee for Education, "I know a gentleman who recently visited the parish of Bethnal Green on Sunday; and he walked about the neighbourhood, and counted in different groups about three hundred boys, who were gambling on the Sabbath-day; and on inquiring of many of these youths, he ascertained that they could not read, and their appearance was very rough and degraded." But really this is a trifle to speak of in connexion with the locality. A committee of its inhabitants* state that, "after making allowance for such as must at all times be prevented from attending school, there are at this moment from 8000 to 10,000 children in Bethnal Green alone, not only without daily instruction, but for whom no means of daily instruction are provided." Spitalfields, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, Wapping, Newington, Bermondsey, St. George-in-the-East, Christchurch (Surrey),—the same state of things characterizes them all. Omitting from the returns for these parishes laid before the Committee the number of children attending the dame and common day-schools, which are intrinsically worthless, the result is that one in twenty-seven of the population alone was instructed: the nature and agencies of the instruction given belong to that department of our subject to which we now address ourselves, the educational movements of recent years.

In looking at the stately building in the Borough Road, and meditating upon the importance of the influences with which it is connected, one cannot but feel a deep interest in tracing back to its origin, in the same locality, the powerful society whose operations, radiating from this spot, extend over a large portion of England, we might almost say, of the world. Nothing could be humbler than that origin. A youth, the son of a soldier in the foot guards, residing here, moved by deep compassion for the ignorance and helplessness of the poor children around, obtains a room from his father to open a school, exerts all his energies to get it fitted up, and then throws wide the doors for general instruction. By his novel mode of tuition, and by the earnestness which can hardly fail with any mode, the school is speedily filled. The new teacher has ninety children under his care, long before he has himself reached the years of manhood. Such was the commencement of the career of Joseph Lancaster. Anxious to overcome the difficulty attending the expense of the education of the poor, he, for some years, endeavoured with great ardour to devise and perfect a system which should enable one master to teach several hundred children; and though it would be difficult to attribute any great excellence in the abstract to the monitorial system, which was the result of his labours, there can be no doubt that comparatively it has done great good. Inefficient as the education given by it may, and we think, must be, where the monitors are not first thoroughly trained, and then used merely for very subordinate objects, there seems no reason to doubt but that it was an improvement on that which it superseded, whilst it at the same time brought a large increase to the numbers of the instructed. So benevolent and enlightened a man was not likely to remain long without supporters. The Duke of Bedford gave an early and cordial assistance, and in 1805 royalty itself deigned to smile on the labours of the schoolmaster: it was during Lancaster's interview with George the Third that the wish before referred to was expressed. In this age of self-seeking, it is gratifying to read of Lancaster's single-mindedness and devotion to

* Referred to in the Report of the Committee on Education.

principle. The most flattering overtures were made to him in connexion with the proposition that he should join the established church; all which, as a dissenter, he respectfully but firmly declined. About this very time his affairs were so embarrassed, through the rapid extension of his plans of teaching, that in 1808 he placed them in the hands of trustees, and a voluntary society was formed to continue the good work he had begun. Hence the Society, which, in 1813, designated itself the "Institution for promoting the British [or Lancasterian] System for the Education of the labouring and manufacturing Classes of Society of every religious persuasion;" but now known simply as the "British and Foreign School Society." The institution in the Borough Road may be looked upon in a threefold aspect. It is, first, the Society's seat of government: secondly, here are held the model schools, one for each sex, in which the Society desires to have at all times examples for imitation by the branch schools; and in which accordingly improved modes of tuition are from time to time introduced. The mode of instruction is partly monitorial, partly simultaneous—that is, a large number are taught at once by a teacher, where the subject admits of such an arrangement. For this the children are disposed on ranges of seats, rising in succession one above another, and narrowing and receding as they rise, in the angle of the room, like the one side of a pyramid. The master's eye thus readily embraces the whole of the gallery. Thirdly, there are Normal Seminaries here, for the instruction of future masters and mistresses, who, whilst teaching in the model school classes, are students themselves in the art of tuition, the most important branch of their studies. The account of the latter, with the qualifications demanded before entrance, and the discipline observed after, as described in the pamphlet issued by the Society last year, is a most cheering document; at length we seem to have arrived at a point from whence a glimpse at least of the promised land is opened to us. Religious principle without sectarian feeling, health, activity, and energy, moderate talents and information, kindness, and great firmness of mind combined with good temper—such are the qualifications expected in an applicant. Suppose him admitted, he then, in addition to the study of teaching by teaching in the Model School, enters upon a scheme of instruction, which, besides the ordinary branches of education taught in our schools generally, aims to make him able also to teach elocution, natural philosophy, natural history, botany, chemistry, drawing—from the mechanical map upwards to the artistical landscape—the elements of physics, and vocal music. Nor is this all. In the list of lectures, or conversational readings on the art of tuition, we find such subjects as the following set down for study and discussion by the pupils: on the philosophy of the human mind as applicable to education; on the promotion of a love of truth, honesty, benevolence, and other virtues among children; on the ventilation of school-rooms and dwellings; on the elements of political economy; on machinery and its results; on cottage economy, and saving banks, with a host of other matters no less practically valuable to those who are to become the teachers of the poor. Although, as yet, much of this must be looked upon as prospective, and as what ought to be done, and that thoroughly, rather than what is yet in any case accomplished, still the scheme of instruction given in the same publication for the Model School shows that this array is by no means a mere show of learning, which the pupils are seldom or never expected to acquire, and at no time

to teach. Some of the features of that scheme are peculiarly gratifying, when contrasted with the practical neglect of all such matters that generally characterises our schools of every rank. We see that kindness to animals, speaking the truth, love to brothers and sisters, obedience to parents, and a recognition of the goodness of God, or what we may call the first rudiments of morality and religion, keep steady and regular company in the junior class with the rudiments of intellectual learning, and so on upwards as the learners progress. It is only just to mention that the Society's past labours in the normal-schools have not been altogether unrewarded. Of the two thousand and more masters already sent forth by the Society, many have, it appears, distinguished themselves by their patience, diligence, and piety; and thus given earnest of what might be accomplished, could the grand evil attending their normal schools be got rid of, namely, the shortness of the period that the pupils generally stay in them, only a few months on the average. To make the funds of the Society large enough to admit of its bearing the entire expense of the board and training of pupils, instead of leaving a part to be defrayed by the latter as it is now compelled to do, seems the only sure remedy; and this Government should do. It is evidently poverty rather than will that induces many to leave before they have passed through the preliminary stages of a sound educational apprenticeship, and who would be glad, no doubt, if the Society could really make apprentices of them for a certain period. In that case some method might probably be devised of rendering the latter part of the term profitable to the Society, and so to partially liquidate the previous costs.

About the same time that Lancaster brought his views prominently before the world, and thus, as we have seen, led the way to the establishment of one of our two great Educational Societies, Dr. Andrew Bell was similarly engaged, and his exertions ended in the formation of the other. Whilst superintendant of the Male Asylum at Madras, his attention was directed to the Hindu mode of writing in sand, and other peculiarities of their tuition, with which he was so pleased, that on his return to this country he strongly recommended them as suitable for a system of general education. After a sharp controversy on the merits of the plans respectively proposed by the two educational reformers, and in which the supporters of education gradually became divided into two distinct parties, holding different views as to the mode and the extent to which religious instruction should be mixed with secular, the British and Foreign Society became the representative of that which desired to make the Bible the basis of religious instruction, but without doctrinal comments, and the National of that which advocated the inculcation of the tenets of the Established Church. This is now the grand distinctive difference between the two Societies. Without for a moment questioning the purity of Dr. Bell's views, it is not uninteresting to mark his and his rival's very different fortunes. Lancaster, after passing from difficulty to difficulty, and being at one time insolvent, was solely indebted for the means of his existence in his latter days to a few old and faithful friends, who purchased an annuity for him, and in that position he died in 1838; on the other hand, Dr. Bell may be said to have stepped from honour to honour, with constantly increasing emoluments, and when he died in 1832, it was as a very rich man even in a country of rich men. Never, however, were rewards bestowed upon one who knew better how to exhibit his gratitude to the cause for which they had been given: 120,000*l.*

was Dr. Bell's most magnificent bequest for the encouragement of literature and the advancement of education. 'The National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales' was established in 1811, and from that period has, like its rival, exercised a beneficial effect within the sphere of its operations; but in both cases it is the impulse given within the last three or four years, and which has been increasing in power up to the present moment,—it is this, and the prospects in consequence *now* open, that form their most truly gratifying features. The headquarters of the National Society are in the Old Sanctuary, Westminster. This has also its Model or Central Schools, its Branch Schools all over the country, and its schools for teaching masters, both adults and youths, the last on a scale of imposing splendour at Stanley Grove, Chelsea, where the male pupils are trained. Here eleven acres of ground have been purchased, and beautifully laid out in lawn, shrubberies, kitchen garden, and pasture; magnificent buildings erected in the Italian style, in addition to that already standing upon the estate, for the purposes of dormitories, halls, chapel, and practising school: and already about fifty of the sixty students that are to form the complete number of the establishment have been received, and are steadily passing through the educational processes marked out for them, under the direction of an establishment of masters, comprising, or intended to comprise, a Principal, Vice-Principal, and two Assistants.



[Chapel and Practising School, Stanley Grove, Chelsea.]

There is one view of the present educational movements peculiarly interesting, and suggestive of something like what we call poetical justice. The poor, who have suffered from ignorance and the culpable neglect of their better informed and better circumstanced brethren so long, are now likely to be the first enjoyers

of a thoroughly genuine education. Unquestionably, there is no comparison between the essential value of such schemes of instruction, carried on in the spirit in which they are proposed, as that we have already had occasion to mention in connexion with the Society in the Borough Road, and the schemes of any of the older, more famous, and more wealthy educational foundations. These last may, and do, make excellent scholars; the others will aim at making excellent men, when at least equally favourable opportunities are afforded for their development. This view is still more forcibly impressed upon us in reading the letter of the Principal at Stanley Grove (the Reverend Derwent Coleridge), in which the objects and arrangements of that establishment are described: a letter, admirable alike in the lofty views it inculcates, the practical knowledge that gives earnest of their realization, the devotional but unsectarian spirit, and the thorough kindness of feeling towards the objects of all the Society's operations, the poor, which knows how to raise instead of to depress those whom it assists, and while it assists; which, like Mercy,

"is twice bless'd;
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes."

Let the reader give his best attention to the following eloquent passage, and then say whether it is not, indeed, a matter of congratulation to see, that—whatever the difficulties that have yet to be surmounted before an education can be obtained, at once excellent and universal—those who are to be among the guides have a clear perception of the right path, have the right spirit for pressing on in it, despite all obstacles.—“The truth is, that the education given in our schools (I speak of those open to the poor for cheap or gratuitous instruction, but the remark might be extended much more widely) is too often little more than nominal; imparting, it may be, a little knowledge, sometimes hardly this,—but leaving the mental powers wholly undeveloped, and the heart even less affected than the mind. Of course there are exceptions and limitations to this statement. It does not apply to every school, and is less true of some districts than of others; but the fact, as a whole, stands upon what may be called statistical evidence: is this owing to an accidental or to an inherent defect? Are the means employed inadequate merely; or essentially unfit? If the former, we may trust to time and gradual improvement. We may proceed, if possible, more carefully, but in the old way. If the latter, a different course must be pursued—we must do something else. I venture to take the latter position. To what end do we seek to educate the poor man's child? Is it not to give him just views of his moral and religious obligations—his true interests for time and eternity, while, at the same time, we prepare him for the successful discharge of his civil duties—duties for which, however humble, there is surely some appropriate instruction? Is it not to cultivate good habits in a ground of self-respect? habits of regular industry and self-control; of kindness and forbearance; of personal and domestic cleanliness; of decency and order? Is it not to awaken in him the faculties of attention and memory, of reflection and judgment?—not merely to instil knowledge, or supply the materials of thought, but to elicit and to exercise the powers of thinking? Is it not to train him in the use of language, the organ of reason, and the symbol of his humanity? And while we thus place the child in a condition to look onward and upward,—while we teach him his relationship to the

eternal and the heavenly, and encourage him to live by this faith, do we not also hope to place him on a vantage ground with respect to his earthly calling?—to give to labour the interest of intelligence and the elevation of duty, and disarm those temptations by which the poor man's leisure is so fearfully beset, and to which mental vacuity offers no resistance?" It were presumption to add one word of comment on such a passage. Of course in hands like these the intellectual powers and acquirements of our future masters are not likely to be neglected; therefore we shall not dwell upon that portion of the studies at Stanley Grove. But, in other respects, there are some points which will not, we think, be without interest to the readers of our paper. These may, perhaps, be best shown by following the proceedings of a single day:—At half-past five the students rise, in order to commence operations at six; when, dividing according to a regular and systematic plan well known to all, they go, some to the household work, such as cleaning the shoes and knives, some to the pumps required for different purposes, some to feed the animals, or to fulfil the necessary duties of the farm. Part of this may sound humiliating; the spirit in which it is required prevents its being so in reality. Whatever is useful cannot be essentially mean. The "dignity of labour," sometimes talked of, will here, it is to be expected, become something more than an enthusiast's dream. It now wants but a quarter to seven, the time for the commencement of the morning religious studies, which are followed by prayers and a short lecture. At eight those whose business it is to prepare breakfast, consisting of bread and butter and milk and water, leave the main body for that purpose, and, in ten minutes after, all are seated at their simple and frugal repast. The value of time is here too carefully inculcated to allow of its practical waste by long sittings at meals; twenty minutes is allotted for breakfast, which has scarcely elapsed before the hum of industry is again heard from the farm, the gardens, the lawns, the shrubberies, where an hour and a half are spent in cheerful and health-giving labour. Before this can weary, the bell rings—it is ten o'clock—tools and implements are laid aside, hands washed, the strong out-door shoes changed for the more comfortable ones of the house, the agriculturist is forgotten in the student. One morning in each week, the chief of the subjects that engage attention is the very interesting one of Botany, which is taught not merely as a science, or as adding to the intellectual stores or the enjoyments of the pupil, but with a view to the advantage of those whose friend as well as teacher it is hoped he will become. "Looking forward," observes the Principal, "to the future position of our students, almost every country schoolmaster might be, with much advantage both to himself and to his neighbourhood, a gardener and a florist. The encouragement lately afforded to cottage-gardening has been already attended with the most pleasing results. The parochial schoolmaster who shall be able to assist, by example and precept, in fostering a taste so favourable to the domestic happiness, and, in fact, to the domestic virtues, of a rustic population—a taste by which an air of comfort is communicated to the rudest dwelling, and a certain grace thrown over the simplest forms of humble life, will, it is trusted, in this as in so many other ways, be made an instrument of good, and an efficient assistant to the parochial clergyman." At half-past twelve the morning studies terminate, and from thence till dinner at one, and subsequently for half an hour after dinner, the students are

released from the wholesome restrictions as to the use of their time, which a wise system imposes, for a no less wholesome freedom: recreation—voluntary study—converse—refresh the mind, and exhilarate the spirits—the bow is unbent for the moment, but it is to acquire new elasticity and vigour. The dinner is plain, but good and substantial. The afternoon studies commence at two, to last for two hours, and to be followed once more by garden or field labour. A portion of this time, twice in each week, is devoted to the more direct development of that strength and activity which the varied character of the labours in question is calculated to give—gymnastics being then taught. Tea, the same as breakfast, is taken at ten minutes after six, followed by practices in singing for half an hour, evening studies one hour, prayers and lecture three-quarters of an hour, when the remainder of the evening, or from a quarter to nine to half-past nine, is devoted to the study of the subject that will engage attention on the following morning. The books are then put by, the readers retire to bed, and at ten the lights of the corridor, which are so arranged as to illumine the separate rooms of the students through small glass panes, are extinguished by one of the older youths, and profound darkness and silence and peace reign throughout the place. How many of us can flatter ourselves, and how often, that we have spent a better day? It will be only necessary to add to the foregoing particulars that the entire expense of the board, clothing, and training to the students themselves is twenty-five pounds yearly; the cost to the college is of course very much larger: the annual expense of the establishment beyond the receipts is estimated at 2000*l.* without any reference to its original cost, amounting, we believe, to between 30,000*l.* and 40,000*l.* The female training-school, conducted on the same principles, is situated at Whitelands, in the neighbourhood. We have occupied a large portion of our space, limited as that is, with the account of the normal-schools of the two Societies, because we believe the progress of education entirely depends upon the progress and efficient management of such institutions. Show us your masters, and there will be no difficulty in telling what is the character of your education; which is but saying in other words there will be no difficulty in understanding the physical and intellectual, and moral and religious state of the people. The future forest is not more surely enclosed in the handful of acorns scattered about by the husbandman, than is the education of the people in its normal-schools. It is also important to observe that the two societies have already an immense amount of materials ready to work upon, and needing but the efficient master's hand, to be moulded to good purpose. When the National Society made the last examination (three or four years ago), into the state and number of its Metropolitan Schools, there were 25 infant-schools, with 3768 scholars; and 153 ordinary daily schools, with 13,039 boys, and 8475 girls. These numbers must be now considerably increased, as the numerous churches of late erected in the metropolis have all National Schools attached to them, and other schools have also been erected; some of these buildings, we may observe by the way, as the one here shown, are becoming architectural ornaments of London.

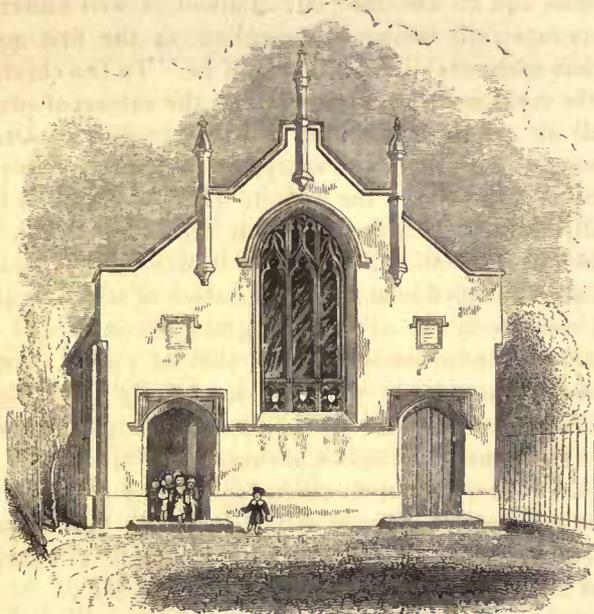
Of the metropolitan schools of the British and Foreign Society, we are able to give an accurate account of their present numbers, from the Report just published. There are, it appears, 117 schools, with 19,158 scholars of both sexes, who



[Camberwell National Schools.]

pay each per week *1d.*, *2d.*, *3d.*, or *4d.*, according to the respective arrangements of the schools. The receipts and expenditure of this Society, it may be here noticed, were last year nearly 7000*l.*; of the National, above 20,000*l.*; and from the powerful exertions now making by the friends of both, a great increase may be expected for the future. Of the two other important classes of schools for the metropolitan poor—those for infants, and those connected with the different parishes—there are no separate and trustworthy accounts, that we are aware of, from which we may judge either of their character or extent. Some of the parochial schools have been amalgamated with the National, and have ceased therefore to have any distinctive marks. We may form a rough guess as to the number of children attending the remainder from the annual meetings in St. Paul's, which are understood to vary at different times from 6000 to 8000. As to the infant-schools, it seems they are altogether superior to the dame and day-schools; some of those in Westminster are spoken of in particular as being well conducted. And if any system of education could be well conducted without carefully trained conductors, no doubt the infant-schools would deserve this commendation, since they were commenced on more than ordinarily excellent and practical principles. The most important was that of surrounding the children, at a very early age, with circumstances calculated to call forth better habits, feelings, and desires than were practicable in their own homes, with parents generally uninformed, and too often exhibiting in their domestic life the worst of examples. "If Mr. Owen," observes the writer of a valuable article on Schools in the Penny Cyclopædia, "was the first Englishman to establish an infant-school on a large scale, and for definite purposes, and certainly the school which he founded at New Lanark, in Scotland, at least ranks among the earliest—he was aided in forming the idea by the wife of the Rev. William Turner, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who in the year 1818, when in conversation with Mr. Owen, remarked, that, in her attention to the education of girls, she had frequently wished some means could be adopted for getting poor children taken out of the hands of their parents, at an earlier age, before they had formed bad habits at home, and among the idle children around them. Much was said, on both sides, on the desirable-

ness of infant-schools, which Mr. Owen immediately established on his return to Lanark. Much credit is also due to Lord Brougham, for the interest which he manifested, and the valuable aid which he gave, in the establishment of infant-schools. Mr. Wilderspin has, however, laboured more than any other person, and with more success, in the founding of these institutions, and also in perfecting their discipline." They are accordingly now to be found in every part of the country, and, of course, numerous in the metropolis; which they, too, are beginning to stud with a prettier class of erections than they did in their earlier history. We append an engraving of one of them.



[Infant School, Holloway.]

Descending to the class lowest alike in the educational and social scale, the poetical justice we have before referred to receives a still more striking illustration. Bad as is the situation of the children attending the dame and lower day schools, it may almost be called excellent, in comparison with that of our juvenile pauper population. One of the best of authorities, Dr. Kay Shuttleworth, describes such children as "ignorant of all that is good, but trained and practised in all evil; unintellectual, debased, and demoralized, the work of instruction and reformation sometimes appeared almost hopeless." The writer of this passage has, notwithstanding, himself shown, in the school at Norwood, not only that we *may* hope, as regards the future, but that, in the mean time, there are most solid grounds of self-congratulation for what has been achieved at present. Indeed it seems that "the rapid improvement of the children, under a system of religious and moral teaching, and of industrial training; their general decency of deportment; the proofs they afford of the influence of sound principles; and the apparent state of comfort in which they live, the simple result of cleanliness, discipline, and regu-

larity, attracted observation, and are now beginning to excite a feeling of jealousy out of doors."—Most naturally, we acknowledge; therefore let us hasten to remove that jealousy by the right mode; let us adopt the suggestion that has been made to divide the children of paupers from the workhouse—they are not paupers, but rather state wards—and throw the doors open to all the youth of the neighbourhood. The Premier's liberal views on this subject, as expressed a session or two ago, will no doubt be remembered by many. Workhouse-schools of the superior character indicated are, it appears, increasing fast, in one district at least, that one which Dr. Kay Shuttleworth has jurisdiction over as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. The training-school, at Battersea, under this gentleman and his associate, Mr. Tufnell, is well known for its excellence, and deserves especially honourable mention, as the first good example in this country of what such establishments should be. To the cheering indication already given of the right spirit being at work on the subject of education, among governors as well as governed, we may also add the fact of Dr. Kay Shuttleworth's appointment, by a former ministry, to the Secretaryship of the Committee of Council of Education: the body to whom is intrusted the disposal of the funds annually voted by Parliament (it is difficult to speak without indignation of their amount), 30,000*l.* Such funds, it may be observed, while we are upon the subject, are expended in aiding the erection of school-houses, connected except in special cases, with one of the two great Societies, and in return for which a most valuable influence is obtained, that of public opinion, upon the plans and practices of the schools, which are made fully known by Government Inspectors. The mere circumstance of the excessive unpleasantness felt by the authorities of an ill-conducted school on seeing a faithful account of it side-by-side with one of an entirely different character must be attended with beneficial results. A higher and better influence, however, will be that exercised upon the minds of all honest and inquiring men, by enabling them to compare the value of different modes and principles.

We cannot better dismiss this part of our subject than with a brief glance at the schools Dr. Kay Shuttleworth proposes should be established for the poor. Four hundred children, of both sexes (as in Scotland), are to be taught together; half of them, between the ages of three and seven, forming an infant-school, the remainder, between the ages of seven and thirteen, constituting a juvenile-school. Each school is to be conducted by a master and mistress, the two in the infant-school receiving 60*l.* yearly, those in the juvenile-school 90*l.* yearly, in addition to board, candles, and firing in both cases. Including books and extras the total expense, it is calculated, would not exceed 300*l.* per annum; and this for the education in a superior manner of the large number of children we have mentioned. Weekly payments of three-pence each in the infant-school, and four-pence in the other, would defray the whole, if they could be obtained. Dr. Kay Shuttleworth apparently inclines to the idea that local rates should, if necessary, be raised to assist in their support.

We have left ourselves but little space to refer to those educational establishments of London which belong exclusively to the middle and higher classes; a subject important in itself, but in the present state of affairs subsidiary to that which has engrossed the greater part of this paper. Perhaps the time may come

when our Universities may stand apart from the other educational institutions of the country, merely as being the highest in the series for the development of all the objects of education, the apex of the pyramid of which the people at large shall form the base; instead of being, as at present, highest only in the intellectual instruction they afford, connected with no general system, and existing only in the main, for the benefit of those who can pay their unnecessarily heavy expenses. The University of London was created by charter of William IV., but owing to a defect in the latter a new one was granted by her present Majesty in 1837. It consists of a body of fellows, including a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, who compose a Senate. The King is the visitor, and to the crown is reserved the power of from time to time appointing any number of Fellows; but in case the number shall be at any time reduced below twenty-five, exclusive of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, the Members of the Senate may elect twelve or more persons to be Fellows in order to complete the number of thirty-six Fellows, besides the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor is to be appointed by the crown. The office of Vice-Chancellor is an annual one, and is filled by election by the Fellows from their own body.

In the Senate, six Fellows being a quorum, all questions are decided by the majority of the members present; the chairman has a second or casting vote. The Senate has the power of making regulations respecting the examination for degrees and the granting them, but such regulations require the approval of a Secretary of State. An examination for degrees must be held once a-year at least. The candidates are to be examined in as many branches of general knowledge as the Senate shall consider most fitting. The examiners are to be appointed by the Senate, either from their own body or otherwise. The Senate confers, after examination, the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, Doctor of Laws, Bachelor of Medicine, and Doctor of Medicine. At the conclusion of every examination, the examiners are to declare the name of every candidate whom they shall have deemed to be entitled to any of the degrees, and the departments of knowledge in which his proficiency shall have been evinced, and also his proficiency in relation to that of other candidates. The candidate is to receive a certificate under the seal of the University, and signed by the Chancellor, in which the particulars declared by the examiners are to be stated.

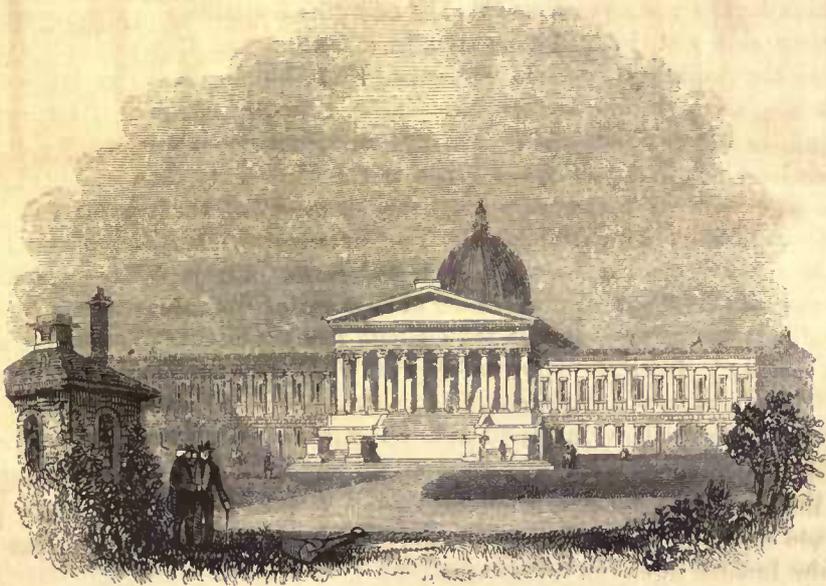
A candidate for degrees is entitled to examination on producing a certificate that he has completed the course of instruction required by the University. For degrees in Arts and Laws, the charter empowers University College, London, and King's College, London, to issue such certificates; and it provides that they be issued by such other institutions at any time established for the purposes of education as the crown shall authorise to issue them. As to degrees in Medicine, the Senate is required from time to time to report to one of the Secretaries of State what appear to them to be the medical institutions and schools in the United Kingdom, from which either singly or jointly with other medical institutions and schools in this country or in foreign parts it may be expedient to admit candidates for medical degrees. On the approval of such report by the Secretary of State, candidates for degrees are to be admitted to examination on presenting a certificate from any such institution or school. Any institution or school

may from time to time be struck out of the report under which they obtain authority to issue certificates.

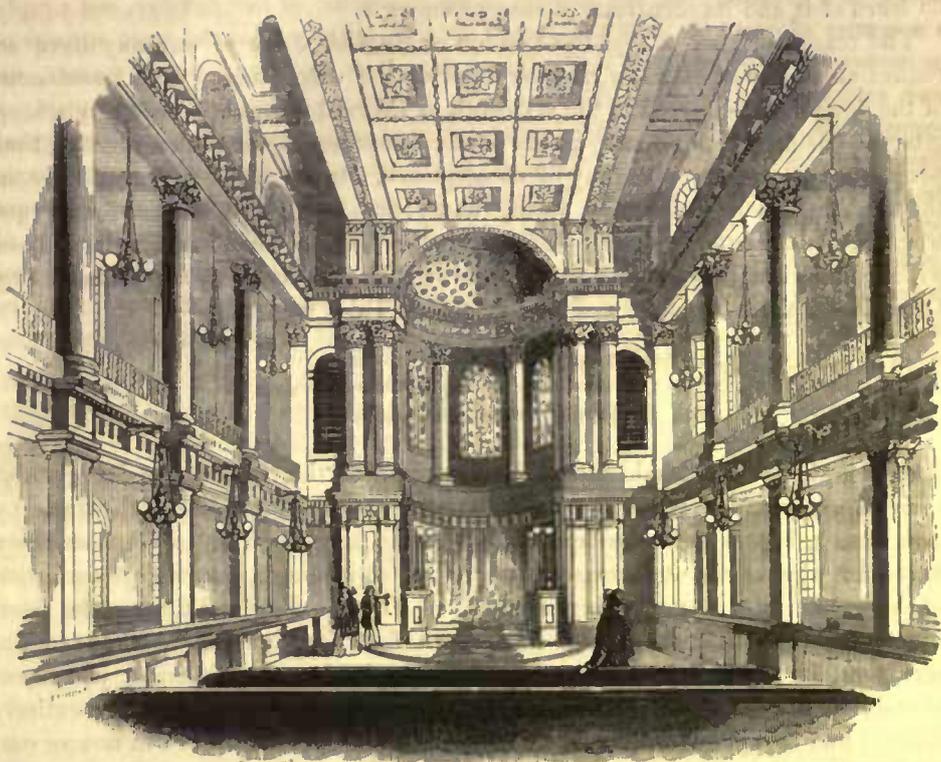
The Senate of the University, subject to the approbation of the Commissioners of the Treasury, are from time to time to give directions as to the fees which shall be charged for the degrees to be conferred.

Certificates to candidates for examination at this University are empowered to be granted by a number of scholastic establishments, chiefly of a collegiate form, and from various medical schools throughout the country. The two principal metropolitan colleges are King's College and University College, the distinctive characteristics of which, like those of the two Educational Societies before described, are of a religious nature; King's College, imparting religious instruction in accordance with the views of the Established Church; whilst the other, desiring to provide a neutral ground where all may receive secular instruction, without offence to any one's peculiar views, omits theology altogether from its regular academic courses. The same circumstance points to the peculiarities attending the origin of both. Next to the object proposed by the founders of University College when they promulgated their views in 1825, of providing a University education for the metropolis, was that of affording a similar opportunity to those who were shut out by religious tests from Oxford and Cambridge. The first stone of the building was laid in April, 1827, by the Duke of Sussex; and after a long struggle, chiefly with the Universities just mentioned, for a charter granting the power of conferring honours, an arrangement was finally concluded in 1836, by which that power was given to the University then constituted, and the College received a charter, recognizing it as one of the schools entitled to send up candidates for examination. The average number of students during the last seven years has been for Arts and Laws, 145; in Medicine, 430. In the junior schools attached, the number of boys varies from three to four hundred. The ordinary annual expenses of the College are about 3500*l.*, exclusive of the payments made from the students' fees to the professors and other masters. The College has been already endowed to a considerable extent by various benefactors. King's College, in the Strand, was founded in 1828, under the patronage of the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries; and differs in no essential respects, apart from religious matters, from its rival. The number of its matriculated students, in the term preceding the Report of April in this year, in general literature and sciences, was 106; engineering, arts, manufactures, and architecture, 37; and in the medical department, 115. There were also 39 occasional students in the various classes not medical, 74 in the medical, and 497 boys in the school connected with the College. It may be useful, as affording an idea of the expenses of a metropolitan university education (exclusive, of course, of such personal matters as board), to state that the fee on entering King's College, as a regular, or matriculated student, is one guinea; and that, for example, the fee payable for the regular course of studies in the department of general literature and science is 21*l.*, if the student be nominated by a proprietor; 26*l.* 5*s.* if not so nominated. Both this and University College have medical hospitals attached, also museums, and libraries. The other colleges belonging to London are those of Homerton, Highbury, and Stepney. The hospitals and several medical

schools in London are also recognised by the University. In conclusion, we may be excused for observing that, as the education of the metropolis necessarily involves, to a great degree, the subject of the education of the country, not simply as a matter of example, but also from the circumstance that the main springs of the movement now going on in the latter are all to be found in the former, we have endeavoured to treat the whole in a correspondingly general spirit; a course which, while it has enabled us to notice at some length the most important educational establishments of London, has rendered it impossible for us to do more than refer thus cursorily to others, of less weight, indeed, but still not without interest. Such an establishment, for instance, is that of the City of London School, under civic patronage, where, at an expense to the parents of about eight guineas yearly, instruction is given in the rudiments of an ordinary English education, with book-keeping, history and mathematics, the Latin, Greek, French and German languages.



[University College, Gower Street.]



[Interior of Synagogue at Great St. Helen's.]

CXXVIII.—THE OLD JEWRY.

THE Old Jewry is the most central of the various places in the metropolis where the people from whom it derives its name have left traces of their presence, and therefore do we select it as the station where we are to say our say about the London Jews.

There is nothing Jewish now about the Old Jewry except its name. A Christian church—a ham and beef shop—the house which once was the Excise Office—the Old Jewry chambers, where the West India Association have their place of business—none of these are Jewish; nor do the names or features of the inhabitants betray a Jewish origin. The very historical associations of the place can scarcely be called Jewish; we have to grope so far back and into such an obscure period in order to find those that are. Here it was, at least according to one version of the story, that the mob, in the time of James I., fell upon and murdered Dr. Lambe, not because he was a cheat and a charlatan, but because he was believed to be a creature of the haughty Buckingham. At the corner of the Old Jewry where it abuts upon Cheapside, so runs tradition, was the house in which a haughtier and greater than Buckingham, Thomas-a-Becket,

was born. We must go sounding back through six long centuries in order to reach the time when Jews had connexion with the Old Jewry—and then what we do learn of it and its occupants is meagre enough.

The reason of this is that the London or English Jews of our day have no connexion whatever with the English Jews of the olden time. The banishment of the Jews from England in the sixteenth of Edward I. was succeeded by a long interval during which no settlements of any consequence were attempted by that people in this country. We say of consequence, for we have that confidence in the mercantile enterprise—the daring and versatility of this extraordinary race where a trade was to be driven—that we believe at no time has England been without individuals belonging to it. And in this impression we are confirmed by Chaucer. In the last stanza of his ‘*Prioress’s Tale*’ we read:—

“ Oh young Hugh of Lincoln slain also
With cursed Jews, as it is notable,
For it n’ is but a little while ago.”

And though we do not hold this to be any proof of the truth of the lying story, revived again and again with slender variations, to the prejudice of the Jews, by uninventive bigots and plunderers, from a time long anterior to Chaucer down to its last appearance at Damascus, we hold that it affords a strong presumption of the existence of a straggling remnant of Jews in England during the fourteenth century. Still they must have been few, and must have shunned observation, for the Jew does not re-appear in England as a public and prominent character till after the middle of the seventeenth century. We have two entirely distinct and independent sets of Jews in England, whom we can in nowise connect by a continuous history. The history of the one race terminates in 1290, with their banishment by Edward I.: the history of the other commences with the visit of Rabbi Manasseh-Ben-Israel to England in 1655. There might be, there were, Jews in England during the interim, but there was no “*Jewerie*,” no publicly-organised congregation.

The name of Old Jewry is derived from the earlier race. The limits of “*the Jewerie*” it is not easy to conjecture. The northern termination of the street at least appears to have been in it. “*On the south side of this street*” [Lothbury], says Maitland, “*westward, at the end of the Old Jewry, stood the first synagogue of the Jews in England, which was defaced by the citizens of London, after they had slain seven hundred Jews (five hundred according to another authority), and spoiled the residue of their goods, in the year 1262 (this ought to be 1264), the forty-seventh of Henry III.*” From the church of St. Olave’s, Jewry, at the corner formed by Church Lane and the Old Jewry, to the church of St. Martin’s, Ironmonger Lane (not rebuilt since the fire), at the corner formed by the same Church Lane and Ironmonger Lane, and thence northward to Cateaton Street, was all included in what had been “*the Jewerie*.” Here, according to Maitland, “*was of old time one large building of stone, very ancient, made in the place of Jews’ houses; but of what antiquity, or by whom the same was built, or for what use, is uncertain; more than that King Henry VI., in the sixteenth of his reign, gave the office of being porter or keeper thereof to John Sturt, for the term of his life, by the name of his ‘Principal Palace in the Old Jewry.’*” The

church of St. Lawrence, on the north side of Cateaton Street, and rather to the east of the termination of St. Lawrence Lane, stands upon ground which in its time was within "the Jewerie." Hugh de Warkentley was rector of this church in 1295, and in the documents relating to it in his time that have been preserved it is termed "*Ecclesia Sancti Laurentii in Judaismo.*" Turning eastward from the church of St. Lawrence, and keeping still along the north side of Cateaton Street till we reach the south-west corner of Basinghall Street, we again find traces of "the Jewerie." Here, according to Maitland, "was anciently an old building of stone, belonging some time to a certain Jew called Mansere, the son of Aaron, the son of Coke the Jew, in the seventh of Edward I." It appears therefore that "the Jewerie" extended along both sides of what is now called Cateaton Street, from St. Lawrence Lane and the church of St. Lawrence on the west, to Basinghall Street and the Old Jewry on the east. Between the Old Jewry and Ironmonger Lane it extended at least as far south as Church Lane. More we have been unable to learn respecting its extent; but as there is reason to think that the Jews would fix upon a central site in the quarter of the city they occupied to build their synagogue upon, and as the synagogue is generally admitted to have stood at the north-west corner of the Old Jewry, in all probability "the Jewerie" was considerably more extensive. The mention of the "old building of stone" belonging to the Jew Mansere in the seventh of Edward I. would seem to imply that some of the houses were of a superior character in an age when wooden structures predominated.

There are other traces of the Jews of the old time in old London, besides the Old Jewry. Jewin Street, leading from the south end of Red-cross Street, near St. Giles, Cripplegate, to Aldersgate Street, is built on a patch of ground granted by Edward I. to William de Monte Forte, Dean of St. Paul's, which is described in the record as a place without Cripplegate and in the suburbs of London, called Leyrestowe, "which was the burying-place of the Jews of London," and valued then at 40*s.* per annum. In a still older record, of the reign of Henry II., it is described as "*Gardinum vocat. Jewyn Garden.*" Maitland speaks of it as having been "a large plat of ground, of old time called the Jews' garden; as being the only place appointed them in England to bury their dead, till the year 1177, the fourteenth of Henry II., that it was permitted them (after long suit to the King and Parliament at Oxford) to have special places assigned them in every quarter where they dwelt. * * * This plat of ground remained to the said Jews till the time of their final banishment out of England, and was afterwards turned into fair garden-plats and summer-houses for pleasure."

There was another "*Judaismus*" in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., situated somewhere in the liberties of the Tower; Maitland conjectures, near the place afterwards called, by a right English corruption of language, "*Hangman's Gains,*" in consequence of a number of refugees from Hammes and Guisnes settling there in the time of Queen Mary. This Jewerie, Maitland describes as — "A place within the liberties of the Tower, called the Jewry, because it was inhabited by Jews; where there happened, 22 Henry III., a robbery and a murder to be committed by William Fitzbernard, and Richard his servant, who came to the house of Joco a Jew, and there slew him and his wife Hanna. The said William was taken at St. Saviour's, for a certain silver cup, and was

hanged. Richard was called for and outlawed. One Miles le Espicer, who was with them, was wounded, and fled to a church and died in it. No attachment was made by the sheriffs, because it happened in the Jewry, and so belonged not to the sheriffs but to the constable of the Tower." Still more curious is an extract from the records of the Tower relating to this eastern "Jewerie" preserved by Prynne:—"That, *anno* 1279, the eighth of Edward I., upon the Archbishop's request, the King issued a writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, to apprehend certain Apostates, *qui recesserunt ab unitate Catholicæ Fidei*. But they were *in Judaismo, i. e.* in the Jewry, and so out of the power and jurisdiction of the magistrates of London. Upon this the Archbishop wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that was Chancellor, signifying that those enemies of the Faith were yet *in Balliva Majoris et Vice-comitatis Londinensis, sub custodia et Potestate Constabularii Turris, ubi ingredi non possunt, ut dicitur, sine speciali mandato*." These "Apostates" appear to have been secular priests who refused to part with their wives; for the Archbishop goes on to request that in the new writ the word "*dudum*" might be omitted, seeing "they have now their wives with them as formerly."

One is almost tempted to conjecture that these two "Judaismi," the one within the walls, if not within the jurisdiction, of the City of London, the other in the liberties of the Tower, were two distinct colonies. There was a great immigration of Jews into England under William the Conqueror; so great that some have rather rashly concluded that they were the first settlers of the Hebrew race in this country. There are, however, traces of them at an earlier period. The canons of Ecbright, Archbishop of York, promulgated in 750, contain an injunction that no one "shall Judaize or presume to eat with a Jew." Ingulphus, in his 'History of Croyland Abbey,' mentions a charter granted by Whitglaff, King of the Mercians, to that foundation in 833, confirming all gifts bestowed upon it at any time by his predecessors or their nobles, "or by any other faithful Christians, or by Jews." The laws attributed to Edward the Confessor declare that the Jews stand under the immediate authority and jurisdiction of the King:—"Judæi et omnia sua regis sunt." What more natural than that the Jews who flocked into England under the encouragement of the Conqueror should settle within the jurisdiction of the constable of his Palatine Tower? Or what more natural than that the Jews settled in England before the Conquest, and who are declared to be, with all their property, in the King's hand, should be found immediately adjoining that quarter of the City which would appear to have been the Court end under the Saxon monarchs? Matthew of Paris asserts that St. Alban's church, which stands nearly in the middle of a line drawn from "the Jewerie" within the City, to the angle of the wall at Cripplegate, was the chapel of King Offa, and adjoining to his palace. Mund mentions, in his edition of Stow, that the great square tower remaining at the north corner of Love Lane in the year 1632, was believed to be part of King Athelstan's palace. The name of Addle Street is derived by the same antiquarian from Adel, or Ethel—the Saxon for noble. The original council chamber of the Alderman is known to have stood somewhere in Aldermanbury, which had its name from it. Without a certain, a positive belief in any one of these statements, their coincidence seems to render it extremely probable that the royal residence was in that quarter,

which may account for the King's men, the Jews, taking up their residence near it.

These same Jews whose local habitation we have been endeavouring to trace, appear pretty frequently in the City annals from the time of the Conquest till the time of their banishment by Edward I.

In 1189 we have a general massacre of the Jews in London. Richard I. was crowned in the autumn of that year, and intimation was given to the Jews not to present themselves at the ceremony. Some motive or other, however, prompted many of them to disregard the injunction. Under the pretence of carrying gifts to the King they endeavoured to procure admission into the Abbey church of Westminster. They were repulsed by the royal attendants; a general fray ensued, the mob taking part against the Jews. Some of the more bigoted of the lower orders of the clergy added fuel to the flame by representing the intrusion as an attempt on the part of the Jews to desecrate the church by their presence. The angry multitude precipitated themselves towards London, killing all the Jews they met by the way, and burning and pillaging their houses. The King, like all kings, was angry at a mob for taking the law into its own hands—and angry also at the pillage of a body of men from whom considerable sums could occasionally be exacted—but entertaining no real sympathy or compassion for the Jews, and affecting, moreover, the character of the bully of Christendom, he was easily pacified.

In 1241 the Jews of London were sentenced to pay twenty thousand marks to the King, or to the alternative of perpetual imprisonment, because the Jews of Norwich had circumcised a child born of Christian parents.

The year 1262 and the year 1264 are noted for massacres of the Jews in London. Almost all those frequently recurring massacres appear to have had their origin in some private quarrel between a Jew and a Christian, in which the prejudices of the mob induced it to take part against the Jew, and when once flushed with actual violence, unable to stop the way given to its furious passions, to precipitate itself on the collective "Jewerie." In 1262 a quarrel broke out between a Christian and a Jew, in the church of St. Mary Cole, which stood at the corner formed by the Old Jewry and the Poultry. The Jew, having dangerously wounded his adversary, endeavoured to escape, but was pursued by the populace and killed in his own house. And the mob, as usual, not stopping there, fell upon his neighbours, killing and robbing them indiscriminately. The outrage in 1264 arose out of an attempt on the part of a Jew to extort from a Christian more than the legal interest (*2d.* per week), for a sum of 20*l.* which the latter owed him. The rabble rose when this intelligence was circulated, in all parts of the City, and attacked the "Jewerie." It was on this occasion that their first synagogue in London was destroyed.

In the next attempt to pillage the Jews they suffered in good company, and made a stout and honourable defence. In the fiftieth year of Henry III. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, having obtained possession of the city of Gloucester, deposed the magistrates, substituting in their places creatures of his own, and liberated a number of his adherents who had been imprisoned. Many of those persons had been excommunicated by the Pope's legate then resident in London. The legate, on his part, put the city under a kind of inter-

dict; commanding that the bells should not be rung for divine service, ordering that it should not be sung, but said; and directing all the churches to be shut, lest any of the excommunicated rebels should participate in its benefits. The legate betook himself for personal security to the Tower of London, and thither also fled the Jews, who, either because they had advanced moneys to the royal party, or because they had refused to advance them to the insurgents, appear to have run equal danger from the victorious party with that prelate. The garrison of the Tower—consisting, in great part, of the Jews—made a brave resistance, and held out till the King, having received a large reinforcement of French and Scotch troops, raised by his son Edward, marched to the capital and raised the siege.

The Jews seem after this to have been left pretty much in peace till the close of King Henry's reign: under his son Edward I. their troubles soon recommenced. That prince appears to have troubled his memory or his gratitude no more with the fact that the Jews had been mainly instrumental in holding out the Tower of London for his father, than with the fact that Scotch auxiliaries had enabled him to raise the siege. Or perhaps the Jews, presuming on the service they had done the late King, took even greater liberties than kingly gratitude could tolerate. Whatever were the reasons, we learn from the concurrent testimony of Florian and Mathew of Westminster that, in 1278, the Jews throughout England were seized and imprisoned in one day, on the charge of clipping and diminishing the King's coin; and that out of those seized in London alone, two hundred and eighty of both sexes were executed. On the meeting of Parliament at Westminster, in 1275, the affairs of the Jews then in England were taken into consideration, and several laws passed to restrain their alleged excessive usury. It was also enacted that they should wear a badge upon their upper garments ("ad unius palmæ longitudinem") in the shape of the two tables of Moses' law. Next year the King, by proclamation, enjoined that Jewish women also should wear this badge.

At last, in 1290, the event occurred which brings to a close this section of Jewish history in England—their banishment from the kingdom. The most condensed, and apparently the least inaccurate (we cannot use a stronger term), account of this event we have met with is contained in the 'Parliamentary History of England' published by the Tonsons, in 1762, and is as follows:—

"An affair of consequence came before this Parliament (the third held in 1290, which met in Northamptonshire), which was the entire banishment of the Jews out of the kingdom. The nation had long desired it, but the Jews still found means to divert the blow, by large presents to the King and his ministers. They wanted to play the same game again now, but could not do it, the King being unable to protect them any longer, and unwilling to risk the disoblighing of his Parliament on their account. Accordingly the Act of Banishment was passed, whereby their immoveable goods were confiscated; but they had leave to carry away the rest with them. There seem to be two different transactions in the Parliament, relating to the Jews: one to restrain their usury, &c. and the other to ordain their banishment. Lord Coke, in his 'Institutes' on the Statute *de Judaismo*, asserts the one, and the last is proved by the Act made on purpose for it. The number of these banished Jews, according to Mathew of Westminster, was 16,160, and the

Parliament were so well pleased to get rid of these extortioners that they readily and willingly granted the King an aid of a fifteenth, and the clergy a tenth out all their moveables ; and joined (? the clergy) with the laity in granting a fifteenth of all their temporalities, up to their full value, to make the King some small amends for the great loss he sustained by the Jews' exile.

This is (in brief) almost all that can be gathered respecting the London Jews during the period of their first residence in England, as a "Judaismus" or "Jewerie"—a designation properly descriptive of the collective Jewish people in any place, though by Englishmen generally understood to denote the quarter assigned them for residence. It does not appear whether they possessed a synagogue in any other part of the kingdom than London. Till the year 1177 the "Jews' Garden," now Jewin Street, appears to have been their only place of burial in England: from which it might be inferred that London was their central and head residence. Possibly their only synagogue was in London: the few families established in other towns constituting simple congregations. A curious narrative of a law plea in 1158, written by Richard de Anesty, one of the parties, and published by Sir Francis Palgrave in the Appendix to his 'Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth,' throws an incidental light on the wealth and business of the Jews during this period. Richard had frequent transactions with them, with a view to raise ready money for his journeys after the ambulatory law courts of these days, and for presents to "Ralph, the King's physician, and others about court." The Jews were, by their bonds of common faith and common origin, one organised corporation; and almost the whole of the ready money of the kingdom appears to have been in their hands; at least, Richard de Anesty, that notable borrower, never borrowed from any other. The interest or usance paid them varied, between 1060 and 1290, from 3*d.* to 2*d.* per pound per week; or from rather more than 60 to rather less than 50 per cent. per annum. This was a high rate, but probably not higher than they were entitled to. They had no exclusive privileges to deal in loans: and Christians were not debarred from dealing in them by any doubts as to the morality of taking interest; for we find many of the Judges, and other salaried courtiers who picked up a little money, accused of being as great "usurers" as the Jews. The truth is that there would have been little or no money in the kingdom had not the Jews introduced it, and the Jews naturally took as high a remuneration for the temporary use of it as men would give. The "usury" of the Jews was good service to the kingdom. After they were banished, the English were obliged to deal with the Christians of Lombardy, Lucca, &c., on the same terms. The Jews grew enormously rich by this traffic, and thus became an object of jealousy to the natives. They stood immediately under the King's protection, and a sense of honour made the sovereign protect his clients occasionally from the violence of the prejudiced people, though this same sense of honour did not prevent him making the Jews pay exorbitantly for this vacillating patronage. The people could not fail to perceive the mercenary motives which gave the Jews the strongest hold on royal protection; and they were thus encouraged to attach to the countenance lent them the idea of criminality, which properly only belonged to the reason why it was extended. The popular dislike to Jews was but an exaggerated phasis of the vulgar hatred of "Mounseers" of a later day. The statutes of confiscation and banishment of

1290 were the legitimate predecessors of those levelled against the Hanseatic and other foreign traders in later days.

The clergy, however, did assist to increase the odium in which the Jews were held. They had more cause to be jealous of them than at a later period. The Jews were then a more accomplished and enlightened race than centuries of feudal oppression had made them four or five hundred years later. In the travels of Benjamin of Tudela we read that every association of Jews in the more important cities of Europe had its college, or seminary, for training men learned in their law. On the other hand the laity, and even the priesthood, were then in point of enlightenment as far inferior to their descendants four hundred years later, as the Jews were superior to theirs. In England the balance of learning and accomplishments preponderated in favour of the Jews. There was a difference, too, in the relative holds of the two religions upon the minds of their votaries. Both rest upon one common basis,—the Old Testament. The faith which spiritualises the types and forms of that sacred volume was then comparatively new in the island: many of the Northumbrians, and others of Norman race, had been pagans only two or three centuries before. On the other hand, the earthly hopes of those religionists who interpret the prophecies had not been tried by so many ages of fruitless expectation as those of our day. The Jews were stronger in faith then, and the Christians more wavering. The Jews were then a proselytising race: now they no more seek to make converts than the Quakers. We have seen that one of the persecutions of the London Jews originated in the circumcision of a Christian child by the Jews of Norwich. Mr. Blunt, in his ‘History of the Jews in England,’ records some curious instances of the polemical war waged in England between Jewish and Christian missionaries in the time of William Rufus:—

“The conduct of Rufus towards the church, and his frequent disagreements with the clergy, rendered him an object of dislike to the monkish writers, who were the principal historians of his period; and they have not failed to accuse him of impiety and open profaneness, and to record instances of his contempt for Christianity. By them we are told that he obtained the advance of considerable sums from the Jews, under the promise of obliging such of their body as had embraced the Christian faith to revert to Judaism. And they state that on one occasion in particular, a Jew, whose son had been converted to Christianity, paid the King sixty marks, upon the agreement that he would induce the lad to embrace the Jewish faith. The youth was summoned to the King’s presence, when both persuasion and threats were employed; but he persisted in holding steadfast to his new religion: and William, finding he could not bring about the point, returned the father the half of his money, saying, ‘That as he had not fulfilled his engagement, he could not in justice retain the whole sum; but that at the same time it was only equitable he should keep a part for the trouble he had taken in the affair.’ The same historian* informs us, that on another occasion the Jews were induced by King William to engage in an open controversy with certain of his bishops and clergy upon the merits of their respective religions, upon a promise that he would give impartial attention to the dispute, and if the

* Antonin. Chron. Pars II. lib. xvi. c. 5, says the king swore by St. Luke’s face that he would turn Jew if they overcame the Christians.

Jews had the best of the argument, would himself embrace their faith : whereupon, to use the words of Hoveden, ' The controversy was carried on with great fear on the part of the bishops and clergy, and pious solicitude by those who feared the Christian faith would be shaken ; and from this combat the Jews brought nothing but confusion, although they would many times boast they were rather overcome by force than by argument.' However this may have been, the church, it seems, became alarmed at the progress the Jews were making among their Christian brethren ; for in the next reign we find it mentioned, that monks were sent to several towns in which the Jews were established, expressly for the purpose of preaching down Judaism. Jaffred, abbot of Croyland, in the tenth year of Henry I., sent some monks from his abbey to Cottenham and Cambridge to preach against the Jews ; and about the same time some ecclesiastics were sent from other parts to Stamford, to oppose the progress of the Jews in that place ; where we are told by Peter of Blessans, ' They, preaching often to Stamfordians, exceedingly prospered in their ministry, and strengthened the Christian faith against the Jewish depravity.' "

The hatred nourished against the Jews was irrational and unchristian, but the fault was not altogether on the side of the Christians. The Jews were men—no worse, it may be, but no better, than their neighbours. They felt themselves, as a body, a more civilised, a more literary, race than the mass of the inhabitants of England under the Norman princes—they piqued themselves upon peculiar skill and dexterity in business—they were buoyed up at times by royal protection and countenance. It was human nature to grow insolent on the strength of such advantages ; and doubtless the Jews did at times draw down upon their own heads, by their own impertinence, the misfortunes they met with. But, if the fault was in part on both sides, the folly was all on the side of the English, who drove from their shores those who mainly contributed to set their infant industry in motion.

From the year 1290 to the year 1655 a long interval elapses during which, though there were doubtless individual Jews to be found in England, there was no *Judaismus*—no organised body of Jews. It is probably for this reason that the Jew was turned to so little account in the dramatic literature of the Elizabethan age. At this moment we can only call to memory two Jewish characters in the drama of that period—Shakspeare's Shylock and Marlowe's Barnabas. In the Jew of Marlowe one is not surprised to find little individuality of character. He is a terrible incarnation of passion, but wants all those traits which stamp the passionate being as akin to the men of every-day life. This might pass for being only characteristic of Marlowe's peculiar genius. But even Shakspeare's Jew, though it has traits of *human* individuality, has few traits of *Jewish* individuality. His Hebraisms—and he has some noble ones—are such as any Christian might be supposed to have incorporated with his imagination, as well as a Jew. Shylock is every inch a man, as Othello is every inch a man ; but Shylock betrays as little knowledge of the natural history of Jewish *morale*, as Othello of the natural history of Moorish *physique*—and for the same reason : that Englishmen were never brought into habitual contact either with Jews or Moors. Both Shylock and Barnabas belong more to the legendary world than to the real. They were not produced, as some have idly thought, to gratify an

audience prejudiced against Jews; but to strike with awe, from their terrific passion, an audience which knew little about Jews, and cared less. In countries where Jews have abounded and been objects of popular odium, the dramatists who have pandered to prejudice, have uniformly made their Jews mean and ludicrous as well as hateful. You may hate Barnabas and Shylock, but you cannot despise them. Shakspeare and Marlowe found their Jews in the legends of other lands, not in real life, nor even in popular apprehension.

In 1655 the Jews again emerge into the public life of England. Cromwell's statesmanlike spirit had recognised the advantages which the nation might derive from inviting this intelligent and wealthy people to settle in it. He might also have had an eye to the advantages this affiliated body might afford him in procuring early and authentic information from abroad, an object to which Cromwell directed much attention. Whatever his reasons, he invited, or at least encouraged overtures from, some Jews of Amsterdam for leave to settle in England. The petition of the agent or envoy of these Jews—the distinguished Rabbi Manasseh-Ben-Israel of Amsterdam—to Cromwell is a remarkable document:—

“ These are the graces and favours which, in the name of my Hebrew nation, I, Manasseh-Ben-Israel, do request of your Most Serene Highness, whom God make prosperous and give happy success to in all your enterprises, as your humble servant doth wish and desire.

“ 1. The first thing I desire of your Highness is, that our Hebrew nation may be received and admitted into this puissant commonwealth, under the protection and safeguard of your Highness, even as the natives themselves. And, for greater security in time to come, I do supplicate your Highness to cause an oath to be given (if you shall think it fit) to all the heads and generals of arms to defend us upon all occasions. 2. That it will please your Highness to allow us public synagogues, not only in England, but also in all other places under the power of your Highness, and to observe in all things our religion as we ought. 3. That we may have a place or cemetery out of the town to bury our dead, without being troubled by any. 4. That we may be allowed to traffic freely in all sorts of merchandise, as others. 5. That (to the end those who shall come may be for the utility of the people of this nation, and may live without bringing prejudice to any, and without giving offence) your Most Serene Highness will make choice of a person of quality, to inform himself of and receive the passports of those who come in; who, upon their arrival, shall certify him thereof and oblige themselves, by oath, to maintain fealty to your Highness in this land. 6. And (to the intent they may not be troublesome to the judges of the land, touching the contests and differences that may arise betwixt those of our nation) that your Most Serene Highness will give license to the head of the synagogue to take with him two almoners of his nation to accord and determine all the differences and process, conformable to the Mosaic law; with liberty, nevertheless, to appeal from their sentence to the civil judges; the sum wherein the parties shall be condemned being first deposited. 7. That in case there have been any laws against our Jewish nation, they may in the first place, and before all things, be revoked; to the end that, by this means, we may remain with the greater security under the safeguard and protection of your Most Serene Highness.

“Which things your Most Serene Highness granting to us, we shall always remain most affectionately obliged to pray to God for the prosperity of your Highness, and of your illustrious and sage council, and that it will please Him to give happy success to all the undertakings of your Most Serene Highness. Amen.”

There are some passages in this document which would seem to imply that it had, at least, been revised by a British lawyer. Whoever its framer, however, there is a grave sagacity about it worthy of the representative of a portion of the most ancient nation on earth concluding a treaty of protection with the head of a powerful state. It is interesting, too, to note the unchanged character of the Jews during the long period of their exile from England. Manasseh-Ben-Israel and his friends do not appear to have possessed even a tradition of the former possessions of their tribe in England, yet the first arrangement they contemplate is the organisation of a special jurisdiction under the immediate protection of the chief magistrate as under the Norman princes, and “a place out of the town to bury their dead,” like “the Jews’ garden” near Cripplegate.

Cromwell and the Jews having come to an understanding, the next step was to try whether the national prejudices would admit of its being carried into execution. The Protector first sounded “divers eminent ministers of the nation,” who were summoned to meet him and his Council, at Whitehall, on the 4th of December. The petition of the Jews of Amsterdam was read in their hearing; when, as the authorised narrative published by Henry Hills, printer to his Highness the Lord Protector, has it—“The ministers having heard these proposals read, desired time to consider of them, and the next day was spent in fasting and prayer.” Adjourned conferences of the Council and Ministers were held on the 7th, 12th, and 14th of December, but nothing was resolved upon. Another meeting, on the 18th of December, “broke up without coming to any resolution, or even a farther adjournment.” The narrative concludes with this remark:—“That his Highness, at these several meetings, fully heard the opinions of the ministers touching the said proposals, expressing himself thereupon with indifference and moderation, as one that desired only to obtain satisfaction in a matter of so high and religious concernment; there being many glorious promises recorded in Holy Scripture concerning the calling and conversion of the Jews to the faith of Christ: but the reason why nothing was concluded upon was, because his Highness proceeded in this, as in all other affairs, with good advice and mature deliberation.”

The object of publishing this narrative was, probably, to try whether the general public might not be more favourably disposed to the admission of the Jews than the ministers. But if Cromwell looked for support in that direction he reckoned without his host. Prynne forthwith opened a battery against the proposal, in a publication whose mere title-page almost equals a modern pamphlet: “A *short* Demurrer to the Jews’ long-discontinued Remitter into England: comprising an exact chronological relation of their first admission into, their ill deportment, misdemeanours, condition, sufferings, oppressions, slaughters, plunders by popular insurrections and regal exactions in, and their total, final banishment, by Judgment and Edict of Parliament, out of England, never to return again. Collected out of the best historians. With a brief collection of such English

laws and Scriptures as seem strongly to plead and conclude against their re-admission into England, especially at this season, and against the general calling of the Jewish nation. With an answer to the chief allegations for their introduction." This thundering manifesto, in which the sufferings of the Jews in England in the olden time are classed along with their misdemeanours, and equally insisted on as reasons for continuing their exclusion, was followed up by such a burst of popular clamour, and such an inundation of lampoons, that Cromwell silently relinquished his project.

Though nothing was directly done in this matter, however, by government, the Jews and their friends appear to have thought that they might with safety come and settle in England, without the formality of a legal sanction. It was probably the idea of a legislative sanction being given to the exercise of the Jewish religion that startled the public. There had been too little personal intercourse between Jews and Englishmen for many centuries, to admit of a very rancorous prejudice existing between them. Accordingly we find, in the very next year, 1656, the first Portuguese synagogue erected in King Street, Duke's Place.

The Rabbi, Manasseh-Ben-Israel, was not of the number of those Jews who ventured to settle in England. Born in Portugal, about the year 1604, and forced to emigrate by the persecutions of the Inquisition, he succeeded Rabbi Isaac Usiri in the synagogue of Amsterdam, while yet only in his eighteenth year. He engaged in trade, but much of his time was devoted to superintending the printing of his own works at his private press, and to the discharge of his official duties. After the failure of his negotiation with Cromwell, he retired to Middleburg, in Zealand, where he died in the course of the year 1657. He died poor, he and his family having been in a great measure supported by a brother settled in Brazil. The Jews of Amsterdam testified their respect for him by having his body conveyed to that city, and buried at their expense in their cemetery.

The care taken by the Jews who settled in England, from their first arrival, to secure the due celebration of divine service, and the education of their families, has been most laudable. We have seen that their synagogue was built in the first year of their settlement; in 1664—only seven years later—a school was founded by them to afford instruction to the children of their poorer brethren. This school was originally called "the Tree of Life." It consisted of two branches: in the junior branch, instruction in the rudiments of Hebrew and English was given, preparatory to admission into the superior school, where the more advanced branches of moral and religious education were imparted till the pupil attained the age of fourteen. On leaving the school, the scholars received a small grant of money to assist them in commencing the world. This institution still exists, though under another name. The management had been entrusted to a large committee, and, as usual, it was found that "everybody's business was nobody's business." In 1821, Moses Mocatta, Esq., undertook a reform of the school. By his exertions the management was transferred to a select committee; an additional annual subscription was raised for its support; the advanced school was called "the Gates of Hope;" and a preparatory school on a new foundation added. Since that time an annual average of forty-five boys have received in the advanced school a good solid education in the higher branches of Hebrew, English grammar, arithmetic, book-keeping, &c.; and on leaving the establish-

ment each has been presented with a premium for apprenticeship, or a sum sufficient to enable them to seek a livelihood abroad.

The Portuguese Congregation was the only organised body of Jews in London till 1691, when the first German Synagogue was built—also in Duke's Place. The cheapness of the ground in that district, and its proximity to the district in which most of the foreign traders settled in London had fixed their domiciles, were probably the circumstances that originally induced the Jews to settle in that quarter. The first synagogue was an additional attraction: and the second secured the permanent residence of the German Jews, between whom and those of Spain and Portugal difference of language, and also some slight difference of ritual, keep up a trifling shade of distinction. The present Portuguese Synagogue in Bevis Marks was built in 1701; and in 1723 the Hamburgh Synagogue was erected in Fenchurch Street.

Though not exposed to such fierce persecutions as during the time of their first settlement in Britain, the Jews did not pass altogether unscathed through the period, during which they were striking root in London. In 1678 several of the wealthier members of their body were indicted at the instance of some busybodies, for meeting to celebrate public worship. Again, in 1685, some of them were arrested for not attending church. The attempt to pass a Jews' Naturalisation Bill stirred up a violent opposition among some narrow-minded sectarians, and also among some more worldly-minded but equally silly alarmists, who dreamed that such a measure would necessarily bring about a transfer of the whole commercial wealth, and ultimately of all the landed property in England, to the Jews. This may seem an exaggerated account of the language of those members of Parliament and politicians who opposed the Jewish Naturalisation Bill, but any one who will take the trouble to peruse Sir John Barnard's speech on the occasion will find it literally correct.

In 1723 the decision of a Court of Law recognised the Jews born in Great Britain as British subjects. Since that time the only disabilities under which they labour are those imposed by Acts of Parliament levelled against Christian sectarians which have accidentally hit the Jews. The Act of 9 Geo. IV., c. 17, which substitutes for the sacramental test a declaration by the holders of certain corporate offices, "upon the true faith of a Christian," necessarily though indirectly incapacitates Jews from filling those offices. The Abjuration Act in like manner excludes them from Parliament and from holding any office under Government except in so far as they may be relieved by the annual Indemnity Act. Some doubt exists as to whether the Jews are legally entitled to hold real estate. Those who maintain the negative side of the question rest upon an Act of the 55th of Henry III., which declares Jews incapable of purchasing or taking a freehold interest in land; their opponents allege that the so-called Act is not properly an Act of Parliament, but merely an ordinance of the king. *De facto*, some Jews do hold real estate. It is the general opinion that the Jews are within the benefit of the Toleration Act of the 1st of William and Mary as extended by the 53rd of George III., c. 160. One disability under which they labour presents a curious anomaly in the law. It has been decided that a legacy given for the instruction of Jews in their religion is not one which will be sup-

ported by the Court of Chancery, though any other kind of charitable bequest for the benefit of Jews is valid.

In short, the Jews hold what privileges they do in England much upon the same tenure that more favoured classes of subjects hold theirs. The national spirit has become too enlightened, free, and tolerant to render it possible to execute old bigoted and oppressive laws; but a superstitious veneration for anything that has the mere name of a law has left many of those impracticable enactments, in whole or in part, on the statute-book to tease and harass where they cannot severely injure.

Precarious though their position in England was at first, and vexatious though it still is in some respects, the Jews have continued to prosper among us ever since the days of Rabbi Manasseh-Ben-Israel. Their city of refuge—their metropolis—is the angular quarter bounded by Bishopsgate, Houndsditch, and the streets of Leadenhall and Aldgate. Towards the Bishopsgate boundary they become more intermingled with a Christian population, but in revenge their own surplus population has overflowed into the neighbouring Minorities, Tower Hill, Spitalfields, &c. Their progress in filling up this region may be traced by the successive building and rebuilding of their synagogues. As already noticed, the original Portuguese synagogue was built in 1656, and a new one erected in Bevis Marks in 1701. The German synagogue was built in Duke's Place in 1691, and rebuilt in 1790. The Hamburg synagogue was built in Fenchurch Street in 1726. A new synagogue was erected in Leadenhall Street in 1776; in 1838 it was removed to Great St. Helen's. The population of the eastern portion of the region around those places of worship, is essentially Jewish. It has a striking effect when, on a Saturday afternoon, one passes from the throng and bustle round the Bank, Exchange, and Mansion House, into the labyrinth of lanes and courts, bounded by St. Mary Axe, Houndsditch, Leadenhall and Aldgate Streets. It is passing from a week-day, with all its noise and care, into the silence and repose of a Sabbath, and of a well-observed Sabbath too—a Scotch one. If the season is summer, the inhabitants will generally be found sitting outside of their houses, or in the shadow of their door-ways—the men reading, the women quietly conversing. The appearance of all of them is in the highest degree clean, neat, and respectable.

These are the London Jews. Our information respecting the Westminster Jews is more imperfect. Their synagogue was rebuilt in 1796; in 1826 it was removed to St. Alban's Place. The densest settlements of Westminster Jews are in Holywell Street, and the vicinity behind the church of St. Mary-le-Strand, and in Monmouth Street and the adjoining region of St. Giles.

The streets and places above-mentioned are the residences of the poorer Jews and of their more substantial middle-class. The wealthy Jews—the aristocracy of their community—are to be found resident in the most fashionable streets and squares of the metropolis. But though thus separated they are not estranged from their brethren. Their congregational organisation is a chain to bind them together. The wealthiest Jews are Presidents and Wardens of the different synagogues. They are also deputies to represent their respective congregations in the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews. They act too as

Presidents and Office-bearers of the congregational burial societies, schools, and other charities. The associations of boyhood, the influence of religion, the dislike to quit a society of which they are members, all conspire to keep the Jewish community—rich as well as poor—united. A sense of interest strengthens their bonds. The clannish spirit thus kept alive in the tribe enables the wealthier members to command, in their often daring financial speculations, the assistance of the moderate funds of their less wealthy brethren. This is the secret of the power of what is called “the Hebrew party” on the Stock Exchange.

It is no more than justice to the Jews of London to remark that their charitable institutions are, in proportion to their numbers, many, and liberally supported. One of the most important is their Hospital, at Mile End, established by the philanthropic exertions of the late Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid, who began a collection for the purpose among their friends in 1795. So liberal were the contributions that, in 1797, they were able to purchase with them 20,000*l.*, of 3 per cent. stock. The Hospital for the reception and support of the aged poor, and the education and industrious employment of youth of both sexes, was purchased for 2300*l.*; an adjoining house, soon added, cost 2000*l.* The original endowments were 30,000*l.* of 3 per cent. stock. Additions have from time to time been made to the funds, and considerable sums expended in rendering the buildings more commodious. The present inmates are, twelve aged persons, fifty boys, and twenty-nine girls. A synagogue is attached to the establishment, and workshops in which the boys are taught shoe-making and chair-making, while the girls are instructed in household and needle-work.

The “Gates of Hope” Charity-school has been noticed already. A Jewish free-school was established in Bell’s Lane, Spitalfields, in 1818, or rather added to the old charity, the “Talmud Torah;” in which, in 1841, 298 boys and 162 girls were receiving elementary education, in addition to 21 pupils of the Talmud Torah. It was estimated in that year that 3844 had been educated in the institution since its commencement. The Jews have a well-managed infant-school in Houndsditch; and an evening school for adult females in White’s Row, Spitalfields, founded and conducted by the persevering charitable exertions of two Jewish ladies. There is also a National infant-school, superintended by ladies of the Jewish persuasion, and the Villa-real Girls’ school. The Jews’ College, a recent institution, appears to have confined its efforts hitherto to the training of more efficient candidates for the ministry. In addition to these there are almost innumerable institutions for ministering to the necessities and comforts of the Jewish poor:—Orphan institutions; societies for clothing and educating fatherless children; societies for relieving the indigent sick; an institution for the relief of the indigent blind; a society for assisting the Jewish poor at their festivals, &c. &c.

As might be anticipated from the attention paid to education, there has of late years been a decided rally among the London Jews in the matter of intellectual activity. ‘The Jewish Chronicle,’ an organ of the high orthodox Jews, a curious and able publication, appeared in 1841-2, but has since been discontinued for a time. The ‘Voice of Jacob,’ the organ of the more liberal or latitudinarian Jews, is still carried on. These are weekly publications. There are, or have been, a Jewish Review and a Jewish Magazine. The effort to establish a Jewish

College was a most creditable struggle, which it is to be hoped will not be relinquished. This intellectual activity has produced something of the same fruits among the Jews as among Christians: a keen controversy is at present waging between the "British Jews," who may be considered analagous to our Protestants, and the adherents of "the Association for preserving inviolate the ancient rites and ceremonies of Israel."

At the risk of being called dull, we have preferred dwelling upon the substantial qualities of our Jewish brethren, to following the hackneyed track of jokers at their national and professional peculiarities. The race which has produced men like the Rothschilds and Montefiores among the strictly orthodox section; the Goldschmidts among the more relaxed and liberal adherents of the hereditary faith; and the Ricardos and Barings among those who have adopted the kindred but spiritualised tenets of Christianity, is no unimportant element of this country's population. It is to be hoped that their disqualifications, daily diminishing in number, may soon be entirely removed. The true way to view such disqualifications is less as an injury to those subjected to them than as an injury to the nation which is by their means deprived of the services of those who could serve it well.



Old Clothesman, from Tempest's 'Cries of London.']

of the first kind of it is the only one which has been preserved in its original form. It is a fine specimen of the architecture of the sixteenth century, and is one of the most interesting buildings in the city. It is situated in the heart of the old town, and is one of the most beautiful specimens of the architecture of the sixteenth century.



[Hudson's Bay Company's House, Fenchurch Street.]

CXXIX.—OLD TRADING COMPANIES.

IF the London merchant of any particular century could witness the struggles for freedom of trade which occurred subsequently to his own times, he would be astonished at the different objects which were kept in view. All the rights of commercial freedom which *he* had contended for had been completely gained. No longer are there laws compelling him to send his merchandise to the king's staple: he can send it to any or every part of the globe. No longer is he an "interloper" in the trade to Turkey, Russia, Africa, or even the East Indies. The Italian merchants of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Steelyard merchants of a later period, no longer engross the most valuable part of the foreign trade of the country. Bruges and Antwerp are no more the great emporia of traffic to which he was accustomed to resort. London itself has become the entrepôt of the world. The trade of the Venetians in the spices and merchandise which they brought overland from India and sent to London in their galleys has passed away. Few are reminded by the name of Galley-quay in Thames Street, that their once-proud argosies were accustomed to ride there. Another generation saw the productions of the East brought by the Portuguese to the great mart of Antwerp, to which the English resorted to exchange for them their wool and broadcloths; and that trade has also been turned into a new channel. Before noticing two or three of the companies which once monopolized

the trade to particular countries,* we will glance briefly at a few of the commercial restrictions of bygone times, which show that the struggle for freedom of trade must be a very old one in this country.

King Hlothaere of Kent, who reigned in the seventh century, enacted that "If any of the people of Kent buy anything in the city of London, he must have two or three honest men, or the King's port-reve (who was the chief magistrate of the city), present at the bargain." What could have been the trade of London when such a law as this was in force? Even after the Conquest laws of this nature were either continued or revived. Their principal design, no doubt, was to protect the revenue of the King and the lord of the manor, to each of whom, according to Domesday Book, a certain proportion of the price of everything sold for more than twenty pennies was paid, the one-half by the buyer and the other by the seller. The amount specified in the Saxon law would prevent the rule from affecting the ordinary purchases of the necessaries of life; but the Conqueror, it seems, drew the restriction tighter by subjecting all bargains which involved a larger sum than 4*d.* to the tedious process of legislation by witnesses. In the twenty-eighth volume of the 'Archæologia,' there is a paper by Edward A. Bond, Esq., "On the loans supplied by Italian merchants, to the Kings of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," which presents an interesting view of the commercial state of the country during that period; and it likewise throws some light upon the circumstances which rendered such laws as Hlothaere's tolerable. "Specie," it is remarked, "was scarce, a paper currency a thing unheard of, and the convenience of exchange by bills was probably as yet only practised by the Italians themselves. The restrictions and arbitrary regulations with which trade was shackled, and perhaps the general manner and habits of life, had hitherto much impeded commercial prosperity. The wealth of the country was in the hands of the large proprietors of land, and the revenues of the crown were principally derived from feudal charges, to which territorial possessions were subject. Rolls of the collection of subsidies, remaining in the Exchequer, show how insignificant a portion of the public taxes was paid by the class of merchants and burgesses. We were almost destitute of manufactures. Wool, the staple commodity of the country, was exchanged in the ports of France and the Low Countries for bullion, wine, and merchandise of other description." The inland trade of the country was conducted on the most confined scale. "The produce of each district was exchanged by actual barter among the inhabitants, at the periodical fairs in the neighbourhood. What foreign commodities were in use were bought at the large fairs of Boston, Winchester, and Bristol; and only partially dispersed through the kingdom by travelling-merchants little above the rank of modern pedlars. The commercial wealth of the country was collected in a few towns and cities, such as London, Bristol, Winchester, Lincoln, Boston, York, and Hull; and the difficulties and dangers of carriage confined the advantages of their prosperity to the immediate vicinity. The arrival of the Italians at such a time was extremely opportune. The natural produce of the country was rich and abundant, but it required to be circulated, and in doing this the activity and means of the foreigners were most beneficially exercised. They

* For a notice of 'The East India Company' and 'The South Sea Company,' see No. CIV. Vol. V., and No. XLIV. Vol. II.

spread themselves over the country; they filled the fair of Boston and others with foreign goods of their own importation; and their superior opportunities of disposing of wool enabled them to bid high for that commodity, of which a large proportion passed through their hands." Mr. Bond quotes a return, showing the quantity of wool in the hands of ten different companies of Italian merchants in England on a certain day in the twenty-second year of Edward I. (1294). The King was then at war with France; and he had issued commands for the arrest of all wool, woollens, and hides, in whosoever hands they might be found. They were to be retained in the custody of the King's officers in order to prevent the possibility of their being exported into the dominions of the French King. The returns alluded to were made by the Italians themselves, who were mostly of Florence and Lucca. One company is designated 'La Compaignie del Cerele Blanc;' another 'La Compaignie du Cerele neyr de Florence;' a third, 'Societas Ricardorum de Lucca.' The total number of sacks of wool which the ten companies had in their possession was 2380. By far the greater part is stated to have been bought of religious houses: indeed many of the companies return as having received only from them. It appears that many of the religious houses were under engagements to deliver all their wool of one or more years' growth to some one of the companies at a period previously stipulated. The Abbey of Waverley, for instance, was bound to deliver up all its wool to Frescobaldi Neri of Florence, at Kingston-upon-Thames, on the Feast of St. John, and they were to receive twenty marks for every sack of good wool, and fifteen marks for each sack of middle value. "This would render the total quantity of wools returned worth 23,800*l*. But the returns were incomplete. They were made by the partners in London, and to each a note is added to this effect:—'We have other wools collected in divers parts of the country, which we believe have been arrested; but we cannot ascertain the number of sacks until our partners who have the business in charge return to London.'" Before 1344 the Cistercian Monks, taking advantage of the exemption of ecclesiastics from customs duties, had become the greatest wool-merchants in the kingdom; but in the above year the Parliament interfered, and prohibited ecclesiastical persons from practising any kind of commerce. In 1390, when the exports still consisted almost entirely of wool, English merchants were expressly excluded from this branch of trade, and it was enacted that no denizen should buy wool, except of the owners of the sheep, and for his own use. The object of this law might either be to favour the monopoly of the foreign merchants who assisted the sovereign with loans; or it might be intended to secure to the growers of wool the profits of the intermediate dealers. Still the plan of increasing profits by diminishing the competition of buyers was an odd way of accomplishing such an object.

One of the prerogatives assumed by the crown in those days was the right of restricting all mercantile dealings for a time to a certain place. Thus, in 1245, Henry III. proclaimed a fair to be held at Westminster, on which occasion he ordered that all the traders of London should shut up their shops, and carry their goods to be sold at the fair, and that all other fairs should be suspended throughout England during the fifteen days it was appointed to last. The object was to obtain a supply of money from the tolls and other dues of the market; but then again the citizens of London were equally willing to profit by restrictions in their

own favour, equally unfair towards the rest of the country; such as an ordinance of the lord mayor and aldermen, prohibiting any of the citizens from resorting with their goods to any fair or market out of the city, which was disannulled by an act of Parliament passed in 1487-8.

Of a like nature were the regulations of the Staple. A particular port or other place was appointed, to which certain commodities were obliged to be brought to be weighed or measured, for the payment of the customs, before they could be sold, or in some cases imported or exported. Here the king's staple was said to be fixed. The articles of English produce upon which customs were anciently paid were wool, sheep-skins or woolfells, and leather; and these were accordingly denominated the staples or staple-goods of the kingdom. Those who exported these goods were called the merchants of the staple. They were incorporated, or at least recognized as forming a society, with certain privileges, in the thirteenth century. Hakluyt has printed the charter which they received from Edward II. in 1313. It is addressed to the mayor and council of the merchants of the staple, and the king ordains that all merchants, whether natives or foreigners, buying wool and woolfells in his dominions for exportation, should, instead of carrying them for sale, as they had been wont to do, to several places in Brabant, Flanders, and Artois, carry them in future only to one certain staple in one of those countries, to be appointed by the said mayor and council. The king soon transferred to his own hands the right of fixing the staple. At one time it was at Antwerp, at another time at Bruges, then at Calais; or it was fixed in some of the principal towns in England. Now and then there was no staple either at home or abroad, and all merchants came and went freely wherever they listed. In 1376 the staple was fixed at Calais, for a time, and all the ordinary exports of the kingdom were obliged to be carried there. The inconvenience of this regulation was diminished two years afterwards, by the permission to use other ports on payment of the Calais staple-duties.

In this early period of our commercial history there were also many other vexatious restrictions. In 1275 Edward I. issued an order obliging all foreign merchants to sell their goods within forty days after arrival. They were not allowed to reside in England except by special licence from the king, and even then were subjected to various oppressive regulations; and many of these were continued when, in 1303, Edward granted a special charter permitting foreign merchants to come safely to any of the dominions of the English crown, with all kinds of merchandise, and to sell their goods. For instance, with the exception of spices and mercery, they were only allowed to sell the commodities which they brought wholesale. Wine could not be re-exported without special licence. Every resident foreigner was answerable for the debts of every other foreign resident. In 1306 a number of foreign merchants were committed to the Tower, and there detained until they severally gave security that none of their countrymen should leave the kingdom, or export any thing from it, without the king's special licence; and they were each required to give in an account of his property, both in money and goods. Again, in 1307, Edward prohibited the foreign merchants carrying out of the kingdom either coined money or bullion, thus compelling them either to dispose of their goods by barter, or if they were sold for money to invest the proceeds in English commodities. In the following year, however, Edward II., who had just

ascended the throne, exempted the merchants of France from this mischievous restriction. But although other relaxations of the law were permitted in various cases, from the impossibility of strictly enforcing it, foreign merchants continued long after to be vexed by attempts to carry into effect the objects originally contemplated. In 1335 it was enacted, that no person should carry out of the kingdom either money or plate without special licence, upon pain of forfeiture. At length, in 1390, it was enacted that foreign merchants might carry away one half of the money for which they sold their goods; but it was still required that every alien bringing merchandise into England should find sureties, before the officers of the customs, to expend half the value of his imports in the purchase of wools, leather, woolfells, tin, lead, butter, cheese, cloths, or other commodities raised in England. It is curious to remark, that while the exportation of money was forbidden, the remittance of bills was allowed! Every such bill had of course the effect of preventing the money coming into the country, and thus defeating the object of the statute. Some half century later an act was made (in 1439) which ordained that no foreign merchant should sell any goods to another foreigner in England, on pain of the forfeiture of the goods so sold; and yet the legislators of this period had before them the prosperity of Bruges, which by the traffic of foreigners had become a greater emporium than London.

Besides the wealthy Italians who at one time engrossed so large a share of the trade of the country, there were various other societies of foreigners enjoying important commercial immunities and advantages. In 1220 the merchants of Cologne had a hall or factory in London, for the legal possession of which they paid an acknowledgment to the king. Macpherson is of opinion that this Guildhall, by the association of the merchants of other cities with those of Cologne, became in time the general factory and residence of all the German merchants in London, and was the same that was afterwards known by the name of the German Guildhall (*Gildhalla Teutonicorum*). They were bound to keep one of the city gates in repair. Stow says: "I find that Henry III. (1216-72) confirmed to the merchants of the Haunce (Hanse), that had a house in the city called *Gildhalla Theutonicorum*, certain liberties and privileges. Edward I. also confirmed the same; in the tenth year of whose reign (1282) it was found that the said merchants ought of right to repair the said gate called Bishopsgate;" on which the alderman of the Haunce, he says, granted 210 marks to the mayor and citizens, and covenanted on the part of the body generally that they and their successors should from time to time repair the said gate. In 1479 the gate was entirely rebuilt at their cost. Their Guildhall was in Thames Street, by Cosin Lane. Stow describes it as "large, built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street, the middlemost whereof is far bigger than the other, and is seldom opened; the other two be mured up: the same is now called the old hall."* In 1383 the merchants of the Steelyard (for by this time they had acquired that name) hired a house adjoining their hall, with a large wharf on the Thames, and in the alley leading to it they erected various buildings. They had also another large house here, for which, in 1476, they paid the city an annual rent of 70*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1505 a charter was granted to a body called the Company

* For a view of the Steelyard and some further account respecting the Merchants of the Steelyard, see 'The Old Royal Exchange,' pp. 234-5, vol. ii.

of Merchant Adventurers of England, for trading in woollen cloth to the Netherlands, and the merchants of the Steelyard were prohibited from interfering with their new rivals. In 1551 a hot dispute raged between the two fraternities, which was brought under the notice of the Solicitor-General and the Recorder of London. It was alleged that, as no particular persons or towns had been mentioned in the charter of the Steelyard merchants, their privileges had been improperly extended; that they had engrossed almost the entire trade carried on by foreigners in the kingdom; and, lastly, it was stated that they had reduced the price of corn by their importations of foreign grain. The Company of Merchant Adventurers was now evidently the more favoured body, but its rival still continued to exist until 1597, when, the Emperor Rudolph having ordered the factories of the English Merchant Adventurers in Germany to be shut up, Queen Elizabeth directed the Lord Mayor of London to close the house occupied by the merchants of the Steelyard. They had establishments at Boston and Lynn.

Although the Company of Merchant Adventurers had only been incorporated in 1505, the existence of this association can be traced to the end of the thirteenth century. It has been said that it originated in an association of English merchants for trading in foreign parts, called the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, which existed about the middle of the thirteenth century. The part which the Merchant Adventurers took during the stoppage of the trade with the Netherlands in 1493 recommended them to the crown. During this period, says Bacon, the Adventurers "being a strong Company, and well under-set with rich men, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the realm, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent." Soon afterwards they began to assert a right to prevent any private adventurers from resorting to a foreign market, without they first "compounded and made fine with the said Fellowship of Merchants of London at their pleasure," upon pain of forfeiture of their goods. In a petition on the subject from the merchants not free of the Fellowship, it is stated that this fine "at the beginning, when it was first taken, was demanded by colour of a fraternity of St. Thomas of Canterbury, at which time the said fine was but the value of half an old noble sterling (3s. 4d.), and so by colour of such feigned holiness it hath been suffered to be taken for a few years past; and afterwards it was increased to a hundred shillings Flemish; and now it is so that the said Fellowship and Merchants of London take of every Englishman or young merchant being there, at his first coming, twenty pounds sterling for a fine, to suffer him to buy and sell his own proper goods, wares, and merchandises that he hath there." In consequence of this extortion the private merchants had been compelled to withdraw from the foreign marts. These facts are recited in the preamble of an act passed in 1497, by which the fine the Company was authorised to impose was limited to 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* They must now have been a highly influential body when this was the extent to which the government ventured to interfere with their attempt to control the whole foreign trade of the country. Mr. Burgon states, in his 'Life of Sir Thomas Gresham,' that in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign the Merchant Adventurers were in the habit of sending their cloths twice a-year, at Christmas and Whitsuntide, into the Low Countries; about one hundred thousand pieces of cloth being shipped annually, which

amounted in value to at least 700,000*l.* or 800,000*l.*; and the merchants were accustomed to equip on these occasions a fleet of fifty or sixty ships, manned with the best seamen in the realm. As London is now, so was Bruges in the fourteenth, and Antwerp in the sixteenth centuries, the greatest resort of foreign merchants in Europe. In 1385, according to an old writer, merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their settled domiciles and establishments at Bruges. After the middle of the fifteenth century Antwerp became the greatest commercial emporium in Europe; and about the middle of the next century, when it had attained its highest prosperity, it was said to be no uncommon sight to see two or three thousand vessels at one time in the Scheldt, laden with merchandise from every quarter of the globe. Merchants of all nations had fixed their residences here, preserving the manners of the different countries to which they belonged. In some years, after the middle of the sixteenth century, the export of English cloth of all kinds to Antwerp was valued at 1,200,000*l.* sterling, which sum was again invested in merchandise for English consumption. To this great emporium the Portuguese, after the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, brought the spices, drugs, and other rich productions of the East. The Merchant Adventurers of England had a noble mansion at Antwerp, called the English House, at which Charles V. had been entertained when he made his triumphal entry into that city in 1520.

The discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards thoroughly roused the spirit of mercantile adventure in England; and Joint Stock Companies sprung up under the encouragement of Charters, which gave to the Adventurers the exclusive right of enjoying the advantages to be derived from the discovery of new countries or the opening of fresh sources of trade. The memory of these commercial companies has almost passed away, yet at one period to have belonged to the Russia, the Turkey, the African, or the Eastland Companies, gave to the London merchant a pre-eminence which probably he could not have attained if unassociated with these bodies. The greatness of the East India Company, and its existence down to a more recent period, have thrown into the shade the minor companies which aimed at establishing a similar monopoly; but they are, notwithstanding, intimately connected with the commercial history of London.

Of all the minor companies, perhaps that which attempted to engross the trade with Russia was, at first, the most promising. Russia had not then advanced her frontiers to the Baltic, and the first opening of a trade with the Muscovites had all the excitement of geographical discovery as well as the ordinary incentives of commercial speculation. In 1553 some merchants of London, together with several noblemen, established a Company under the title of the "Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Lands, Countries, Isles, &c. not before known or frequented by any English." Three vessels, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, were sent out on the first expedition, the main object being to discover a north-east passage to China. Sir Hugh Willoughby, with two of the ships, was compelled to put into a port of Russian Lapland, where they intended to pass the winter; and the whole of them, seventy in number, were found in the ensuing spring, frozen to death. The third ship, commanded by Richard Chancellor, found its way to the White Sea, and thus reached the dominions of the Czar. Chancellor obtained permission to proceed to Moscow, where he obtained

important privileges for carrying on a trade with the Muscovites, and then returned to England. The advantages of this new trade were secured to the Adventurers by a charter granted in 1555, while those who were not free of the Company were prohibited from engaging in the trade under pain of forfeiting both ships and merchandise. In 1556 the Company's ships brought the first Ambassador from the "Emperor of Cathaie, Muscovia and Russeland." He was unfortunately wrecked on the coast of Scotland, and the presents intended for Queen Mary were lost. He was met at Tottenham by a splendid procession, consisting of the members of the Company, on horseback, wearing coats of velvet, with rich chains of gold about their necks. The Company bore all the expenses of his embassy. At Islington the ambassador was received by Lord Montacute, with the Queen's pensioners; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen received him in their scarlet robes, at Smithfield, whence they rode with him to Denmark House, in Fenchurch Street. On the return of the Ambassador in the following year, a very indefatigable agent of the Company, named Jenkinson, went out at the same time, who struck out a new line of commercial intercourse through Russia into Persia, by the Wolga and thence across the Caspian Sea. Jenkinson performed this journey seven different times, and agents from the Company visited the Persian court on the business of their new traffic. This branch of their trade, however, was not followed up until 1741, when an Act was passed to enable them to engage in the Russo-Persian trade, but the internal troubles of the Persian empire caused it soon to be stopped. In 1566 the Company obtained the protection of an Act of Parliament, as well as their charter, on the ground that great numbers of private persons had interfered with their trade. The trade with Russia, Persia, the Caspian Sea, and the countries to the northward, north-eastward and north-westward, was secured to the Company alone; and some provisions were made in favour of the citizens of York, Newcastle, Hull, and Boston, who had traded to Russia in the preceding ten years, but they were required to make themselves free of the Company before December, 1567. The future title of the association was to be "The Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades." The new Russian trade did not prove very lucrative, and in 1571 its affairs were in an embarrassed state from losses by shipwreck, bad debts, and the attacks of Polish pirates; and the expense of embassies had pressed heavily on their funds. Other complaints were also made. The Czar had curtailed some of their exclusive privileges, and the Dutch appeared as competitors in the trade. In 1582, however, the Company sent out eleven well-armed ships to Russia. In 1598 they commenced whaling operations at Spitzbergen, and asserted an exclusive right to the fishery in that quarter. Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1603, gave the following summary of the state of the English trade with Russia. For twenty years together, he remarks, we had a great trade to Russia, and even about fourteen years ago we sent store of goodly ships thither; but three years before he wrote, he states that only four had been sent, and a year or two after that only two or three, while the Hollanders dispatched from thirty to forty ships, each as large as two of ours, chiefly laden with English cloth and herrings taken in the English seas. This falling off, he tells us, had been brought about by "disorderly trading." The disputes of the Company with the Dutch whalers began also to thicken. In 1612 the Company seized the Dutch ships

engaged in the fishery; but in the following year our great commercial rivals sent eighteen ships to Spitzbergen, four of which were well armed, while our whalers were only thirteen in number, and the Dutch fished in spite of the Company's exclusive pretensions. The East India and Russia Companies were united for the prosecution of the whale-fishery. The hope of discovering a north-east passage to China had probably led to this union of interests at Spitzbergen; but after a bad year's fishing in 1619 their partnership was dissolved; though the fishery was still continued by the Russia Company, and in 1635 the importation of whale-fins or whale-oil was prohibited, except by the Company in its corporate capacity alone. In 1669 the English Company was placed by the Czar precisely on the same footing as the Dutch, and the Earl of Carlisle, who was sent as ambassador, was not able to negotiate any better terms for them. From this time the association became what is called a regulated company, that is, each member traded on his own account. In 1699 the admission-fee of members was fixed by Act of Parliament at a sum not exceeding 5*l*. The Company still elects its officers, and gives an annual dinner, which is attended by merchants engaged in the Russian trade, and usually by the Russian Ambassador. The expenses of the Association are paid out of trifling duties levied on merchandise and produce imported from Russia. The English Factory in Russia, now established at St. Petersburg, is little more than a society formed of some of the principal English merchants; and Mr. McCulloch states that its power extends to little else than the management of certain funds under its control.

The Turkey Company was chartered twenty years later than the Russia Company, but it continued to enjoy its privileges for a much longer period. Only seventy years ago Adam Smith termed this association "a strict and an oppressive monopoly." In 1579 Queen Elizabeth sent William Harburn, an English merchant, to Turkey, who obtained permission of the Sultan for the English to trade on the same terms as the French, Venetians, Germans, Poles, and others. Two years afterwards the Queen granted for seven years the exclusive right of carrying on a trade between Turkey and England to a company, consisting of four eminent merchants of London, with power to increase their number to twelve. In their charter it is stated that "Sir Edward Osburn and Richard Staper had, at their own great costs and charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey, not heretofore in the memory of any man now living known to be commonly used and frequented by way of merchandise, by any the merchants or any subjects of us or our progenitors, whereby many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendom, relief of poor Christian slaves, and good vent for the commodities of the realm." Any other subjects trading to Turkey either by sea or land were to forfeit ships and goods. In the last six years for which the charter was granted, the Company were to export sufficient goods to Turkey to realize a customs duty of 500*l*. a-year. In the following year the Company commenced their commercial operations, having built ships which were then considered of large burthen, for which they were greatly commended by the Queen and Council. An envoy was sent out to deliver the Queen's letters to the Sultan to establish factories and regulations for the English trade. The French and Venetians were particularly adverse to these new competitors, whose returns at first are said to have been three for one. In 1584 some members of the Company

carried part of their cloth, tin, &c., from Aleppo to Bagdad, and thence down the Tigris to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, whence they proceeded to Goa with a view of opening an overland trade to India. They carried the Queen's commendatory letters "to the King of Cambaya and the King of China," and before their return visited Agra, Lahore, and various parts of India. In 1593 the charter of the Turkey Company was renewed for twelve years, and it now consisted of fifty-three persons, knights, aldermen, and merchants; and the number might be increased to eighteen additional members (three to be aldermen), on condition that each person paid a fine of 130*l.* to the Company to indemnify them for their past charges in establishing the trade. The Venetians having lately increased the duties on English merchandise, were prohibited importing currants and Candian wine without the licence of the Turkey Company. On the termination of the above charter a new one was granted in 1605, by King James, for a perpetuity. It provided for the admission of members by a payment of 25*l.* to the Company from merchants under the age of twenty-six, and 50*l.* if above that age; and all their apprentices were entitled to their freedom on payment of 20*s.* only. In 1615 we find the Turkey Company complaining of their diminished commerce to the Levant, for the countries supplied from that quarter began to receive commodities sent from England by the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch also now employed above a hundred sail in the Levant trade, while the Turkey Company sent thirty ships fewer than formerly. However, in 1621, Mr. Munn, in his 'Discourse of Trade,' says, that of all Europe England drove the most profitable trade to Turkey, by reason of the vast quantities of broad cloth exported thither. Nothing remarkable in the history of the Company occurred until 1681, when a warm dispute ensued between it and the East India Company, and the former made a direct appeal to the King's Council. The Turkey Company stated that they exported English goods, chiefly cloth, of the value of 500,000*l.*, for which they brought in exchange raw silk and other materials of manufacture, but chiefly silk; and they complained that if this article were supplanted by silk from India, the exports to Turkey must necessarily fall off, as three-fourths of their value were received in Turkey silk, the other commodities of Turkey not being equivalent to carry on more than a fourth of the present trade. The facility with which all who were bred merchants could enter the Turkey Company was compared with the exclusive nature of the East India Company, which was a joint-stock association, and did not permit members trading on their own bottom. Thus the members of the Turkey Company had increased from seventy persons to at least five hundred between 1640 and 1680. The number of actual merchants in the East India Company was not more than a fifth of the whole number of members. The Turkey Company asked the Council to concede to them the right of trading to the Red Sea and all other dominions of the Sultan, and to have access thereto by the Cape of Good Hope. In their reply the East India Company adverted to the respective constitution of the two bodies, remarking that "noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, orphans, and all other subjects, may be traders, and employ their capitals in a joint-stock, whereas, in a regulated company, such as the Turkey Company is, none can be traders but such as they call legitimate or bred merchants." Forty years afterwards, in 1720, the number of persons who were members of the Turkey

Company was two hundred. In the next twenty years the French trade increased so much in the Levant, while that of the Turkey Company had diminished, that a bill was brought into Parliament for abolishing the privileges of the association as the most probable way of enabling our trade to regain its ascendancy. The advocates of the Company were heard at the bar, and their reasons against the measure were considered strong enough to defeat it. The Company was still at a very great expense in supporting the charge of an Ambassador at Constantinople, and Consuls in other parts of Turkey, as Aleppo, Smyrna, &c., where their factories had been established. Perhaps the circumstance which told most strongly in favour of the Company's interests was the belief that if the trade were thrown open it would quickly pass into the hands of the Jews, who were great supporters of the bill. In 1753 an act was passed, which made several important changes in the constitution of the Company, the preamble of which recited the most probable means of recovering the trade to be, "The taking of lesser fines for being made free of this Company; and the not restraining the freedom thereof to mere merchants, and to such persons as, residing within twenty miles of London, are free of the said City;" also the liberty of shipping goods from whatever port, and on board such ships as happened to be most convenient. Hitherto no merchandise could be exported to Turkey except in ships belonging to the Company, and, as these only sailed from London, the trade was entirely confined to that port. Under the new act every subject of Great Britain could be admitted a member of the Company, after giving thirty days' notice, and paying a fine of 20*l*. Thus, some of the principal abuses to which the Turkey trade was subject were removed. In 1825 the Company ceased to exist.

The trade to Africa, which commenced about the year 1530, and was for some time an open trade, was eventually restricted to a joint-stock company. At first a patent was granted for ten years to several merchants in Devonshire and two of London, for an exclusive trade to the rivers Senegal and Gambia, because, as it was alleged, "the adventuring of a new trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning." The trade seems to have been carried on in rather a desultory manner by the patentees, and for some time after the expiration of their privileges it appears to have been discontinued entirely. In 1618, however, King James granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich and other persons in London, authorizing them to raise a joint-stock fund for trading to Guinea; but the Company was apparently unable to keep out interlopers, or to compete with the Dutch, and was broken up. Another African Company was formed in 1631, by Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and several London merchants, and a charter was obtained for an exclusive trade to Guinea, and other parts of the west coast of Africa, for thirty-one years. Forts and factories were erected; but though the Company was empowered to seize the ships of private traders they were unable to keep the trade to themselves; and, to compromise matters, they agreed to grant licences to the interlopers. During the civil war the African trade became generally open; and the Dutch and Danes destroyed the Company's forts and took their ships. As soon as the charter had expired, another Company was set on foot, in 1662, at the head of which was the Duke of York and many persons of rank and distinction. One of the conditions

of their charter was to supply the West India plantations with three thousand negroes annually. The first operations were directed to the recovering possession of the forts, for which purposes fourteen ships were sent out, and they were retaken; but the Dutch, under De Ruyter, got possession of them again in the same year. The Duke of York, by way of retaliation, seized above a hundred Dutch merchant ships, on which a war was formally declared between the two countries. The result was that this African Company shared the fate of its predecessors. These discouragements did not prevent the formation of a fourth company, at the head of which were the King, the Duke of York, and several persons of rank. A capital of 111,000*l.* was raised in nine months; a sum of 34,000*l.* was paid to the late Company for three of their forts; and operations were commenced with considerable spirit and with tolerable success. The former companies had been in the habit of making up their assortment of goods in Holland, but the manufacturing skill and industry of England had now so much improved that it was no longer necessary to resort to our neighbours. For several years the new Company exported British goods to the value of 70,000*l.* annually, and out of the gold which they imported fifty thousand 'guineas' were coined in 1672. At the Revolution the West India planters joined the free traders in attacking the Company's privileges; the former asserting that they were always best served with negroes when the trade was open. By the petition and declaration of rights an end was put to exclusive trading companies not authorized by Parliament, and the African trade became an open one; but for some time afterwards the Company persisted in seizing the ships of the private traders, as they were empowered to do by their exclusive charter. By the end of the century the private traders had secured the greatest share of the trade; but as the African Company was at the expense of maintaining forts and factories, and paid the salaries of governors and a numerous staff of officers, the legislature felt bound to indemnify them for their charges on this account, and an act was passed in 1698 for levying a per centage on the private traders, who were no longer to be termed interlopers. The African Company long hankered after its old privileges, and made several attempts to obtain the sanction of the legislature for an exclusive charter, but the measure was always vigorously opposed by the free traders. Still the Parliament, although it passed resolutions as to the necessity of rendering the trade completely free, did not act upon them; and so long as the forts on the coast continued in the Company's hands they necessarily enjoyed a certain degree of pre-eminence which could not so easily be dispensed with. In 1730 Parliament granted 10,000*l.* for the purpose of keeping these forts in repair; and as from this time an annual grant was made for the purpose, the chief impediment to opening the trade no longer existed. Accordingly, in 1750, an act was passed by which the African Company ceased to be a joint-stock association, but became a regulated company, under the title of "The Company of Merchants trading to Africa," the forts, settlements, and factories of the old Company being transferred to the new body. The government of the new Company was vested in a committee of nine, elected by persons who had paid forty shillings for the freedom of the Company. Three of the committee were chosen in London, and three each in Bristol and Liverpool. Their power extended only to the government of the forts and factories, and they were not allowed to interfere with the trade. A sum of 800*l.* was allowed for the expenses of management in

London, which was increased in 1764 to 1200*l*. In 1821 the charter was recalled, and the Company has ceased to exist.

The Eastland Company consisted of merchants trading to the ports of the Baltic, and was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1579, with a view of encouraging an opposition to the Hanse Merchants. In 1672 an Act was passed by which the trade with the ports on the north side of the Baltic was laid open without reserve, and the eastern ports to all who paid a fine of 40*s*. to the Eastland Company. Sir Joshua Child, in his 'Discourses on Trade,' states that the low rate of interest in Holland, and the "narrow, limited Companies of England," had thrown the Baltic trade into the hands of the Dutch, who had no Eastland Company, and yet ten times as much trade as the English in those ports, whereas to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, which was an open trade for both nations, we had as extensive a commerce as the Dutch. The Eastland Company, long after it had ceased to exist commercially, continued to elect its annual officers, having a small stock in the funds to defray the expenses of a yearly commemoration of its former existence.

It is unnecessary to proceed with the history of the minor trading companies which existed at different times. The Hamburgh, Greenland, and other Companies were of too limited a nature to exercise much influence on the commerce of London.

The Hudson's Bay Company is the only one of the old trading associations which still continues in active operation. It was first incorporated on the 2nd of May, 1670. In the preceding year Prince Rupert, cousin of Charles II., with seventeen persons of rank and distinction, had sent out a ship to the Bay to ascertain the probability of opening a trade in that quarter for furs, minerals, &c., and the report being favourable they procured their charter. No minerals have been found, but the fur trade has proved a mine of wealth. William the Conqueror's New Forest was a mere speck in comparison to this noble hunting ground of this English trading company. It comprises an area of between two and three million square miles, or a space some forty or fifty times larger than England, extending from Hudson's Bay to the shores of the Pacific, and from the frontiers of the United States to the Arctic Sea. This vast region is diversified with mountains, rocks, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, swamps, and forests; and the pursuit of the beasts of chase which inhabit it leads men from their civilized homes to pass years in the wilderness in adventures with grisly bears, or other wild animals, and often with savage men equally untamed. Here, bitten by the frosts of winter, and stung by the musquitoes and sand-flies in summer; often on short commons; sometimes reduced to live on the flesh of their horses; spending a dreary winter at one of the "forts," the servants of the Company pass their wild adventurous life. For nearly a century after the Hudson's Bay Company was chartered, Canada was a French colony; and not only when hostilities existed between France and England, but even at other times, the forts of the Company were occasionally attacked. The French-Canadians also prosecuted the fur trade with remarkable success, adapting themselves to circumstances with that facility which distinguishes the natives of France. The *coureurs des bois* plunged into forests with the red man, learned his language, intermarried with the race, and were often adopted in his tribes. By this means the northern part of that vast

continent became eventually as familiar to the fur traders as the neighbourhood of Montreal. Before the dominion of France ceased in Canada, the French had pushed their fur trade to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. A new impulse was given to it when Canada became a British colony, and the Anglo-Canadians entered into this branch of enterprise, at first desultorily, being content with what are now considered short expeditions of 1500 or 1600 miles from Montreal. But this limited field did not long satisfy the more enterprising traders, who pushed into unknown regions and were richly rewarded for their exertions. Others soon followed, until the keenness of competition threatened to destroy the trade. This state of things led to the union of the fur traders of Canada in 1783, under the name of the "North-West Company." The Canadian French were already trained to their service, and the principle of the association was well calculated to direct the feelings of individual self-interest to the general objects of the united body. The clerks had the prospect of becoming partners after certain periods of service, and many of them acquired wealth. Most of them were natives of Scotland. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who rose from a clerkship, is known to the public by his geographical discoveries, and by the river which bears his name. The recent acquisitions to geographical knowledge made by Messrs. Simpson and Dease, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, are well known. The furs are collected from the hunters at the different "forts" and "houses" of the Company. Fort William, on Lake Superior, was established as a sort of half-way house between Montreal and the posts in the interior. It was really managed like a garrison, the partners acting as commanding officers, the clerks as subalterns, and the French-Canadians and Indians forming the rank and file. At the close of the season the "winterers" arrived, the furs and skins which they brought were assorted, and accounts were settled. After dinner partners and clerks made merry in the great hall, and enjoyed their long nights of revelry and ease; while the *voyageurs*, Indian half-breeds, and a motley group were not less enjoying themselves in the court-yard. Ross Cox, whose 'Adventures' abound with the most lively descriptions of the life of the fur traders, was at Fort William in 1817, and ascertained that "the aggregate number of persons in and about the establishment was composed of natives of the following countries:—England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, United States, Canadians, Africans, and a mixed progeny of Creoles." The "winterers" are allowed, after a certain time, to have their turn of going to Montreal, and those between Montreal and Fort William are sent into the interior. Arduous as was the task of conveying between Montreal and Fort William the stores and articles of barter and the furs obtained from the trappers and hunters, it was in the interior that real hardships were experienced. "Here," says Ross Cox, "no sign of civilization was to be seen; not a church, or chapel, or house, or garden, nor even a cow, a horse, or a sheep; nothing during the entire day; just rocks, rivers, lakes, portages, waterfalls, and large forests; bears roaring a tattoo every night, and wolves howling a *réveille* every morning."

The activity of the North-West Company at length roused the Hudson's Bay Company, which laid claim to the right of trading in a large portion of the country where the North-West Company had established their forts; but the claim was disregarded, and a strong spirit of mutual jealousy and opposition sprung up

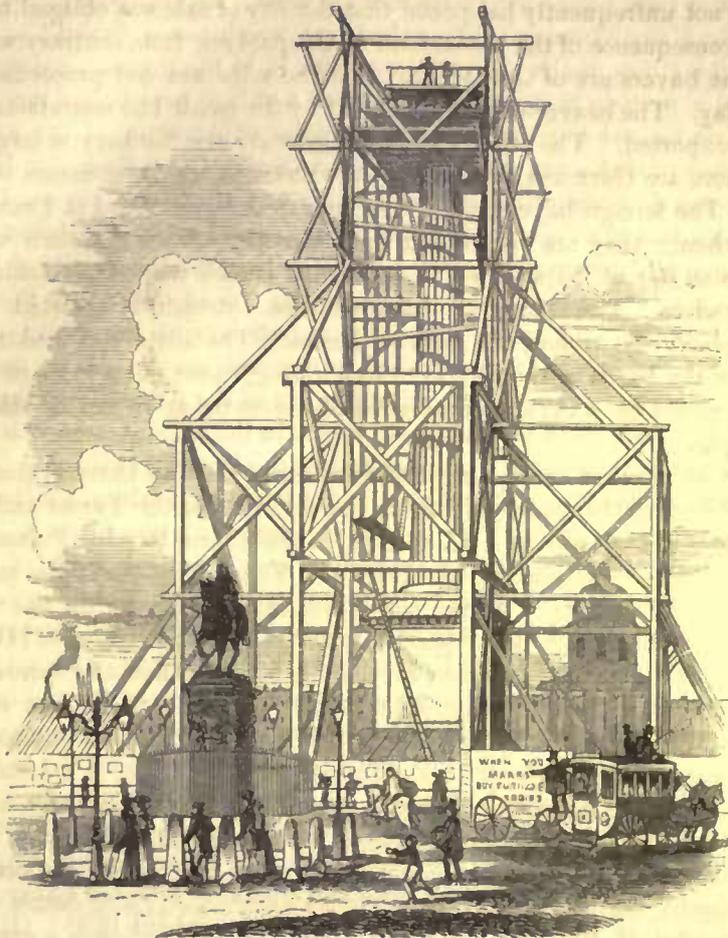
between them. In 1813 the North-West Company bought Astoria, on the Columbia river, which Mr. Astor, of New York, and his other partners had been compelled to relinquish in consequence of the war between Great Britain and the United States. The North-West Company's establishments now extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Hudson's Bay Company had also extended its chain of posts over its vast territory. Soon after the commencement of the present century an open war broke out between the two Companies, already far removed from the restraints of law. Forts were surprised and parties were intercepted and taken prisoners, according to the ordinary practices of belligerents. This unfortunate state of things was happily put an end to by the union of the North-West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821. The united body retain the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, which has for its "field of chase" the whole of North America, from the frontiers of Canada and the United States to the Frozen Ocean, and from the shores of Labrador to those of the Pacific. The mere enumeration of the distances between some of the forts will give but an inadequate idea of the difficulties of transporting skins and stores from one to another. The routes taken are chains of lakes and rivers, connected by links of portages, where the canoes and packages must be carried by the *voyageurs*. From Fort William on Lake Superior to Cumberland House, on the main branch of the Saskatchewan River, is 1018 miles; from Cumberland House to Fort Chipewyan, on Lake Athabasca, is 840 miles; thence to Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake, is 240 miles. The Mackenzie River flows out of this lake, and there are three forts on it. The first is Fort Simpson, 338 miles from Fort Resolution; Fort Norman, 236 miles lower down; and Fort Good Hope, 312 miles below Fort Norman, is the most northerly of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments, being about 3800 miles from Montreal. Yet the clerks in charge of these establishments look upon each other as neighbours! "At a great number of our posts," says Mr. Pelly, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, "potatoes are cut off even by summer frosts, and they cannot grow corn." Pemmican or dried meat is there the chief article of subsistence; and it is always necessary to victual each establishment much in the same way as a ship about to depart on a long voyage. The clerks of the United Companies are still mostly Scotchmen; and Mr. Pelly says, "If they conduct themselves well as clerks, they are promoted and become traders, and afterwards factors. The chief factors and chief traders, as they are called, participate in the profits."

The furs obtained each season are shipped to London from Hudson's Bay, Montreal, and from the Columbia river. In 1788 upwards of 127,000 beaver skins were exported from Canada; but although the hunting-grounds in British North America are now so much more extensive, the number within the last ten years has never exceeded 104,429; and the average of the six years from 1835 to 1840 was only 68,304. The Company now maintain beaver preserves in their territories. Whenever the animals become scarce in any district the post or fort in the neighbourhood is removed, and the natives also shift their quarters along with it.

The great sales of the Hudson's Bay Company, at their house in Fenchurch Street, take place twice a year at fixed periods, usually about Easter and early

in September, and are remarkable for the number of foreigners who attend them, particularly from Germany. Before steam navigation had given certainty to the voyage, it not unfrequently happened that the day of sale was obliged to be postponed, in consequence of the non-arrival of the packets, from contrary winds. So many of the buyers are of Jewish race that the sales are not proceeded with on the Saturday. The beaver-skins are bought by the great hat-manufacturers, and are not re-exported. The other English buyers are the furriers, a large proportion of whom are Germans, or of German extraction, as their names sufficiently indicate. The foreign buyers carry their furs to the great fairs at Frankfort and Leipzig, whence they are distributed over Europe. Some find their way to the great Russian fair of Nijny-Novgorod, and are carried thence to Kiakhta by the Russian traders. This singular Russo-Chinese entrepôt is resorted to by the Tartar traders, who convey the furs to Peking. The history of a skin, from its coming into the hands of the hunter to its forming a part of the robe of a Chinese mandarin, would be a curious illustration of the untiring energy of the commercial principle.

It is not solely as a defence against the severity of the climate that furs are valued. The taste for wearing them is characteristic of the Tartar and Slavonic races wherever they are found, whether in Southern Russia, Poland, Persia, Turkey, or China, and also of the people of Teutonic origin in the middle and western parts of Europe. At one period the use of furs in England was a distinguishing mark of rank and consideration. A statute of Edward III. confined the wearing of fur in their clothes to the royal family, and to "prelates, earls, barons, knights, and ladies, and people of Holy Church which might expend by year an C^{li} of their benefices at the least." Henry VIII. also enacted a sumptuary law respecting the use of furs. In 1567, Henry Lane, in a letter to Hakluyt, the collector of English voyages, expresses his regret that the use of furs should not be renewed, "especially in courts and amongst magistrates, because," says he, "they are for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave, and comely; expressing dignity, comforting age, and of long continuance; and better with small cost to be preferred than those new silks, shags and rags, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed."



[Statue of Charles I., with the unfinished Nelson Testimonial.]

CXXX.—PUBLIC STATUES.

IN glancing at the title of this paper, which, let us ask, of the public statues of London would in all probability first occur to the generality of readers? There can be but one answer to the question—the statue of Charles I. at Charing Cross, which is one of the best, one of the earliest, and by far the most historically interesting of the whole. At Charing Cross, then, let us commence our survey of the chief of these works. The place itself may be said to be sacred from a very early period to the great object of monumental sculpture, that of commemorating persons whose virtues have shed a glory upon our common humanity: for here it was that the body of the admirable queen of Edward I., Eleanor, rested for the last time on its way from Lincolnshire to the Abbey, and where accordingly, as at all the other resting-places, a cross was erected by her husband; in whose

prolonged life of ruthless warfare this event forms a most touching incident. But the name—Charing Cross itself, whence is that derived? “From the village existing here even before the erection of the cross,” answers your mere antiquary, glad to adopt any hypothesis rather than one which has a “taint” of poetry or romance in it; but, really, he must excuse us, if, in the present instance, in the absence of a particle of proof that there was a village here before the period in question, we believe the popular and romantic explanation of the name, to be also the most probable and satisfactory,—and that is, *Chere Reynne*, or dear queen. The cross was first sculptured in wood, which was afterwards replaced by one of stone. This was of an octagonal form, in the pointed style of architecture, decorated with no less than eight figures. We may judge of the quality of the sculpture by looking at the recumbent statue of the “dear queen” in Westminster, which is supposed to be by the same artists, scholars of the school of Niccolo Pisano; a statue of almost unequalled purity and beauty. It is not wise to undervalue the services of the church reformers of the sixteenth century, but, in commercial phrase, there is a heavy *per contra* to the account: the destruction of the statue at Charing Cross forms one among the long list of items.

The associations of the statue which, in the following century, succeeded to the site of the cross, are generally of a painful character; but there is one noticeable exception. The exceedingly expressive and beautiful piece of sculpture, which represents Charles I. (the earliest equestrian public statue in London, by the way), may be looked upon as a happy memorial of one of the most enlightened and munificent patrons of art England has known. And, since there appears little probability of our coming to an unanimous opinion as to whether Charles was a martyr or a tyrant, we may at least unite in honouring the memory of him who brought the Cartoons into this country, who helped to make the names of Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Guido, and Rubens household words among us, who had Vandyke for his chief painter, Inigo Jones for his chief architect. The artist of the king's statue, Hubert le Sœur, was himself one of the numerous band of able men whom Charles's taste and liberality tempted hither. He was a pupil of John of Bologna, and arrived in London about 1630. Of the many works executed by him in bronze in this country, the statue at Charing Cross seems to be the only one ever mentioned now, perhaps as being the only one now existing. This was cast in 1633, for the Earl of Arundel, the famous collector, and to whom Charles is said to have been materially indebted for his artistical tastes. The subsequent history of the statue is very curious. During the civil wars it was sold to a brazier in Holborn, of the name of John River, with orders to break it in pieces; the brazier, however, was too much of a loyalist, or too much an admirer of art (which is the more likely, as the statue would hardly have been sold to a known favourer of the royal cause), or, which is likeliest of all, had too keen a perception of its pecuniary value at some future time, to obey his orders; so he buried it, and satisfied the officers of government by showing them some broken pieces of metal. That our “worthy brazier,” as he has been called, was not overburdened with any very strict principles of honesty we know from an amusing anecdote related by M. d'Archenholz, who says he cast a vast number of handles of knives and forks in brass, which he sold as made of the broken statue. They were bought with great eagerness by both parties—by the

loyalists as a mark of affection to their monarch, and by the republicans as a memorial of their triumph. At the Restoration the statue was, of course, restored too. And, as a preliminary, a libation of blood was poured forth, as if to wash away the memory of its temporary degradation. Here the scaffold was erected for the execution of the men of the Commonwealth; and, to mark beyond the possibility of mistake the thirst for vengeance from which the act sprang, the executioners, inspirited by the presence of the king at a short distance, and fulfilling, no doubt, the orders given to them, actually revelled in cruelty, adding tortures that not even the execrable terms of the sentence could be supposed to include. When Coke was cut down and brought to be quartered, one Colonel Turner called to the sheriffs' men to bring Mr. Peters to see what was doing; which being done, the executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody hands together, asked him "how he liked that work?" The answer of the brave and high-principled man was simply that he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worst. And when he was upon the ladder, he said to the sheriff, "Sir, you have butchered one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have forced me to see it, in order to terrify and discourage me, but God has permitted it for my support and encouragement."* These were not very attractive reminiscences to be connected with any statue, and the matter was still worse when the connexion was so intimate as between the events and the individual represented by the particular statue in question. For the time, at least, it ceased to be looked upon as anything but a party memorial, and it was treated accordingly. Andrew Marvell, especially, seems to have made it for London what the celebrated statue of Pasquin was for Rome, a vehicle for lampoons against the government. Here is his first notice of the statue, written evidently whilst it was in process of restoration :

"What can be the mystery, why Charing Cross
This five months continues still muffled with board?
Dear Wheeler, impart, we are all at a loss
Unless we must have Punchinello restor'd.

"'Twere to Scaramouchio too great disrespect
To limit his troop to this theatre small,
Besides the injustice it were to eject
That mimic, so legally seiz'd of Whitehall.

* * * * *

"No, to comfort the heart of the poor Cavalier
The late King on horseback is here to be shown;
What ado with your Kings and your statues is here!
Have we not had enough, pray, already of one?

"Does the Treasurer think men so loyally true
When their pensions are stopp'd to be fool'd with a sight?
And 'tis forty to one, if he play the old game
He'll reduce us ere long to rehearse forty-eight."†

This, from a patriot like Marvell, presents but an awkward commentary on the doings of the restored government. The date of the verses is pretty nearly marked by the allusion to the stoppage of the pensions in the last verse, which, no doubt, refers to the King's wholesale robbery of the kingdom by the sudden

* Ludlow's Memoirs.

† *Forty-eight*—the year of Charles's execution.

close of the Exchequer, in 1672, which spread ruin far and wide, not only by the positive losses incurred, but also by the destruction of public credit. Bankers and commercial men especially suffered. That one of these should almost immediately afterwards erect a public statue to the monarch who had thus signalised his reign, was odd enough: and we cannot wonder that Andrew Marvell was once more roused; and, as he has connected the history of this statue with the one at Charing Cross, as we shall presently have occasion to show, we may here pause a moment to notice it. On and around the site of the present Mansion House, there was formerly a market known as the Stocks Market, in which was a conduit; to commemorate at once his loyalty and his mayoralty, Sir Robert Vyner set up an equestrian statue of Charles II. on the top of this conduit. Neither as a likeness nor as a work of art did the statue attract admiration: Marvell says,

“When each one that passes finds fault with the horse,
 Yet all do affirm that the King is much worse;
 And some by the likeness Sir Robert suspect
 That he did for the King his own statue erect.

* * * * *
 Thus to see him disfigur'd—the herb-women chide,
 Who upon their panniers more gracefully ride.”

The explanation came out at last: Sir Robert Vyner, like another wealthy citizen, when bent upon an expensive pleasure had still a frugal mind, and so, having got hold of a statue of John Sobieski, King of Poland, with his horse trampling down a Turk, converted it into a Charles the Second; and as to the prostrate figure, if it was hinted, as was very natural, that it was Cromwell, why, Sir Robert could only smile, and own the “soft impeachment.” After the pulling down of the conduit, the statue lay for years among the rubbish about Guildhall; but in 1779 it was given by the Common Council to a descendant of the original giver, who removed it to his country seat, where, for aught we know, it is still preserved. Might it not be recovered by a proper application? We cannot but regret the loss of such an inexhaustible treasury of mirth—of so capital a sculptured joke, only the more amusing from the reflection that its author by no means intended anything of the kind.

In looking at the allusions contained in the lampoons of Marvell, we need to refresh our recollections of the actual events of the time, in order to avoid doing the satirist injustice; it is hard to believe that the “merry monarch” could be so very despicable as he is described. Unfortunately, however, what Marvell and others then said upon the strength of individual conviction, rather than from positive proof, has been since proved to be true to an extent that they could hardly have been aware of. We do not allude to the profligacy of the domestic life, but to the before unheard-of conduct in English annals, of an English monarch becoming a secret pensioner of the court of France, and making the foreign policy of the one state dependent upon the bribes of the other. Who can wonder at the indignation of a man who called Milton friend; a man whose entire history proves alike the probity, the enthusiasm, the courage, and the ability, that he devoted to the public service? The paper which has chiefly led to these remarks is in the form of a dialogue between the two statues of Woolchurch (or Stocks Market) and Charing. Marvell, after giving various reasons to show that we need not be surprised at what he is going to relate, gives us to understand that

the riders, weary of sitting so long, stole away one evening, and that the horses took the opportunity of meeting each other and having a little conversation, partaking, it must be acknowledged, of the scandalous. After some plain speaking as to the subserviency of church and state to the King's mistress, with allusions to the injury done to widows and orphans by the closing of the Exchequer, as before mentioned, to maintain the pride of the said Lady, at all of which, remarks the Charing horse to his companion,

“ My brass is provoked as much as thy stone,—”

They both break into a kind of frenzy at the sights that meet them on all sides in connection with the government. Thus runs the alternate complaint —

Woolchurch.—To see *Dei Gratia* writ on the throne

And the King's wicked life say God there is none.

Charing.—That he should be styled Defender of the Faith

Who believes not a word what the Word of God saith.

Woolchurch.—That the Duke should turn Papist, and that Church defy

For which his own father a martyr did die.

Charing.—Though he changed his religion, I hope he's so civil

Not to think his own father is gone to the devil.

After a good deal more in the same strain, Charing seems to remember they are getting warm, so bids Woolchurch

Pause, brother, awhile, and calmly consider

What thou hast to say against my royal rider.

Woolchurch.—Thy priest-ridden King turned desperate fighter

For the surplice, lawn sleeves, the cross, and the mitre ;

Till at last on the scaffold he was left in the lurch

By knaves, who cried up themselves for the church,

Archbishops and bishops, archdeacons and deans.

Charing.—Thy King will ne'er fight unless for his queans.

Woolchurch.—He that dies for ceremonies dies like a fool.

Charing.—The King on thy back is a lamentable tool.

And now the horses grow so scurrilous that we must leave them, quoting, however, a couple of passages of the concluding part of their dialogue, which show the poet could prophesy well as to the future, whatever might be the correctness of his views as to the past. To the question of Woolchurch,

“ What is thy opinion of James Duke of York ?”

Charing answers,

“ The same that the frogs had of Jupiter's stork.

With the Turk in his head, and the Pope in his heart,

Father Patrick's disciples will make England smart.

If he e'er be king, I know Britain's doom ;

We must all to a stake, or be converts to Rome.

Ah, Tudor ! Ah, Tudor ! of Stuarts enough—

None ever reigned like old Bess in the ruff !

* * * * *

Woolchurch.—But canst thou devise when things will be mended ?

Charing.—When the reign of the line of the Stuarts is ended.”

We have but to step to the back of the Banqueting House to find a memorial that forms a striking commentary on the concluding line—the statue of James II., who did become king, who began the career the poet shadowed out, but who was

not permitted to complete it: the "line of the Stuarts" was "ended" instead, by a second dethronement.

It is curious that none of the histories of London mention the origin of this statue of James, which is by Gibbons, and not only valuable for its intrinsic excellence, but as showing that the fame of Gibbons as a carver on wood is founded on a solid base,—that he was, in short, a truly fine artist, in the higher sense of the term; and it is only to be regretted that he had not oftener worked in the more durable material, on the larger subjects. The employer of Gibbons in this work, and in a corresponding statue of Charles II., was, it appears, one Tobias Rustat, Keeper of Hampton Court and Yeoman of the Robes, who took it into his head to present the King and his brother with their statues in brass, at an expense of 500*l.* each. Hence the Charles now in Chelsea Hospital, the James at Whitehall. Allan Cunningham says of the latter, "It has great ease of attitude, and a certain serenity of air;" but it has more than this—the character of the man is as legibly inscribed on that brass as historian has ever written it on paper. Think but for a moment of him who could first admit to an audience his own brother's son, the Duke of Monmouth, in the hope apparently of learning something that might be useful to him, and then, unmoved by all the unfortunate duke's passionate pleadings for life, dismiss him coolly to the axe; or of him who, when the infamous Jeffreys returned from the task of hanging up by hundreds, with scarcely the semblance of a trial, the people who had aided, or were supposed to have aided—it was all the same—Monmouth in his ill-managed revolt, made the event memorable by a most emphatic eulogy on the judge in the 'Gazette,' accompanying the announcement of an equally emphatic promotion to the Chancellorship. James was clearly wrong when some months afterwards, in expressing his concern for Jeffreys' illness, brought on by debauchery, he said such another man would not easily be found in England: the force of sympathy should have told him *he* need not seek far. We have only to think of these things, and then turn our glances upon the gloomy inexorable features of Gibbons' statue to feel at once—Such was the man.

From the statue of James at Whitehall, and the recollections suggested by it, one naturally turns towards Soho Square, and to the statue there, which, according to a writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' in 1790,* represents the Duke of Monmouth; whilst Hughson, in his 'Walks through London,' says it is a statue of James, and lastly, the Rev. Mr. Nightingale, in the 'Beauties of England and Wales,' ascribes the honour to Charles II. The inscription on the base was illegible when the last named gentleman noticed it, in 1815, and so remains. Monmouth, it appears, resided here, in a house, the site of which is now occupied by Bateman's Buildings, and the Square, when first built, was called by his name. This was subsequently—perhaps on Monmouth's disgrace—changed to King's Square, and then again by his admirers to Soho Square, from the watchword, Soho, used on the day of battle at Sedgemoor, where the Duke was defeated. The name, Monmouth Square, however, appears to have been in common use so late as 1790, when the writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' to whom we have alluded, thus designated it. As to the statue, it would, perhaps, be impossible to find a more striking illustration of the folly of those who think

* Page 888.

that memorials of brass or stone can perpetuate the memory of men whose merits have not been of an equally durable character. The circumstances we have mentioned show that the statue must necessarily have been the subject of much animated discussion: scarcely a century and a half have elapsed since its erection, and yet we know not to whom it belongs, whether to Charles, to his son, or to his brother.

Odd coincidences occur with regard to the localities chosen for some of the public statues of London; we may in particular mention two, the statues of James's successor in St. James's Square, and of George I. in Leicester Square. It was in the first of these places that James built a large house for his favourite mistress, Catherine Sedley, created by him Countess of Dorchester; and there—nowhere but there—does Chance, as if to show she is not always the blind goddess she seems, bring in later times the statue of him who so quietly handed James down from the throne, and banished him from all the delights of his harem, from all the pleasant anticipations of an occasional *auto de fê*, such as we were to have enjoyed, according to Andrew Marvell, had the bounteous giver been spared to us. The statue of the hooked-nose King and warrior, William, the hero of our "glorious Revolution," stands on a pedestal in the middle of the circular sheet of water that adorns the square, embowered in green foliage. The equestrian statue of George I., in Leicester Square, which was formerly at Cannons, in Hertfordshire, suggests equally awkward reminiscences. The first house built on the spot, then known as Leicester-fields, was founded by one of the Sydneys, Earl of Leicester. Here the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I., lived and died; and here subsequently, when George I. and his son quarrelled, the latter took up his residence, collected about him the disaffected of all classes, and made Leicester House notorious for political intrigue. A system of undisguised warfare between father and son took place; and it became but too evident to the nation at large, horrible as the fact was, that they hated each other. The explanation is sufficiently evident. The Prince's mother was that Sophia Dorothea of Zell, whose painful and mysterious story has excited so much interest. On the assumed ground of her infidelity with Count Königsmark, who suddenly disappeared (it was afterwards discovered that he had been assassinated), she was confined in the solitary castle of Ahlen, on the river Aller, for thirty-two years, and there she died only a few months before her husband George I. The feelings of the Prince, who, it is well known, tenderly loved his mother, and naturally believed her innocent, since there were numbers of persons less interested who believed the same, may be readily imagined. Once during her life he is said to have made a bold attempt to obtain an interview with her, and for that purpose crossed the river on horse-back; but the jailor to whom she was entrusted, Baron Bulow, was immovable. On the other hand, George I., if he really believed in the story of his wife's guilt, is not altogether without excuse, since the very relationship of his presumed son was thereby questioned. As a conclusion to these notices of George I. and the Square, it is to be observed that the unseemly spectacle presented by him and his son, was repeated very nearly in the same manner when the latter succeeded the throne, by him and his son Frederick, who died here. Pennant happily called the house a "pouting-place for princes." Another equestrian statue of George I. stands in Grosvenor Square, where it was erected in 1726 by Sir R. Grosvenor, the founder

of the square. Of that distinguished Roman warrior, George II.—for so the sculptor by his costume represents him—we have a statue in Golden Square, which, though unnoticed hitherto in any of the topographical works on London, has an entertaining bit of gossip attached to it. This, like the statue of George I., was formerly at Cannons, the seat of the Duke of Chandos, and formed one of a series. During the sale that took place, a gentleman, an acquaintance of the auctioneer, came in, and, catching his eye, nodded in token of friendly remembrance. “Thank you, Sir,” was the immediate comment—down went the hammer—“The statue of that excellent monarch is yours.” What could the possessor do with such an immense piece of sculpture but give it to the public?

But though we have a statue of George II., one of the great events of his reign—the endeavours made by the young Pretender to restore the Stuart line—is much more forcibly impressed upon us, in gazing on the statue of that king’s brother, the Duke of Cumberland, in Cavendish Square: which was erected, as the inscription informs us, by Lieutenant General Strode, in memory of “his private kindness; in honour of his public virtue,” in 1777. The private kindness we are bound to believe, and gratitude is at all times an admirable quality; but General Strode should have made somewhat surer about the public virtue, before he called upon the public to participate in his own feelings of admiration. Popular nicknames have generally much truth wrapped up in them, and the Duke of Cumberland’s is by no means an exception. “The Butcher” was the title applied to him in his own day, and it is likely to outlive the statue which, in disregard to the best feelings of human nature, has been set up. Men may differ as to the value of the Duke’s services in overthrowing the rebels at Culloden, or they may even agree that they were most valuable; but the horrors of the wanton cruelties that followed must be universal. The atrocities committed by him in the Highlands, in pursuance of his scheme of a “little blood-letting,” are sickening to contemplate. The men were hunted like wild beasts, not to conquer but to exterminate; the women were subjected to outrages compared with which death were light; children were shot, mangled, or precipitated over the sides of the steep rocks in their parents’ eye-sight; whilst the houses of the wretched people were so completely plundered and destroyed that it became a common spectacle to behold persons of all ages, frantic with hunger, actually following the army which had wrought all their ruin and misery, to beg for the mere offal of their own cattle. When that purification of our public statues, which there is so much reason to hope for, shall take place, and none be left standing that do not fulfil the conditions which Morality and Art are alike interested in demanding from the men whose effigies are to adorn our high places, we trust one exception may be made—the Duke of Cumberland’s statue; let not that be destroyed; keep it, if it be but to inscribe on it, for the good of the people, the people’s own short summary of his character, and thus leave it to posterity. Who shall say what suffering and disgrace may not be spared in future wars, if wars there must be, by so decisive and permanent an expression of a sound public feeling?

There is little to say in praise of the sculpture of the statues belonging to this period—the early part of the eighteenth century. Not that people were altogether

indifferent on the subject. One had only to walk through the upper end of Piccadilly to see that there was a positive rage for sculpture, such as it was. That street, or road, as it might then be called, was lined with the shops of statuaries, finishing at Hyde Park Corner with a regular depôt for the sale of shepherds and shepherdesses, and copies from the antique, in lead, and all nicely painted. We can guess as to the quality of the Areadian innocents; and as to the copies from the antique, Ralph, writing in 1731, says, "they are so monstrously wretched that one can hardly guess at their originals." The statue of George I., in Grosvenor Square, was by Van Nost, it is said; but Malcolm speaks of one Vancost, as modelling a statue of the same monarch, from that of Charles I. at Charing Cross, in 1721, and he, it appears, was of "Hyde Park Corner;" so, in all probability, the Grosvenor Square statue was one of the productions of the depôt. About this time a fresh importation of foreign artists took place, and once more works of merit appeared in our public places; and let us not contemn the Piccadilly sculpture shops: it was at one of them, belonging to Henry Cheere, that the order was given for a statue of Handel, for Vauxhall Gardens, and executed by a journeyman; that journeyman was Roubiliac, who at once rose to fame. Scheemakers and Rysbrack appeared in England about the same time; to the last we owe the statue of Sir Hans Sloane, in the gardens of the Apothecaries' Company, Chelsea.



[Sir Hans Sloane.]

And it is quite refreshing to pause a moment in the contemplation of the character of the man represented; active to save rather than destroy, far beyond even the usual limits of his benevolent profession—that of a physician,—more ambitious of the power of doing good than of achieving wealth and rank which, nevertheless, he did achieve, in order that they too might

be useful to the same end, Sir Hans Sloane's long and well-spent life entitles his memory to national respect and honour. But why do we allude to his general character? We need not leave these gardens for an evidence of what Sir Hans Sloane was. When the College of Physicians formed the plan for the establishment of a dispensary to provide medical attendance and medicines gratuitously to the poor, Sloane was one of the most energetic of its supporters. The apothecaries opposed the scheme with great heat and violence, and a tremendous paper-war broke out, which, whilst it amused the town mightily, caused much ill-will between the members of the respective parties. Sloane was, of course, a favourite mark of attack, both from his position and his activity. Chance gave him an opportunity of exhibiting his resentment of the treatment he had experienced. In 1720 he purchased his Chelsea estate, of which the garden, then in the occupation of the Apothecaries' Company, formed a part. Of course, it was not to be expected he was going to keep such tenants; so he immediately gave them—the freehold. The Company honoured itself as well as its benefactor by erecting this statue. No fear that such a memorial will ever be met by the questioning glance, so full of meaning, and which, put into words, says—Why art thou? It were a pretty problem for the reader to solve—How many of our other metropolitan statues are there of which the same may be predicated?

Up to the commencement of the reign of George III. but one native artist, Gibbons, had appeared in modern times in England whose works are now distinguished for their excellence: Cibber, the author of the admirable figures at Bethlehem Hospital, we need hardly remind our readers, was a foreigner; but the faint promise held out, even by the advent of that one, was to be nobly realised a century later; then Bacon, Banks, and Flaxman successively appeared, each raising higher than it had been before his appearance the reputation of the growing school of English sculpture. We have here to do with the first only, Bacon, the author of the pile in the court of Somerset House, embodying in the lower stage a recumbent figure of Thames, and in the upper, a statue of George III. One cannot but look with more than ordinary curiosity upon such a work, from the remembrance of Bacon's memorable offer to the Government to undertake *all* the national monuments at a certain per centage below the parliamentary price. "Spirit of Phidias," exclaimed Fuseli, when he heard of it, "Bacon is to do all the stone-work for the navy and army; they ought also to give him the contract for hams and pork." As to the figure of Thames, the sculptor certainly thought well of it himself, for he sent it to the Academy exhibition; but Allan Cunningham calls it "a cumbrous effort of skill," and justifies, he says, the question of the queen, "Why did you make so frightful a figure?"—an awkward question for a painter's nerves to come from such a quarter; but the courtiers about Her Majesty might have taken a lesson from the adroitness of Bacon, in his answer: "Art," said he, lowly bowing, "cannot always effect what is ever within the reach of nature—the union of beauty and majesty." In another point of view some interest attaches to this group as a proof of the artist's skill in working in a difficult material. "Then, and long after," observes Bacon's biographer, in a pleasant and instructive passage, "an air of secrecy and mystery was observed concerning the art of casting in metal; and a process at once simple and easy was taught to be regarded as something magical. Of the materials

which composed the external and internal mould,—the mode of rendering them safe for receiving the liquid burning metal,—the melting of the copper,—the quantities of alloy, and the proper degree of heat,—the working artists spoke a mysterious language, resembling in no small degree those conversations on Alchymy so happily ridiculed by Ben Jonson :—

“ Let me see
How is the Moon now? eight, nine, ten days hence
He will be silver potato; then three days
Before he citronize; some fifteen days
The magisterium will be perfected,—
And then we 've finished.”

“That Bacon maintained the secrets of the profession there can be little doubt, since the men who wrought his marble were not permitted to acquaint themselves with the arrangements of the foundry. His practice was to cast the figure in many pieces, and then to unite them into an entire whole by the process of burning or fusing the parts together. This plan had its advantages; it required small moulds, which were easily dried and readily handled,—small meltings, too, of metal,—nor was failure attended with the destruction of the entire mould of the figure. But it had this disadvantage: by the fusing together of many small pieces the just proportions of the whole were apt to be injured, and the figure liable to display an imperfect symmetry compared to a statue cast in one or two parts. The veil has been raised a little of late from the mystery of bronze-casting. In the splendid foundries of Chantrey and Westmacott colossal statues, twelve feet high, are cast at a couple of heats, and the whole process is exhibited to any one whom curiosity or chance may happen to conduct to the artist's studio when the moulds are ready and the metal melted.”*

It might be supposed that one of the two accomplished sculptors here referred to, Westmacott, had really obtained a commission of the extensive character sought by Bacon, so large is his proportion of the statues erected in the present century. Whilst the other sculptors whose talents have been in requisition, have, as yet at least, given us each but a solitary specimen of their skill, as Chantrey in the colossal bronze statue of William Pitt, in Hanover Square, one of the noblest of our public statues, erected in 1831; Wyatt, in the bronze equestrian statue of George III., erected in Pall Mall, East, in 1836; Gahagan, in the Duke of Kent's statue, also in bronze at the top of Portland Place, erected by public subscription as a tribute to his public and private virtues; and Mr. Clarke, of Birmingham, in the bronze-seated figure of Major Cartwright, in Burton Crescent, where the venerable reformer long resided; the sculptor in question alone has given us more than all his brother artists put together. Before we notice these, we must add a few words on the statue just mentioned of him who, according to Canning, was “the old heart in London from which the veins of sedition in the country were supplied.” The honest and indefatigable Major Cartwright, whose zeal for what he believed to be the public good must be honoured even by those who disapprove of the means by which he pursued it, can afford even to have the attack recorded without the slightest apprehension of injury to his memory. A striking evidence of the purity of his intentions

* Cunningham, ‘Life of Bacon,’ p. 241.



[Pitt's Statue, Hanover Square.]

was given on his being brought up for judgment, in 1821, on the verdict of guilty of sedition, &c., when "the learned judge spoke with so much respect of the character and motives of Major Cartwright that it was afterwards humourously remarked by that gentleman that he thought he was going to offer him a reward instead of inflicting a fine."*

Westmacott's public statues, taking them in the order of their execution, are those of the Duke of Bedford, Fox, the Achilles or Wellington at Hyde Park Corner, the statue of the Duke of York on the pillar overlooking St. James Park from Carlton Terrace, and Canning's statue in New Palace Yard. The Bedford and Fox statues are noble works, and most happily situated, facing each other; the one on the south side of Russell Square, the other on the north side of Bloomsbury Square, the opening of Bedford Place forming a fine avenue, as it were, between them. The Duke rests one arm on a plough, whilst the hand of the other grasps the gift of Ceres; and the characteristics thus expressed are continued and still further developed by the children, representative of the seasons, at the four corners, and by the interesting bas-reliefs that adorn two of the sides:

* Life, by his niece, F. C. Cartwright, vol. ii. p. 214.

in one we see preparations making for the dinner of the rustic labourer, his wife is busy on her knees, a youth is blowing the horn, and two countrymen and a team of oxen complete the group; in the other the business of reaping and gleaning is shadowed forth, one of the figures, a young woman in the centre, of graceful form and sweet features, is evidently the village belle. The statue has only this inscription: Francis, Duke of Bedford, erected 1809. It is of bronze, and about twenty-seven feet in height. The statue of Fox represents the statesman seated, arrayed in a consular robe, and full of dignity. The likeness is said to be "perfect." This inscription, also, is noticeable for its simplicity—"Charles James Fox. Erected MDCCCXVI." Thus should it always be! When a people are not sufficiently acquainted with the merits of its public men, to appreciate the honour done them in the erection of public statues, by all means let us wait till they are. Greater advantages even than the waiters anticipate would flow, not unfrequently, from such a rule. "It was a strange piece of tyranny," observes a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,'* in allusion to



[Statue of Major Cartwright in Burton Crescent.]

the Achilles, "to press it into our service; but in our service it cannot abide; remove the inscription, and the Greek is a Greek again." Although the time was that one could not take up a newspaper but to read attacks or defences of this "best abused" of statues, or pass a print-shop without a laugh at some new caricature of the ladies' work, and when, of course, the whole subject became most wearisomely familiar, it may be useful now to some of our readers to have it stated that it is copied from one of two splendid specimens of ancient art, standing in front of the Papal palace at Rome. Each consists of a figure in the

* Vol. xxiv, p. 131.

act of reining a fiery steed; and the two have been supposed to represent Castor and Pollux. They are attributed to no less an artist than Phidias. As to their history, it is believed that they were conveyed from Alexandria by Constantine the Great, to adorn his baths in Rome, among the ruins of which they were found. To add to the doubts that envelope the whole subject, the horses were discovered some distance from the human figures, and may therefore never have belonged to them. It was certainly a daring idea to take one of these figures and stamp it decidedly Achilles, which, however, it may in reality be, though the presumption is sadly against it; and then, by a kind of mental process, which every one of course was expected to perform for himself, to transform Achilles into Wellington. But the event itself was unique, the subscription of the ladies of England for a statue to a great warrior; and we suppose it was therefore deemed advisable to commemorate it in an equally unique manner. The inscription runs thus, "To Arthur, Duke of Wellington, and his brave companions in arms, this statue of Achilles, cast from cannon taken in the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, Toulouse, and Waterloo, is inscribed by their countrywomen." The cannon here referred to consisted of twelve 24-pounders. The statue is about eighteen feet high, on a basement of granite, of about the same elevation. It was placed on the latter on the anniversary day of the battle of Waterloo, in 1822; and the records of the period tell us of a curious coincidence that marked the occasion. A writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' observes, "In ancient Greece the honoured victors of the Olympic games, on returning crowned to their native cities, were not permitted to enter them by the common way and gate; to distinguish them above all their co-patriots, a breach was made in the wall, by which they were borne home in triumph. By one of those accidents which seem to be fate, the Ladies' statue to the Duke of Wellington, when brought to its destination, was found to be too mighty for the gates by which it should have entered, and it became necessary to breach the wall for the admission of the trophy." The statue of Canning and the Duke of York column require no particular mention; the former was set up in its place opposite New Palace Yard, in 1832; and the latter completed in 1836. This consists of a colossal bronze statue of the "Soldier's friend," on the top of one of the ugliest columns perhaps that the wit of sculptor ever yet devised, of pale red granite, 150 feet high. The best thing about the whole is the view from the summit: what the Monument is for the east the Duke of York's pillar forms for the west of London.

Such are the public statues of London. What does the reader think of them? Let us recount and classify the whole. Omitting works attached to buildings rather for the purposes of architectural ornament than for anything else, such, for instance, as the Temple Bar statues, of James and his Queen, and Charles I. and II., but including the Nelson Testimonial, now in progress, and the two Wellington Memorials, also unfinished, of Chantrey and Wyatt, there are thirteen kings and queens, namely,—Elizabeth, formerly at Ludgate, now in front of St. Dunstan's church, Charles I., Charles II.,* James II., William III., three Annes—one before St. Paul's, one in Queen Square, Westminster, and one in Queen Square, Guildford

* The monument in Soho Square; which it is most probable was erected, like several others of the kingly statues, to mark the era of the buildings around, and as Soho Square was begun in the reign of Charles II., the statue is most likely to be his.



[Statue of George Canning.]

Street; two of the 1st George, one of the 2nd, and two of the 3rd George; three brothers of kings, Cumberland, Kent, and York; four warriors, namely, three Wellingtons and one Nelson; one nobleman, the Duke of Bedford; three statesmen, Fox, Pitt, and Canning; one parliamentary reformer, Cartwright; one public benefactor, Sloane; and one work of art, the admirable figure of the Moor, shown on our last page, which stands in the gardens of Clement's Inn. Of poets we have—none; philosophers—none; patriots in the highest sense of the term—none; moralists—none; distinguished men of science—none;—but, in short, the list is ended. Again we ask, what does the reader think of it? But the question is unnecessary, for even churchwardens are growing ashamed of such a gallery of England's Worthies. We see by the newspapers lately, that a tablet has been affixed to the external wall of Allhallows Church, Bread Street, Cheapside, commemorating the birth of Milton in the parish; and though the tablet is not a statue, we are content to think its promoters wish it were, and to agree with them. At all events, a tablet is something. A more important evidence of the growth of a better feeling on this subject, is the Premier's letter to the Secretary of the Fine Arts Commission, just published, from which it appears, that, at last, men of eminent civil, literary, or scientific services are likely to be admitted into a participation of the public honours lavished hitherto upon kings, and the eminent of the sword or of the forum almost exclusively. Sir Robert

Peel has, by her Majesty's command, empowered the Commissioners not only to consider of an appropriate site for such purpose in connection with the New Houses of Parliament, but also to consider the *principles* generally that should govern the selection of the names to be so honoured. A knotty point, but one that should be determined not only there, but everywhere else before another public statue is erected, to show alike by those we omit, and those we include, how ludicrously we estimate in our sculptures the respective greatness and value of our public men.



[Statue of the Moor in Clement's Inn.]



[Cold Harbour.]

CXXXI.—COLLEGE OF ARMS.

“How have the mighty fallen!” may well be the exclamation of any one who has read of the respect paid to, and the authority exercised by the heralds of the olden times, and contrasts them with the perfect indifference with which those of the present day are looked upon, and the impunity with which their privileges are suppressed or violated. Too many of the modern members of the College of Arms might have taken as their motto the celebrated one of the House of Courtenay, “Ubi lapsus? Quid feci?” and in the answer to the second question might perhaps be found the cause of the first. It might certainly be said that they had done nothing to sustain themselves or their science in the opinion of the world, and that, consequently, both had fallen in public estimation, and a herald become merely a tolerated appendage of empty show, instead of a useful and respected officer of state, exercising a high and wholesome authority, and professing a science, which, however it may be ridiculed or perverted, will never fail to interest and instruct those who pursue it with properly directed intelligence. It is lamentable, also, to reflect that neither talent nor character were always considered indispensable qualifications for the attainment of the highest

offices in the College of Arms; that the only *charges* some of the principal members studied were those they should make to their clients; and that, provided they bore Or and Argent enough in their purses proper, they cared little for the largest blot in their family escutcheons—putting *metal* upon *metal*, in defiance of all English heraldic legislation; that—

“ But this eternal *blazon* must not be
To ears of flesh and blood.”

Let us trust that those times have past. The College has *now* a Garter King of Arms, whose acquirements and conduct are such as must entitle him to the respect of all parties, and whose creation, although “*per saltum*,” is acknowledged to have been as long deserved as it was from circumstances * immediately necessary.

To Richard Champneys, Gloucester King of Arms, the English heralds are indebted for their charter of incorporation. At his instance, Richard III., by letters patent, dated March 2nd, 1483 (the first year of his reign), directed the incorporation of heralds, assigning for their habitation “one messuage with the appurtenances, in London, in the parish of All Saints, called Pulteney’s Inn, or Cold Harbour, to the use of twelve, the most principal and approved of them for the time being, for ever, without compte or any other thing thereof to us or to our heirs, to be given or paid.”

This “messuage” received the name of Poulteney’s Inn from Sir John Poulteney, who had been four times Lord Mayor of London, and who purchased and dwelt in it. He gave it to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex. The Earl of Arundel became possessed of it by marrying De Bohun’s niece. In the year 1397, it belonged to John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon, who therein magnificently feasted his half-brother, Richard II. In the next year it passed to Edmond Langley, Earl of Cambridge, from whom it came to the crown. Henry IV., by his patent, dated March 18, 1410, granted it to his son Henry, Prince of Wales. Henry VI., in his 22nd year, conveyed it to John Holland, Duke of Exeter, whose son, Henry, being a Lancastrian, lost it by attainure of Parliament. Edward IV. kept it in his own hands; and at Richard III.’s accession, it belonged to the crown, and, according to Stowe, was a “right fayre and stately house,” when Richard gave it to Sir John Wroth or Wrythe, or Wriotheshly, Garter King of Arms, in trust for the residence and assembling of heralds; and the College of Arms considering him as their founder, although Richard Champneys had perhaps a fairer claim to the title, adopted, with a change of colours, Sir John’s armorial bearings for their official seal. King Henry VII., who invidiously subverted the establishments of his predecessors, dispossessed the heralds of their property in Cold Harbour. They removed to the Hospital of our Lady of Roncival, or Rounceval, at Charing Cross, where now stands Northumberland House. The heralds having no claim to it, they were only there upon sufferance of the crown; and in Edward VI.’s reign their revenues were so much diminished, that they petitioned for and obtained exemption from taxes. Soon afterwards, Derby or Stanley House, which had been first erected by

* The advanced ages of the worthy Clarendieux and Norroy Kings of Arms, either of whom if made Garter must have acted by deputy.

Thomas Stanley, second Earl of Derby of that name, on St. Benets Hill, having passed into the hands of Sir Richard Sackville by virtue of mortgage, was sold by him to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal. He instantly transferred it to the crown, and it was re-granted, by charter of Philip and Mary, to Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter, and his associates in office, July 18th, 1555. In the Great Fire of London, 1666, Derby House was destroyed, and the present building was erected on the old site after the design of Sir Christopher Wren, by the munificence of the nobility, assisted by the members of the College, particularly William Dugdale, at that time Norroy King of Arms, who built the north-west corner of the College at his own expense. At the moment we write, the College of Arms is undergoing thorough repairs, and a fire-proof room is building behind the old library, for the better preservation of the more valuable books and MSS. Amongst the most interesting curiosities in the library are, the Warwick Roll, a series of figures of all the Earls of Warwick from the Conquest to the reign of Richard III., executed by Rous, the celebrated antiquary of Warwick, at the close of the fifteenth century, and a Tournament Roll of Henry VIII.'s time, in which that monarch is depicted in regal state, with all the "pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious (mimic) war." A sword and dagger, said to have belonged to the unfortunate James, King of Scotland, who fell at Flodden Field, are also in the possession of the Officers of Arms; a legitimate trophy of the illustrious House of Howard, whose Bend Argent received the honourable augmentation of the Scottish Lion, in testimony of the prowess displayed by the gallant Surrey, who commanded the English forces on that memorable occasion. There is nothing worthy of much remark in the edifice itself, which is composed of brick, and has rather a gloomy appearance.



[Herald's College.]

Passing through the gateway upon St. Benet's Hill, the hollow arch of which is esteemed a curiosity, you find yourself in a square paved court-yard, on the north side of which is the principal entrance, approached by a flight of stone steps, and opening directly into the Grand Hall, in which the Court of Chivalry was formerly held. On the right hand is the old library, from which a door opens into the new fire-proof room aforesaid. On the left, a broad staircase conducts you to the apartments of several of the Officers of Arms. In the Grand Hall above-mentioned, and facing the entrance, is the judicial seat of the Earl Marshal, surrounded by a ballustrade: but "the chair is empty, and the sword unswayed." The Court of Chivalry is numbered amongst the things that were, and "le nouveau riche" may now sport his carriage emblazoned all over with the bearings of half the noble families of England, without the fear of the Earl Marshal before his eyes, or of the degrading process of having his unjustly assumed lions or wyverns publicly painted out by some indignant herald. On the south side of the quadrangle is a paved terrace, on the wall of which are seen two escutcheons, one bearing the arms (and legs) of Man, and the other the Eagle's claw, both ensigns of the House of Stanley. They have been supposed to be relics of the original mansion: but are not ancient, and have been put up merely to mark the site of Old Derby House.

Of the practice of the *Curia Militaris*, or Court of the Earl Marshal, in the early centuries, no satisfactory documents have reached us: "though it may be presumed," says Dallaway, "that precedents of it were followed as scrupulously as the memory of man or oral tradition could warrant."

It was usually held within the verge of the Royal Court by the High Constable and Earl Marshal, who called to their assistance as many of their peers as they thought expedient; and the processes were conducted by the heralds, doctors in civic law, who were assessors by commission, and their inferior officers. Appeals were sometimes made to the Court of King's Bench, which, in course of time, were the cause of its virtual, though not of its actual, abolition. Henry V. gave the title of Garter King of Arms to William Bruges or Brydges, and with it the precedence of all others; and since that period Garter has been always principal officer of arms. In 1419 the same sovereign issued an edict, directed to the sheriff of each county, to summon all persons bearing arms to prove and establish their right to them. Many claims examined in consequence of this inquiry were referred to heralds as commissioners; but the first regular chapter held by them in a collegiate capacity is said to have been at the siege of Rouen, in 1420. The outlines of a code of laws and observances were then formed and approved of, and this being the first general notification of the institute of their appointment and legislation as officers of the king, not merely personal servants, but public functionaries, it has been held by collectors of heraldic documents as a most valuable record. On their ultimate incorporation by royal charter, in the reign of Richard III., they began with more authority and effect to execute their office, dividing England into two districts as north and south of Trent. To Clarencieux King of Arms was assigned the jurisdiction of the southern provinces, and to Norroy (or North King) those of the North. Over all presided Garter principal King of Arms. The regular wages or salaries of the members of the College were settled as follows:—

Garter	40 <i>l.</i> per annum.
Clarencieux	20 <i>l.</i>
Norroy	20 <i>l.</i>
Every Herald	20 marks
Every Pursuivant	10 <i>l.</i>

Their fees, as early as the reign of Richard II., appear to have been considerable, viz. 100*l.* on the coronation of the king, and 100 marks on that of the queen. At the displaying of the king's banner in any camp or host of men, the officers present received 100 marks. At the displaying of a duke's, 20*l.*, and so downwards. On the king's marriage, 50*l.*, "with the gift of the king's and queen's uppermost garments." At the birth of the king's eldest son, 100 marks, and 20*l.* at the birth of the younger children. Then at Christmas, on New Year's Day and Twelfth Day, at Easter, on St. George's Day, at Pentecost, and on Allhallows Day, the king's largess was 5*l.* or 6*l.*, the queen's as many marks, and so the princes and nobles according to their rank. There were also additional fees and allowances when the heralds went out of the country on any mission, or were present at any battle with the king, or at the knighting of any man-at-arms, or nobleman, when they received a largess in proportion to the rank of the new-made knight; the king's eldest son giving 40*l.*, and the younger sons 20 marks.

That thus a sufficient revenue might be obtained to support the respect due to the immediate servants of the crown and the nobility, these demands were scrupulously complied with, and the heralds were empowered to inflict a censure upon any who refused to accede to the customs and observances appointed upon such occasions. Of such amount were their emoluments in the early reigns that William Bruges, Garter King of Arms *temp.* Henry V., could receive the Emperor Sigismond at his house in Kentish Town, and entertain him sumptuously; and the other heralds kept proportionate state, and were thought worthy of titular honours; even the *nuncii prosequutores*, or pursuivants, had the privilege of becoming knights.

In the sixteenth century it appears that many of the fees had been abolished or evaded, for Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, 1605, in his 'Discourse on the Duty and Office of a Herald of Arms,' observes that "if heralds might have fees of every one which gave them fees in times past, they might live in reasonable sort, and keep their estate answerable to their places: but now (whether it be our own default, or the overmuch parsimony of others, or faults of the heavens, since by their revolutions things decay when they have been at the highest, I know not) the heralds are not esteemed; every one withdraweth his favour from them, and denyeth the accustomed duties belonging unto them."

One of the most useful employments of the heralds was the registering or recording of the gentry allowed to bear arms throughout the kingdom. "A period must arrive," says Dallaway, "when the immediate inheritors of honours and estates being no more, collateral claimants have to be sought, according to the tenures and injunctions of the original possession. In the lapse of years and the confusion of events such relations become obscure; and, without a regular

and impartial record, where could satisfactory proof be obtained? An attention therefore to genealogical inquiries of such obvious utility was the chief employment of the heralds after their incorporation; and though they found precedents and authorities of their own privileges very serviceable to themselves, the advantages to be derived from their institution were evidently those which result from the confidence with which the public resorted to their archives and were determined by their reports." That such investigations might be as general and extensive as possible, a visitation of each county was decreed by the Earl Marshal, and confirmed by a warrant under the privy seal, and a plan was formed by which the intention might be best answered. The most ancient visitation of which any account is recorded is one made by Norroy King of Arms *temp.* Henry IV., A. D. 1412, and preserved in the Harleian Lib., 66 C. Others are said to have been made in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII.; but in 1528 a commission was granted, and executed by Thomas Benoilt, Clarencieux, for the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Oxford, Wilts, Berks, and Stafford; and from that period visitations were regularly made every twenty-five or thirty years; and the gentry were so well convinced of the advantage of them that they gave every encouragement to the plan by liberal communications. By these visitations many of mean origin, possessed of considerable property, were brought into notice, and procured entries of themselves as the founders of modern families. Of those who were delegated to the exercise of this function the most celebrated are "the learned Camden," Elias Ashmole, Sir Edward Byshe, William Dugdale, Augustus Vincent, and Robert Glover; and whoever compares these accumulated labours with each other will find a wide difference in the ability and industry of the several compilers. Of the essential consequence of incorruptible truth in the detail of genealogies thus compiled and registered, as supported by the strongest evidence, the final decision which was given by them in all cases of claims either to hereditary honours or property sufficiently evinces. The heralds were at that period invested with authority equivalent to the duty in which they were engaged, and were assisted in the performance of it by general consent, not only of the higher ranks, but of those who were eager to avail themselves of armorial distinctions, which, as the first symptom of the decline of chivalry, were, as early as the reign of Henry VIII., permitted to be purchased by men of sudden wealth and civil occupation; witness "an order made by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Earl Marshal of England, what all degrees shall pay for the grants of new arms," in which it is ordained that "temporall men which be of good and honest reputacion, able to mayntayne the state of a gentleman," shall have arms granted to them upon the payment of certain fees therein set down, varying, according to their possessions, from *6l. 13s. 6d.* to *5l.*

The Officers of Arms appear to have availed themselves, as far as possible, of the fund of genealogical knowledge which had been collected in various monasteries, when these records were dispersed at the dissolution. "It is probable," says Dallaway, "that by them the ordinance of parochial registers was suggested to Cromwell, Lord Essex, the Vicar General, who, in 1536, caused his mandate to be circulated for that purpose;" and there can be little doubt that, but for the disinclination of government to throw the patronage into the hands of an

independent hereditary officer like the Earl Marshal, the general registration of births and deaths would have had its head-quarters on St. Benets Hill, instead of in Somerset House. The heralds had a natural right to be the workers of and gainers by this useful institution, as the genealogists of the empire; and, considering the way in which their privileges and emoluments have been lately curtailed, such an arrangement would have been a mere act of justice towards them. In 1555 a commission of visitation was directed to Thomas Hawley, Clarencieux, "to correct all false crests, arms, and cognizances; to take notice of descents; and to reform all such as were disobedient to orders for funerals, set forth by King Henry VII., whereby it is also provided, that all such as should disobey the same, should answer thereunto upon lawful monition to him or them, given before the High Marshal of England;" and in the fifth and sixth of Philip and Mary, another commission, with the same authority, was delegated to William Harvey, Hawley's successor, who was empowered to levy fines against delinquents at his will and pleasure. The jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal's Court was very generally allowed at this period; for, in 1566, a pursuivant having been arrested, an order of Privy Council was sent to the Lord Mayor, asserting the prerogative of that Court, to which alone its own officers were amenable. Many suits respecting the legal assumption of arms were argued before the Earl Marshal, or his Commissioners; but the more frequent causes were the prosecutions of those who usurped the privileges, and received the fees of heralds at funerals, by providing and marshalling achievements without their authority. Several abuses having arisen in the practice of the Court, and immunities lain dormant, a body of statutes and ordinances was published by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, dated July 18th, 1568, by which regulations might be enforced; but about the year 1620, the validity of the Earl Marshal's authority was very severely questioned by repeated appeals to the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery. Ralph Brooke, or Brooksmouth, York Herald at this period, had frequent controversies with the Kings of Arms respecting the partition of fees, and the ground of his suit having been dismissed his own Court as vexatious and nugatory, and he himself being suspended for contumacy, he strove to repossess himself by common law. In consequence of these proceedings the Earl Marshal laid the particulars of his claim before the Privy Council and other Peers, who assembled for that purpose in the Star Chamber, on the 11th of July, 1622. Brooke contended that no Court of Chivalry could be legally held but by the High Constable of England, which office, since the death of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was in *abeyance*. The Council, however, after a long investigation, decided in favour of the Earl Marshal, as having been anciently vested with equal authority, and as being the supreme of that Court in the absence or non-existence of the High Constable. With this decision the King was so well pleased, that he issued a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, by which all former privileges were absolutely renewed and confirmed, and the peculiar jurisdiction of his Court was duly recognised and published. The College of Arms then consisted of thirteen regular officers, being reduced to that number, as they continue to the present day.

<i>Kings.</i>	<i>Heralds.</i>	<i>Pursuivants.</i>
Garter, Principal.	Lancaster.	Rouge Croix.
Clarencieux.	Somerset.	Blue Mantle.
Norroy.	Richmond.	Portcullis.
	Windsor.	Rouge Dragon.
	York.	
	Chester.	

These now hold their places by patent under the Great Seal, by appointment of the Earl Marshal. The order of their succession is solely at his disposal, and the last-appointed officer takes the title but not the rank of his predecessor.* King Charles I., having, whilst Duke of York, imbibed much of the romantic and martial spirit which was so conspicuous in his brother Prince Henry, continued, after his accession to the throne, to show the most marked respect to the heralds individually, and to encourage the esteem in which the College of Arms was then held by the superior ranks in society; and the unshaken loyalty which was upon every emergency displayed by the Officers of Arms, in gratitude for that royal patronage, continued unimpaired, even after his worst fortunes had deprived the sovereign of all power to afford them support, and they were consequently ejected from their posts, and forced to retire from public life. In 1642 Charles was driven to Oxford, as an asylum from the impending storm. Many of the attendant nobility accepted of academic honours at that time; and it affords very high testimony of the respectability of heralds in England, that they were equally admitted to the first distinctions which the University could bestow. William Dugdale, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, and Edmund Walker, Chester Herald, were created Masters of Arts; and Sir William le Neve, Clarencieux King of Arms, was admitted to the dignity of Doctor of Laws. In 1643, we find George Owen, York Herald, John Philipot, Somerset Herald, and Sir John Borrough, Garter King of Arms, made Doctors of Laws; and in 1644, Sir Henry St. George, Garter King of Arms also made LL.D.

With whatever contempt Cromwell before he became Protector had treated royalty, and spurned at every ceremony and ensign by which it was denoted, no sooner was he invested with the power than he assumed the pageantry of a king. The national crosses were certainly substituted for the lions, the fleurs de lys, and the harp, but the paternal bearing of Cromwell was invariably placed in the centre, both upon his standards and his coins. His Peers of Parliament were created by patent, in the margin of which, amongst other ornaments, are a portrait of him in royal robes, and his paternal escutcheon, with many quarterings; and both at his investiture and his funeral; Byshe and Riley, appointed by him Garter and Norroy, officiated according to the ancient ceremonial, and appear to have been encouraged in the usual attendance upon the Court. At his funeral, indeed, the bill of expenses for banners and escutcheons of his arms, and other heraldic ornaments, alone amounted to between 400*l.* and 500*l.*!

The restoration of Charles II. gave hopes of the re-establishment of all former

* According to Noble, James I. raised Garter's place from 40*l.* to 50*l.*; Clarencieux's and Norroy's each from 20*l.* to 40*l.*; the Heralds from 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 20*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each, and the Pursuivants from 10*l.* to 20*l.* each, per annum.—*Hist. Col. Arms*, p. 191.

systems which had splendour and pageantry for their object; and his coronation was conducted in the most sumptuous style. Sir Edward Walker, the faithful servant and historian of the late king, was confirmed in his office of Garter,* and those of the surviving heralds who had been driven from their situations during the Commonwealth were recalled, with assurances of future patronage. The decline of the Court of Chivalry, which had been gradual in former periods, was now hastened by the growing dislike of the canon law, and the arbitrary decisions and penalties frequently incurred upon very frivolous occasions. Causes, vexatious and nugatory, were multiplied to an excess very inimical to constitutional liberty; and the authority which was at first submitted to without suspicion of eventual abuse, was exerted scarcely less arbitrarily than that of the detestable Star Chamber. In this degenerate state Mr. Hyde (afterwards Lord Chancellor Clarendon), as early as 1640, proposed the dissolution of the Court of Chivalry as a public improvement. He said, "That he was not ignorant that it was a court in tymes of war anciently, but in the manner it was now used, and in that greatness it was now swollen into, as the youngest man myght remember the begining of it, so, he hoped, the oldest myght see the end of it. He descended to these particulars, that a citizen of good quality, a merchant, was by that court ruined in his estate and his body imprisoned, for calling a swan a gooso." It is, however, suspected that Mr. Hyde's indignation would not have been roused against such abuses had not a near relative of his incurred the censure of the Heralds in their visitation in 1623, and been branded as an usurper of armorial distinctions. After the Restoration, and under the auspices of the Duke of Norfolk, the ingenious Dr. Plott was directed to collect and arrange all the existing evidences of the history and privilege of the "Curia Militaris," with a view to reconcile the public mind to the re-establishment of its jurisdiction. The effort was, however, unsuccessful, for, after a long interval, the last cause concerning the right of bearing arms (being that between Blount and Blunt) was tried in the year 1720: the most celebrated that has come down to us being that between the Scrope and Grosvenor families, *temp.* Richard II.; an elaborate history of which has been published from "the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll," and contains the interesting evidence given by John of Gaunt, Chaucer, and many other noble and illustrious personages of that period.

The severest punishment that could be inflicted by this court was that of degradation from the honour of knighthood; and, as proof of the reluctance with which it was decreed, three instances only are recorded, during three centuries, and those at very distant periods: that of Sir Andrew Harelay, in 1322; of Sir Ralph Grey, in 1464; and of Sir Francis Michell, in 1621. The following minute of the latter case may be considered interesting enough for insertion here:—

"Degradation of Sir Francis Michell upon petition of parliament. Only two prior instances:—Andrew Harelay and Sir Ralph Grey. College of Arms summoned by the Earl Marshal to attend in their Coats of Arms, at Westminster, on

* Charles, also, to show the value he had for a well-trying servant, and to evince his regard for the College, augmented the salary of the then present, and every future Garter, by raising the sum paid out of the Exchequer from 50*l.* to 100*l.* per annum; and in 1664, by a decree, resolved upon in the Chapter of the Order of St. George, it was settled, that another 100*l.* per annum should be paid to Garter out of the revenues of the Order, in lieu of the casual annuities which had been formerly paid to him by the Sovereign and Knights.—*Noble, Hist. Coll.*, p. 269.

Wednesday, the 20th day of June, 1621. Sir Francis Michell being brought into Court, without the bar, and there sat upon a standing for that purpose, J. Philipot, Somerset, read these words:—‘ Be it known to all men, that Sir F. Michell, Knight, for certain heinous offences and misdemeanours by him committed, was thought worthy to be degraded of his honour by sentence of Parliament. His Majesty being hereupon moved, and his royal pleasure known, it likewise has pleased him, for example’s sake, that their grave and condign sentence should this day be accordingly put into execution in manner and form following; that is to say, his sword and gilt spurres, being the ornaments of knight-hood, shall be taken from him, broken and defaced, and the reputation he held thereby, together with the honourable title of knight, be henceforth no more used.’ Here one of the Knight Marshal’s men, standing upon the scaffold with him, did cutte his belt whereby his sword did hange, and soe let it fall to the ground; then he cut his spurres off from his heels, and hurled the one one way into the Hall, and the other another way. That done, he drew his sword out of his scabbard, and with his hands brake it over his head, and threw the one piece the one way, and the other piece the other way. Then the rest of the writinge was read and pronounced aloud, viz.: ‘ But that he be from henceforward reputed, taken, and styled an infamous errant knave. God save the King.’ ” In July 12th, 1716, the ceremony of degrading the Duke of Ormond, attainted of treason, from his Order of the Garter, was performed at Windsor; and in our time we can, unfortunately, remember the banner of a Knight of the Bath being pulled down by the heralds, and kicked out of Henry the Seventh’s Chapel, at Westminster.

The last visitation was made in James the Second’s time. Some memoranda of one of the latest visitations are curious enough to deserve transcription, viz.:—“ John Talbot of Salebury, a verry gentyll esqwyr, and well worthye to be takyne payne for.—Sir John Townley, of Townley. I sought hym all daye, rydyng in the wyld contrey, and his reward was ijs., whyche the gwyde had the most part, and I had as evill a jorney as ever I had.—Sir R. H., knt. The said Sir R. H. has put awaye the lady his wyffe, and kepys a concubyne in his house, by whom he has dyvers children; and by the lady aforesaid he has Leyhall, whych armes he berys quartered with hys in the furste quarter. He sayd that Master Garter lycensed hym so to do, and he gave Mr. Garter an angell noble, but *he gave me nothing, nor made me no good cher, but gave me prowde words;*” in return for which the herald took care to chronicle the above scandal.

We can easily understand that the somewhat inquisitorial nature of these visitations would render them (particularly if the herald in the slightest degree abused his powers) exceedingly distasteful to the public at large, and personally annoying to some individuals; at the same time, we cannot but believe that properly conducted they might be of considerable utility to the nation, and only vexatious to those who have no claim to consideration in such matters. We have already pointed out the right which, in our opinion, the Colloge of Arms possessed to the office of General Registration, and the only, but far from satisfactory reason for erecting a new and separate establishment; and we need scarcely remark on the value and importance of such evidence as these minute and authentic genealogical records would afford in cases of disputed property, titles,

&c. With regard to armorial bearings, whilst we are of the number who can fully appreciate the honest pride and satisfaction with which the lineal descendant of one who has deserved well of his country contemplates or displays the escutcheon which has through centuries been handed down to him untarnished, and can understand the natural desire of even the most remotely connected with ancient and honourable families to enjoy the reflected lustre of the quartered achievement, we have no hesitation in expressing our opinion that the absurd vanity which induces nearly every person who possesses a gold seal, or a silver spoon, to decorate it with a crest to which not one in a hundred—we had almost said, a thousand—has any shadow of pretension, is a fair subject for investigation and taxation in a form and on a scale differing from those at present prescribed, and that here again the herald might be employed with equal benefit to himself and the revenue.

Another service of great trust and high consideration, belonging of ancient right to the Officers of Arms, is the bearing of letters and messages to sovereign princes and persons in authority. Abandoning their claim to a much higher rank, viz. that of the *Κηρυκε* and *Fœciales* of the Greeks and Romans (the venerable ambassadors who had the privilege of denouncing war or concluding peace, on their *own* responsibilities), none will attempt to deny that they were, from the earliest periods in which mention is made of them, the chosen and respected messengers of their royal or noble masters. Legh, quoting "Upton's own words" (the earliest writer extant on the science of heraldry), says, "It is necessary that all estates should have curroues, as suer messengers, for the expedicion of their businesse, whose office is to passe and repasse on foote . . . theis are knights in their offices, but not nobles, and are called Knightes caligate of Armes, because they weare startuppes (a sort of boot-stocking) to the middle-leg. Theis when they have behaved themselves wisely and served worshipfully in this roome ye space of vii yerres: then were they sett on horsebacke, and called *Chivalers of Armès*" (or Knight Riders), "for that they rodd on their soveraignes messages. . . . Theis must be so vertuous as not to be reprovèd when he hath served in that rome vii yeares, if his soveraigne please he may exalt him one degree higher, whiche is to be created a Purrevaunte . . . and when he hath served any time he may, at the pleasure of the prince, be created an Hereaught, even the next day after he is created Poureevaunt:" and then he adds, "An Hereaught is an high office in all his services, as in message," being "messengers from Emperour to Emperour, from Kyng to Kynge, and so from one prince to another; sometyme declarynge peace, and sometyme againe pronouncing warre. Theis like Mercury runne up and downe, havying on them not only Aaron's surcot, but his eloquence, which Moses lacked." This honourable and important service has in modern times been most unceremoniously transferred from the Officers of Arms to certain persons appointed by the Secretary of State, and termed King's (or, as now, Queen's) Messengers. Before the elevation of Mr. Canning to the premiership, these appointments were generally given to nominees of the nobility—their valets, butlers, or sons of such domestics; persons without any recommendations except those of their masters. Mr. Canning very properly put a stop to this practice; and justly considering that the bearers of important dispatches (of necessity admitted to the presence of the highest personages in their

own or other countries—nay, it has happened, to that of the Sovereign himself) should have the education and manners of gentlemen, took every opportunity of filling up the vacancies as they occurred with a very superior class of young and intelligent men, possessing a sufficient knowledge of the principal European languages, accustomed to good society, and capable of acting in any emergency with the spirit and discretion that usually accompany such advantages. This was a great improvement; but the injustice done to the Heralds remained unredressed. The same jealousy of patronage prevented most likely the acute and accomplished minister from employing, as of old, the Pursuivant or the Herald—the Knight Caligate, or the Knight *Rider*. (The latter no longer, alas, remembered by the present generation, who pass down “Knight Rider Street,” within sight of the College, in utter ignorance of the origin of its appellation.) Yet such were the original King’s Messengers—men of great learning, of good conduct, admissible to knight-hood and nobility—whose persons were sacred, and whose services were liberally rewarded by prince and peer, whether they were the bearers of a cartel of defiance, a treaty of peace, an order of knighthood, or an autograph letter of congratulation or condolence.* Thus it is in this age of reformation and utilitarianism, an ancient institution is abolished or neglected, as obsolete, without one consideration as to the possibility of adapting it to the spirit or the necessity of the time. Having gradually deprived the heralds of all important business, and wholesome authority, the very despoilers are the first to comment upon the utter inutility of the establishment! Let us look at the 6th article of the admonition given to the herald on his creation—“You shall not suffer one gentleman to malign another, and raylynge you shall let (*i. e.* stop) to the uttermost of your power.” Here is useful employment, heaven knows, and sufficient, too, for a College possessing a hundred times as many members. We beg to call the attention of “the General Peace Society,” and “the Society for the Suppression of Duelling” (the New Court of Honour and Chivalry), to this peculiar portion of the duty and office of the heralds. Nay, the Noble and Learned Lord who has so lately amended the Law of Libel might have fairly claimed the assistance of Garter and the Officers of Arms in his praiseworthy undertaking. In all questions affecting the honour of noblemen and gentlemen, the heralds are certainly privileged to form the Court of Review.

We cannot conclude this necessarily brief and cursory notice of the Heralds’ College without chronicling a few of the worthies who have shed lustre on the Institution, and are also ornaments of the general literature of Great Britain. Earliest and highest, perhaps, stands “the learned Camden,” the son of a painter-stainer in the Old Bailey, where he was born May 21st, 1551; educated at Christ’s Hospital and St. Paul’s School, and then sent to Magdalen College,

* In Henry VII.’s reign there appear to have been twenty Pursuivants ordinary and extraordinary; and Noble says “the reason why Henry VII. had so many officers at arms at some parts of his reign was the great correspondence upon the Continent he kept more than his predecessors. . . . At this period Pursuivants were the regular messengers of our Sovereigns. Sometimes the extraordinary ones were created to be sent on a sudden emergency, without any expectation of further promotion: if they showed peculiar adroitness, they were sometimes made in ordinary, and from thence might become Heralds and Kings at Arms. . . . Henry had Berwick Pursuivant on the borders of Scotland, two for Ireland, several for our dominions in France, Jersey, and such as were yielded to Henry in Bretagne. These probably were often residents upon the spot whence the names of their office were taken; they were chiefly employed in carrying messages to and from the Governors to the Sovereign.”—*Hist. Coll. of Arms*, p. 100.

Oxford, from whence he removed to Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College, where, in 1573, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts. He returned to London at the age of twenty, and, after rendering himself conspicuous as Second Master of Westminster School, gained the Head-Mastership in the year 1592. His 'Britannia,' his 'Annals of Queen Elizabeth,' and his 'Remains concerning Britain,' will satisfy posterity that his reputation has not exceeded his desert, but that he was "worthily admired for his great learning, wisdom, and virtue, through the Christian world." He was created Clarencieux King of Arms, in 1597, without having served as herald or pursuivant, though for "fashion sake," says Wood, "he was created Herald of Arms called Richmond, because no person can be King before he is a Herald," the day previous to his elevation. "This was done," he adds, "by the singular favour of Queen Elizabeth, at the incessant supplication of Foulk Greville, afterwards Lord Brook; both of them having an especial respect for him and his great learning in English and other antiquities." Camden died at Chiselhurst, in Kent, on the 9th of November, 1623, at the age of seventy-two, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Sir William Dugdale, author of the celebrated 'Monasticon,' and 'the Antiquities of Warwickshire,' was born at Shustoke, near Coleshill, in that county, on the 12th of September, 1605. He was the only son of John Dugdale, Esq., of Shustoke, and of Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur Swynfin, Esq., of Staffordshire. Introduced by Sir Symon Archer, of Tamworth, to Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Henry Spelman, he was by their joint interest with the Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marshal, created a Pursuivant of Arms Extraordinary, by the name of Blanche Lyon, September, 1638: March 18th, 1639-40, he was made Rouge Croix Pursuivant in Ordinary; and April 16th, 1644, Chester Herald. He attended Charles I. at the battle of Edgehill, and remained with him till the surrender of Oxford to the Parliament, in 1646. Upon the restoration of Charles II. he was advanced to the office of Norroy King of Arms, by recommendation of Chancellor Hyde; and in 1677 he was created Garter Principal King of Arms, and knighted much against his own inclination, "on account of the smallness of his estate." He died at Blythe Hall, in Warwickshire, on the 10th of February, 1686, aged eighty, and was buried at Shustoke. "He possessed," in the words of Dallaway, "talents entirely adapted to the pursuits of an antiquary, and exerted indefatigable industry, directed to valuable objects by consummate judgment.

Elias Ashmole, founder of the Museum which bears his name at Oxford, was the only child of Simon Ashmole, a saddler at Lichfield, an improvident man, who "loved war better than making saddles and bridles." Elias was born the 23rd of May, 1617. From a chorister in Lichfield Cathedral he became a student in law and music, a solicitor in Chancery, an attorney of the Common Pleas, a gentleman of the ordnance in the garrison of Oxford, and a student of natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, in Brazenose College, at that University; a commissioner, and afterwards receiver and registrar of excise at Worcester; a captain in Lord Ashley's regiment, and comptroller of the ordnance; a botanist, a chymist, and an astrologer! He also acquired a knowledge of several manual arts, such as seal engraving, casting in sand, and "the mystery of a working goldsmith." In 1652 he began to study Hebrew, and shortly afterwards general antiquities, which recommended him to the notice of Sir William Dugdale. In

1658 this extraordinary man applied himself to the collecting of materials for "the History of the Order of the Garter."

Upon the Restoration, Charles II. made him Windsor Herald, June 18, 1660; and on the 3rd of September in that year he was appointed Commissioner of Excise in London. On the 2nd of November he was called to the bar in the Middle Temple Hall; and in January, 1661, admitted F.R.S. In February, he was appointed by warrant to the secretaryship of Surinam, and preferment followed preferment. He received his diploma as M.D. from Oxford, in 1669; finished his history of "the Order of the Garter" in 1672, and was presented by the King with 400*l.* as a mark of his special approbation. In 1675 he resigned his place of Windsor Herald, and after twice declining the office of Garter King of Arms, and the honour of representing the city of Lichfield in Parliament, terminated his days in honourable retirement, May 18, 1692, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried at Lambeth.

John Austis, an eminent English antiquary, was born at St. Neots, in Cornwall, September 28th or 29th, 1669, educated at Oxford, and became a student of the Middle Temple. In 1702 he represented the borough of St. Germain's in Parliament, and in 1714 Queen Anne presented him with a reversionary patent for the place of Garter King of Arms. In the last Parliament of Anne, he was returned member for Dunhead or Launceston; and he sat in the first parliament of George I. He afterwards fell under the suspicion of Government as being a favourer of the exiled family, and was imprisoned at the very time that the place of Garter became vacant by the death of the venerable Sir Henry St. George. After a long and bold struggle for his right as holder of the reversionary patent, he was created Garter in 1718. He died March 4th, 1744-5, aged 76. His most celebrated published works are, "The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter," and "Observations introductory to an Historical Essay on the Knighthood of the Bath;" but he left behind him some most valuable materials in MS. for the History of the College of Arms, which are now in the Library.

Francis Sandford, first Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, and then Lancaster Herald, *temp.* Charles II. and James II., has acquired a right to honourable mention as the author of a most excellent genealogical 'History of England.' He also published the 'Ceremonial and Procession at the Coronation of James II.,' in conjunction with Gregory King, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, and the 'Funeral of General Monk.' He was descended from a very ancient and respectable family, seated at Sandford, in the county of Salop, and was third son of Francis Sandford, Esq., and of Elizabeth, daughter of Calcot Chambre, of Williamscot, in Oxfordshire, and of Carnow, in Wicklow, Ireland. Francis Sandford was born in the Castle of Carnow, and at eleven years of age was driven by the Rebellion to take refuge at Sandford. At the Restoration, as some recompence for the hardships he and his family had experienced as adherents to Charles I., he was admitted into the College of Arms. Sandford was so attached to King James that he resigned his office on the Revolution in 1668, and died "advanced in age, poor, and neglected," in Bloomsbury or its vicinity, January 16, 1693, and was buried in St. Bride's Upper Churchyard.

Sir John Vanbrugh, the well-known dramatic author, and the architect of Blenheim and Castle Howard, received, as a compliment for his services in

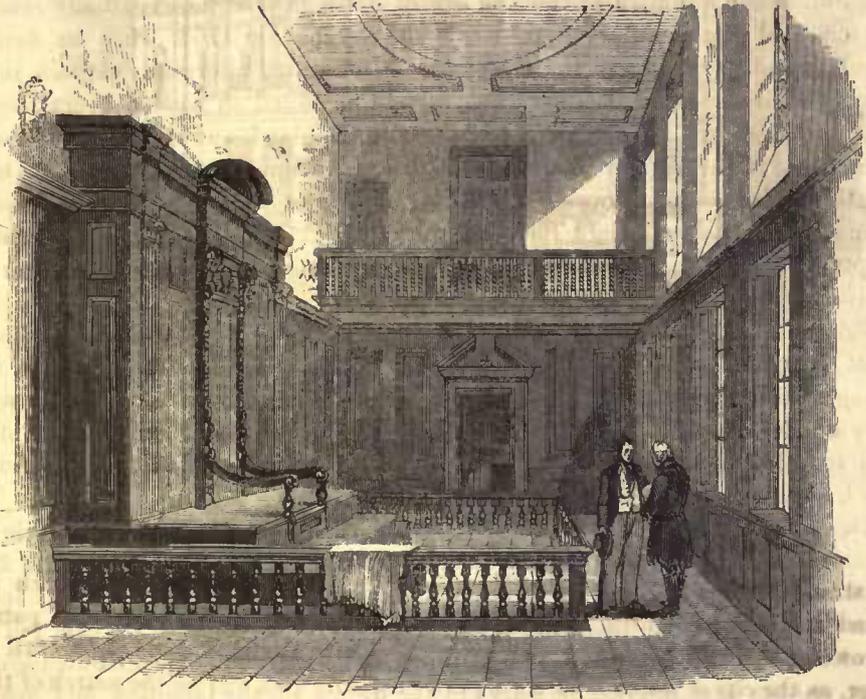
building the latter edifice, the office of Clarendieux King of Arms, then vacant, from Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Deputy Earl Marshal; and notwithstanding very spirited remonstrances by the heralds over whose heads he had been appointed, he was confirmed in the situation, which he afterwards sold, for 2000*l.*, to Knox Ward, Esq., avowing ignorance of his new profession, and neglect of all its duties. Of course, we do not notice Sir John as a herald who has done honour to the College, but as a person distinguished in literature and the arts, who has been registered as a member of it.

Francis Grose, Richmond Herald, the good-humoured and convivial writer on British antiquities, was the son of a Swiss who settled in England as a jeweller. He was born at Greenford in Middlesex, in 1731, and at an early period of his life, obtained a situation in the College of Arms, where he eventually reached the office of Richmond Herald, which he resigned in 1763, when he became adjutant and paymaster of the Hampshire Militia, and afterwards captain in the Surrey Militia. His numerous works are to be found in almost every library. The principal are 'Views of Antiquities in England and Wales;' 'Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue;' 'Military Antiquities;' 'History of Dover Castle;' 'Rules for Drawing Caricatures;' 'The Guide to Health, Beauty, Honour, and Riches;' and 'The Antiquities of Ireland,' completed by Ledwich, Captain Grose being suddenly carried off by an apoplectic fit soon after his arrival in Dublin, May 12, 1791.

Edmund Lodge, Lancaster Herald, has left his name to us connected with the most beautiful and interesting series of 'Portraits of Illustrious British Personages' ever published. The genealogical and biographical memoirs by which they are accompanied are highly creditable to his talents, of which the College was too soon deprived. Mr. Lodge was made Lancaster Herald in December, 1793, and died 16th of January, 1839.

Death has lately also robbed the College of another highly respectable and accomplished author and antiquary in the person of George Frederick Beltz, Esq., Lancaster Herald, F.S.A.: and the only Officer of Arms now living whose name is connected with British literature is not a member of the English College, but Ulster King of Arms for Ireland (Sir William Betham), who has contributed several most erudite and interesting works to the history of the language and general antiquities of Ireland. Be it remembered that we have not included in this list the heralds who have written on their own science only, but such as have shed more or less lustre over the whole world of letters. Amongst the former are to be found many learned and industrious writers:—William Wyrley, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, 1604; Sir William Segar, Garter; William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant; Ralph Brooke, York Herald; Augustine Vincent, Rouge Croix Pursuivant; Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, and his nephew and successor, Thomas Milles; John Guillin, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant; Gregory King, Lancaster Herald and Deputy Garter; Sir Edward Byshe, Garter; John Gibbon, Blue Mantle Pursuivant; Sir Edward Walker, Garter; Joseph Edmondson, Mowbray Herald Extraordinary; &c. &c. But few of these names are known to any but the students of heraldry, whereas most of the others are as "familiar in our mouths as household words," and hold high and deserved place amongst

the worthies of England. We have a confident trust that, under the new impulse given to art by the works of modern antiquaries, and the liberal patronage and support of the present Sovereigns of England, France, Prussia, and Bavaria, the College of Arms, in despite of the difficulties with which it has to struggle, will receive many honourable augmentations to its roll of immortal members; and from its yet unexplored treasures of antiquity shed a flood of light upon the history, manners, customs, and habits of the people of England.



[Heralds' College.]



[York or Stafford House, St. James's Park.]

CXXXII.—HOUSES OF THE OLD NOBILITY.

THE stranger will seek in vain in London for palaces of the nobility, such as abound in Rome, Florence, and Naples—structures which bespeak their patrician ownership, and have each a history of its own as old almost, and as full of matter, as the city of which it forms a part. Equally vain will be the search of the amateur of gossiping memoirs and letters of literary men and women, or their patrons, for hotels like those of Paris, which have been the scene of world-famous petisoupers, and other intellectual re-unions. The shadow of the royal tree prevented the aristocracy of England from bourgeoning into such exuberant rankness as the aristocracies of the Italian cities; and the high billows of popular wealth and independence, surging around and submerging their old civic mansions, prevented them from becoming landmarks of history. Something, too, must be attributed to the rural tastes of the English aristocracy; or perhaps the very causes alluded to helped to create these rural tastes. King Jamie, of blessed memory, need not have been so desperately anxious to convince the magnates of the land that they were much greater men on their own estates than in London. The power of the Crown, and still more the power of its ministers generally, selected from the gentry or younger nobility, on the one hand, and the shouldering of the mob on the other, have kept them sensitively alive to it. In short, whatever the cause, London is, less than the capital of any other country, the

place where the power and prestige of the nobility are conspicuously displayed. The aristocracy of England have always been inclined to hold with the old Douglas, that "it is better to hear the lark sing than the mouse cheep."

Scattered, however, through the multitudinous habitations of London there are a few aristocratic mansions to which associations of social or public history do cling; and accidental circumstances—such as the name of a street or court—recall the memory of others which have long been swept away, enabling us to trace the gradual westwardly migrations of the nobility.

In the earlier periods of our history a good many of the nobility appear to have possessed residences in the City. A nobleman, who stood well with the citizens, might not unfrequently find such a mansion a more secure abode than his strongest castle, on hill or on the open plain. There was policy, too, in retaining these civic abodes: it enabled their noble owners to flatter the Londoners by affecting to call themselves citizens. These city residences of the aristocracy appear to have been frequently occupied so late as the wars of the Roses. Many of them remained in the possession of their families as late as the Revolution of 1688, and their sites are in some instances possibly still retained by their descendants. Nay, as late as the reign of Charles II. they had not been entirely evacuated by their titled occupants: some old-fashioned dames and dowagers, some old-world lords, still nestled in the walls peopled with the shadowy memories of their ancestors.

It would require a big book to trace all the lordly mansions within the City walls, and their histories: a few only of the more interesting can be here noticed as specimens.

In Silver Street, at the south end of Monkwell Street, there stood in 1603 a house built of stone and timber, then appertaining to Lord Windsor, and bearing his name. This building had been in olden times known as "The Neville's Inn." In the 19th of Richard II. it was found by inquisition of a jury, that Elizabeth Neville died, seized of a great messuage, in the parish of St. Olave, in Monkwell Street, in London, holden of the king in free burgage, which she held of the gift of John Neville of Raby, her husband. The house continued in the possession of the Nevilles, at least until the 4th year of Henry VI., when Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, died, seized of "that messuage," in the parish of St. Olave, in Farringdon ward, 'held burgage as the City of London was held.' The Nevilles owned also another London residence—the great old house called "The Erber," near the Church of St. Mary Bothaw, on the east side of Dowgate Street. Edward III. granted this messuage to one of the family of Scrope: its last proprietor of that name, in the reign of Henry IV., gave it for life to his brother Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland. Richard, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, inherited the mansion, and retained possession of it till he fell in Barnet Field. George Duke of Clarence, the hero of the Malmsey-butt, obtained a grant of the house from Parliament in right of his wife Isabell, daughter of the Earl of Warwick. Richard III. appears to have taken possession of it; for, in his reign, it was called the King's Palace, and a ledger-book of that King shows that it was occupied for him by one Ralph Darnel, a yeoman of the crown. On the death of Richard it was restored to Edward, son of the Duke of Clarence, in whose hands it remained till his attainder in the 15th of Henry VII.

It appears, from an entry in the Archbishop's Registers of Lambeth, that

when the king-making Warwick had his town-house in Dowgate Street, Cicely, the dowager Duchess of York, resided in the parish of St. Peter's Parva, Paul's Wharf, united since the great fire, to the parish of St. Benedict. The register referred to states, that on the 7th of May, 1483, the archbishops, prelates, and nobles, who were nominated executors of Edward IV., met in the Duchess's house, in the parish above mentioned, to issue a commission for the care and sequestration of the royal property. This is the only mention known to exist of the Duchess's city-house. It is curious, and worthy of note, that the will under which this assembly acted is not known to exist: some writers have conjectured that it was intentionally destroyed during the reign of Richard III.

Crosby House was occupied about the same time by the Duke of Gloucester, who continued to reside there as Lord Protector before he assumed the kingly title. Some of his retainers were lodged in the suburbs beyond Cripplegate, as appears from the following passage in Sir Thomas More's "Pittiful Life of King Edward the Fifth:"—"And first to show you, that by conjecture he (Richard, Duke of Gloucester) pretended this thing in his brother's life, you shall understand for a truth that the same night that King Edward [IV.] died, one called Mistelbrooke, long ere the day sprung, came to the house of one Pottier, dwelling in Red-Cross Street, without Cripplegate, of London; and when he was, with hasty rapping, quickly let in, the said Mistelbrooke showed unto Pottier that King Edward was that night deceased. 'By my troth,' quoth Pottier, 'then will my master, the Duke of Gloucester, be king, and that I warrant thee.' What cause he had so to think, hard it is to say; whether he, being his servant, knew any such thing pretended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof; but of likelihood he spoke it not of aught."

A palace, built of stone, is said to have stood in old times at the end of Crooked Lane, facing in the direction of what is now Monument Yard; and here tradition says Edward the Black Prince had his residence.

Great and Little Winchester Streets, in Broad Street ward, occupy the site of Winchester House and gardens, but that mansion belongs to a later period. It was built by Sir William Paulet, created Earl of Wilts and Marquis of Winchester, who was Lord High Treasurer under Edward VI. The ground was a grant made to the Marquis, when Lord St. John, by Henry VIII., of part of the foundation of Fryars Eremites of St. Augustine, settled there in 1253. Lord Winchester pulled down the east end of the Augustine friars' church to obtain room for his own mansion. The steeple and choir were left standing and inclosed; and in 1550 they were let to the Dutch nation in London, as their preaching-place. Token House Yard, in the same ward, occupies the site of a house and garden, the property of the Earls of Arundel, and purchased from the Earl then living, by Sir William Petty, in the reign of Charles II.

The ward of Castle Baynard was thickly studded in old times with noblemen's houses. The royal mansion designated "the King's Great Wardrobe" probably constituted the centre of attraction, and gathered "the West End" of those days around it. This house, which bore the name of the King's Wardrobe as early as the fifth of Edward III., was built and inhabited by Sir John de Beauchamp, Knight of the Garter, Constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports, son of Guido de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Sir John dying in 1359, the house

was sold to the king by his executors, and from that time the property of it remained in the Crown. Richard III. resided here a short time, in the second year of his reign. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was occupied by Sir John Fortescue, Master of the Wardrobe, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer. The secret letters and writings touching the estate of the realm were wont to be enrolled in the King's Wardrobe, and not in Chancery.

Among the residences of the nobility clustering round the Wardrobe, in addition to the house of Cicely, Duchess of York, noticed above, were—1. a large house originally called Beaumont's Inn, belonging to the family of that name, in the fourth of Edward III. It afterwards fell into the hands of the Crown, and Edward IV. in the fifth of his reign gave it to his Chamberlain, William Lord Hastings, from whom it descended to the Earls of Huntingdon, and being occupied by that family as a town residence, was known in the time of Henry VIII. by the name of Huntingdon House; 2. Near St. Paul's Wharf was another great house, called Scrope's Inn, which belonged to that family in the thirty-first of Henry VI.; 3. The Bishop of London's Palace stood on the north-west side of St. Paul's Churchyard; the Abbey of Fescamp, in Normandy, possessed a messuage between Baynard's Castle and Paul's Wharf, which, having been seized by Edward III., was by that prince granted to Sir Simon Burleigh, and afterwards called Burleigh House; the Prior of Okeborn (in Wiltshire) had his lodging in Castle Lane, but the priory, being of a foreign order, was suppressed by Henry V., who gave this messuage to his college in Cambridge, now called King's College.

But a more celebrated building than any of these was Castle Baynard itself, from which the ward derives its name. It was built by Baynard, a follower of the Conqueror. After his death the castle was held in succession by Geoffrey and William Baynard. The latter lost the honour of Baynard's Castle by forfeiture, in 1111. It was then granted by King Henry to Robert Fitz-Richard, son of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, and came by hereditary succession, in 1198, into the possession of Robert Fitzwater. This Robert played a conspicuous part in the Barons' wars in the time of King John; and the guilty love of that monarch for Fitzwater's daughter, the fair Matilda, is one of the legends with which the struggle for Magna Charta has been adorned or disfigured—the reader may choose the epithet which pleases him best. On the 12th of March, 1303, another Robert Fitzwater acknowledged his service to the City of London for his Castle of Baynard, before Sir John Bluunt, Lord Mayor of London. Stow has recorded the rights ceded by the Commonalty of London in return to Robert Fitzwater as their Châtelain and Banner-bearer. These consisted of a certain limited jurisdiction within his hereditary Soke or Ward of Castle Baynard, and the following privileges and authority in time of war:—

“The said Robert and his heirs ought to be and are chief Banners of London, in fee for the Chastiliany, which he and his ancestors had by Castle Baynard, in the said City. In time of war the said Robert and his heirs ought to serve the City in manner as followeth: that is—

“The said Robert ought to come, he being the twentieth Man of Arms on horseback, covered with cloth or armour, unto the great west door of St. Paul, with his banner displayed before him of his arms. And when he is come to the

said door, mounted and apparelled as before is said, the Mayor, with his Aldermen and Sheriffs, armed in their arms, shall come out of the said church of St. Paul unto the said door, with a banner in his hand, all on foot; which banner shall be gules, the image of St. Paul, gold; the face, hands, feet, and sword, of silver. And as soon as the said Robert shall see the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs come on foot out of the church, armed with such a banner, he shall alight from his horse and salute the Mayor, and say to him, 'Sir Mayor, I am come to do my service which I owe the City.'

"And the Mayor and Aldermen shall answer—

"We give to you, as to our Banneret of Fee in this City, the banner of this City to bear and govern to the honour and profit of this City, to your power.'

"And the said Robert, and his heirs, shall receive the banner in his hands, and go on foot out of the gate, with the banner in his hands; and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs shall follow to the door, and shall bring an horse to the said Robert, worth twenty pounds, which horse shall be saddled with a saddle of the arms of the said Robert, and shall be covered with sindals of the said arms.

"Also they shall present to him twenty pounds sterling, and deliver it to the Chamberlain of the said Robert, for his expenses that day. Then the said Robert shall mount upon the horse which the Mayor presented him, with the banner in his hand; and as soon as he is up, he shall say to the Mayor, that he must cause a Marshal to be chosen for the host, one of the City; which being done, the said Robert shall command the Mayor and Burgesses of the City to warn the Commons to assemble, and all go under the banner of St. Paul; and the said Robert shall bear it himself to Aldgate, and there the said Robert and Mayor shall deliver the said banner of St. Paul to whom they think proper. And if they are to go out of the City, then the said Robert ought to choose two out of every ward, the most sage persons, to look to the keeping of the City after they are gone out. And this Counsel shall be taken in the Priory of the Trinity, near Aldgate; and before every town or castle which the host of London shall besiege, if the siege continue a whole year, the said Robert shall have, for every siege, of the Commonalty of London, one hundred shillings and no more."

These rights continued in the possession of two successors of Robert Fitzwater; how or when the family lost them does not appear. In 1428 (the 7th of Henry VI.) a great fire happened at Castle Baynard: it was re-built by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in whose possession it continued till his death. By the Duke's death and attainder it came to Henry VI.; and from him to the Duke of York, who occupied it as his own house in 1457. When the Earls of March and Warwick entered London in 1460, the former took up his abode in his paternal mansion of Baynard's Castle; there it was that he received the intimation of the resolution of the Londoners, convened by Warwick in St. John's Field, to have him for their King; and there he summoned a great council of all the Bishops, Lords, and Magistrates, in and about London. Richard III. took upon him the kingly title in Baynard's Castle. Henry VII. repaired and embellished it—rather as a palace than a fortress—and resided there with his Queen in the seventh, eighteenth, and twentieth years of his reign. The castle came afterwards into the possession of the Earls of Pembroke. The last great business of state transacted within its walls was by the council which had previously proclaimed

Lady Jane Grey, meeting there, and resolving to proclaim the Lady Mary Queen; moved thereto either by some new light as to the better title of Henry's daughter, or by seeing that the majority of the nation was on her side. Was it as a reward for lending his house to this meeting that the Common Council, in the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, "agreed, at the request of the Earl of Pembroke, that the City's laystall, adjoining to his Lordship's house, and being noisome to the same, should be removed, upon condition that he should give the City, towards the making of a new laystall in another place, two thousand feet of hard stone to make the vault and wharf thereof, or else forty marks in ready money to buy the same stone withal?"

We might go on for many pages to show how the houses of the nobility were sprinkled over the surface of the City of London, while barons were barons; before the wars of the Roses had so effectually weeded them, that the few who remained, and the mushroom race which sprung up to fill their vacant places, were cropped, by the topiarian art of Henry VII., into forms beseeeming the "trim garden" of a constitutional monarchy. The banner-bearer of the City, with the nobles who held messuages within the walls, "burgage as the City of London was held," along with the lordly Abbots and Prelates, like the Prior of Trinity, who, in virtue of his office, was Alderman of the Soke or Ward of Portsoken, on the one hand, and the Mayor and other corporate dignities on the other, formed connecting links between the barons of the realm and the "barons of London." An alliance, offensive and defensive, was contracted between a portion of the nobility and the City: the metropolis became an *imperium in imperio*, with a nobility and commonalty of its own; and the experience of the wars of the Roses showed that London was England—that the master of the former was master also of the latter.

This circumstance lends an air of greater likelihood to the traditionary pranks of Prince Hal in Eastcheap. There is a legend of a frolicsome excursion of Charles II. to the environs of Wapping or Rotherhithe, but that was like her present Majesty's trip to the Château d'Eu, an exceptional case. The difficulty has been to conceive a Prince habitually resorting to the taverns of the City. That difficulty is removed when we see that a great number of the nobility resided in the City; that even royalty took up its abode within the walls. The City was then what Westminster is now: and wild Prince Hal ranged about the former as the wild sons of George III. are shown by the records of Parliamentary Committees, Courts of Justice, and the equally veracious pages of "the Books," and columns of the newspapers, to have ranged about the latter. Nay, Harry Prince of Wales was no more the solitary scapegrace of his family than George Prince of Wales, though Shakspere has made Falstaff call Prince John of Lancaster a "young sober-blooded boy," a "demure boy," one whose "thin drink over-cooled his blood," and who, "by making many fish-meals, did fall into a kind of male green sickness." Stow is our witness. Speaking of the year 1410, the 11th of Henry IV., at which time "there was no tavern then in Eastcheap," he informs us, in connection with a previous statement of friendly entertainments being made in "the cooks' dwellings," that the King's sons, Thomas and John, "being in Eastcheap at supper (or rather at breakfast, for it was after the watch was broken up, betwixt two or three of the clock after midnight), a great debate

happened between their men and others of the court, which lasted one hour, till the Mayor and Sheriffs, with other citizens, appeased the same." For this interference the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs were cited to appear before the King, "his sons, and divers lords, being highly moved against the City." Gaseoigne, the Chief-Justice, advised the citizens "to put themselves in the King's grace;" but they replied "that they had not offended, but, according to the law, had done their best in stinting debate, and maintaining of the peace." "Upon which answer," continues the historian, "the King remitted all his ire, and dismissed them."

A new world came up with Henry VII. There was now a King in Israel, and both Lords and citizens were forced by him to take their due places in the Commonwealth, as some of these Lords and the same citizens were mainly instrumental in making his descendants do two centuries later. The City, however, especially its west-end, the portions of Baynard's Castle, and the neighbouring Blackfriars, continued to be a fashionable quarter for some two centuries after Henry VII. But even before this, a taste for suburban villas had sent the aristocracy in different directions in search of new sites and country air. To the east there was little attraction: the marshes of the Lea were in too close proximity, and in those days, even more than in the present, the Essex Marsh fevers were no joke. To the north-east Finsbury was then a great fen. Some sought to plant themselves northwards in the direction of Islington, and some on the banks of the Oldbourne (now the sewer of Holborn); but the far greater number affected the line of "the silent highway;" and, combining rurality with courtliness, perched themselves midway between the City and the Court, for even in those days the Palace of Westminster was *par excellence* "the Court," though not to the same extent as after Whitehall and St. James's were appropriated by the Sovereign.

The prelates, a pursy and short-breathed generation, were the first to set the example of flying from the City smoke. Along Holborn and the line of Fleet Street, and the Strand, their "Inns" were frequent at an early period. Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, about the year 1265, built a house to serve as a City mansion for himself and his successors, near to where Salisbury Street now abuts upon the Strand. Contiguous to Durham House on the west, was from an early period the City residence of the Bishops of Norwich, purchased in 1556 by the Archbishop of York, for himself and his successors. A little to the east of Catherine Street a small water-course ran down from the fields, and was crossed in the line of the Strand by a bridge, called Strand Bridge. On the south-east side of this stream stood the City Mansion of the Bishop of Llandaff, and west of the bridge were the residences of the Bishops of Chester and Worcester. Essex Street, in the Strand, occupies the site purchased in 1324 from the Prior and Canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by Walter, Bishop of Exeter, who erected a mansion on it for himself and his successors. The Palace of the Bishops of Bath occupied the site of the present Arundel and Norfolk Streets. William de Luda, Bishop of Ely, who died in 1297, bequeathed his manor, on the north side of Holborn Hill, to his successors, upon condition that his next successor should pay one thousand marks towards the finding of three chaplains in the chapel there. The residence of the Bishops of Salisbury was at the west end of St. Bride's Church; that of the Bishops of St. David's at the east end.

Even at that early age we can trace the palaces of the lay dignitaries mingling with those of the prelates, but it is not till after the wealth and power of the church had been shorn by the Reformation, that the former came to preponderate. From the time of Elizabeth downward to the Revolution in 1688 we find mansions of the nobility in the region now under review, superseding the palaces of the prelates and shouldering them out of sight.

Of some of the houses appertaining to the dignified clergy, the nobility who rose with the Reformation, whether of new families or old, obtained possession by avowed grants of confiscated property from the Crown. Others they acquired by "exchange;" but the new bishops of those days were in no case to drive hard bargains with the court favourites who invited them to barter. The way in which good part of the property attached to Ely House changed masters in the time of Elizabeth is no bad sample of the way in which such transfers were made. At her Majesty's *mandatory* request, Bishop Cox "granted to Christopher Hatton" (says a MS. case for the Bishop of Ely in the Harleian Collection), "afterwards Sir Christopher [and Lord Chancellor], the gate-house of the palace (except two rooms, used as prisons for those who were arrested or delivered in execution to the bishop's bailiff; and the lower rooms used for the porter's lodge), the first courtyard within the gate-house, at the long gallery, dividing it from the second; the stables there; the long gallery, with the rooms above and below it, and some others; fourteen acres of land, and the keeping of the garden and orchard, for twenty-one years, paying at Midsummer a *red rose* for the gate-house and garden, and for the grounds ten loads of hay and 10*l.* per annum; the Bishop reserving to himself and successors free access through the gate-house, walking in the gardens, and gathering *twenty bushels of roses* yearly: Mr. Hatton undertaking to repair and make the gate-house a convenient dwelling." This lease was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Ely; but in the following year, in consequence of some doubts of its validity, Bishop Cox granted all the above property, in fee, to the Queen herself, her heirs and assigns, yet with a clause of resumption, either by himself or his successors, on payment of the sum of 1897*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, which had been expended by Hatton on the premises. About nine months afterwards (June 20, 1578), her Majesty, by her Letters Patent, consigned this estate to Sir Christopher Hatton, to hold of the manor of East Greenwich. In the reign of Charles I. proceedings were instituted by Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, for the recovery of this estate; and the Court of Requests, in 1640, decided that the Bishop had a right to redeem the premises; but soon afterwards Wren was committed to the Tower, and the House of Commons nullified the proceedings of the Court, and dismissed the cause. After the Restoration, Bishop Wren, who had been reinstated in his diocese, exhibited a bill in Chancery against the then Lord Hatton and others for the redemption of the premises; but no decision could be obtained either by him or his successors, until at length, in the reign of Queen Anne, Bishop Patrick agreed to terminate this long protracted suit, by leaving the property in the possession of the then occupants, on condition that 100*l.* per annum should be settled on the see of Ely in perpetuity.

The case of Somerset House is still more gross, as related by Stow; that favourite child of the proud Protector, Somerset, swallowed up it is hard to say how many episcopal residences, churches, &c. &c.

"Next beyond Arundel House, on the street side, was sometime a fair

cemetery or churchyard, and in the same a parish church, called of the Nativity of our Lady (St. Mary), and the Innocents of the Strand; and of some, by means of a brotherhood kept there, called of St. Ursula of the Strand. And near adjoining to the said church, betwixt it and the river of Thames, was an Inn of Chancery, commonly called Chester's Inn (because it belonged to the Bishop of Chester), by others named of the situation, Strand Inn. Then there was a house belonging to the Bishop of Llandaff: for I find in Record, the fourth of Edward II. that a vacant place lying near the church of our Lady at Strand, the said Bishop procured it of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, for the enlarging of his house. Then had you in the High Street a fair bridge, called Strand Bridge, and under it a lane or way, down to the landing-place on the bank of the Thames. Then was the Bishop of Chester's (commonly called of Lichfield and Coventry), his Inn or London lodging; this house was builded by Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, Treasurer of England in the reign of Edward I. And next unto it, adjoining, was the Bishop of Worcester's Inn:—all which, *to wit*, the parish of St. Mary at Strand, Strand Inn, Strand Bridge, with the lane under it, the Bishop of Chester's Inn, the Bishop of Worcester's Inn, with all the tenements adjoining, were, by commandment of Edward, Duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI., and Lord Protector, pulled down and made level ground in the year 1549. In place whereof, he builded that large and goodly house now called Somerset House."

There is something Homeric in the pains-taking detail with which each tenement is described, and then, after the mind has been duly impressed by this tedious process with the importance of each, they are merged together by a rapid recapitulation, solely for the purpose of showing them swept away to make room for the princely palace of the proud Protector. And, after all, this enumeration conveys but an inadequate idea of the dilapidation effected by Somerset. Spelman says that neither the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry nor the Bishop of Llandaff had any recompense for their destroyed palaces: the Bishop of Worcester, who had been chaplain to Somerset, was glad to put up with a house in White Friars. Besides the palaces above-mentioned, several other buildings were pulled down to supply materials for the erection of Somerset House. Among others were the nave, aisles, and bell-tower of the Priory Church of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell; the chapel called Pardon Church Haugh, or Hawe, on the north side of St. Paul's Cathedral, with the cloisters surrounding it (except the east side), in which was painted Macabee's, or Machabree's, 'Dance of Death'; a chapel founded by Walter Sheryngton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and a Canon of St. Paul's in the reign of Henry VI., near the north door of the same cathedral; and the contiguous charnel house and chapel on the same side, which was probably of very early foundation. Stow says (quoting Reginald Wolfe as his authority in the margin) that the bones of the dead, which had been "couched up in a charnel under the chapel, were conveyed from thence into Finsbury Field (by report of him who paid for the carriage), amounting to more than 1000 cart-loads, and there laid on a moorish ground, in short raised by the soilage of the city, to bear three mills."

The indignation which this heartless and indecent violation of the sepulchre excited in the public mind was made one of the means of accelerating Somerset's downfall. The space for his palace was levelled in 1549; in the October of that

year he was proclaimed by the Lords of the Privy Council; and in January, 1552-3, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. The house devolved to the Crown, of which it has ever since remained an appanage. It has, however, been so tenacious of its founder's name, in the quaint words of Fuller, "though he was not full five years possessor of it, that it would not change a duchy for a kingdom, when solemnly proclaimed by King James Denmark House, from the King of Denmark lodging therein, and his sister, Queen Anne, repairing thereof." Could the walls of the old Somerset House have spoken they might have unfolded many a strange tale. In Elizabeth's time it was assigned at different periods for the reception of foreign ambassadors. In Lord Burghley's 'Notes' of this reign, printed at the end of Marsden's 'State Papers,' is the following singular passage:—"Feb. 1566-7. Cornelius de la Noye, an alchemist, wrought in Somerset House, and abused many in promising to convert any metal into gold." Anne, the consort of James I., held her court here, which, according to Arthur Wilson, "was a continued Mascarado, where she and her ladies, like so many sea-nymphs or Nereids, appeared in various dresses to the ravishment of the beholders." Somerset House was afterwards the scene of the bickerings between Charles I. and his new-made wife's French domestics, which elicited from that King a brief and pithy note, often re-printed, to "Steenie" (the Duke of Buckingham), directing him to dispatch "the beasts" to France without delay. Oliver Cromwell lay here in state; and here was laid the scene of the tragic romance of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's murder.

A like fate awaited most of the episcopal residences along the Strand after the triumph of Lutheranism. The Inn of the Bishops of Exeter became first Paget House, and afterwards Leicester House, and finally Essex House, being the residence of that favourite of Elizabeth, and the covert where he turned to stand at bay. The Inn of the Bishop of Bath became Arundel House. The Inn of the Bishop of Durham passed into the possession of the Beaufort family. The Inn which belonged originally to the Bishops of Norwich, and had been by them transferred to the Archbishops of York, was acquired by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. The water-gate erected for that favourite by Inigo Jones still survives, under the designation of York Stairs, and, with the names of the neighbouring streets, is all that remains to mark the place of the mansion. And what became of the bishops? A curious document, exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in 1797, in part answers the question. It is indorsed "Thomas Shakespeare's Bill," and contains a claim for allowance for "charges and pains" in delivering letters, by Queen Elizabeth's command, to several prelates in the year 1577. Thomas Shakespeare states that he found the Bishop of London "at his house at Fulham;" the Archbishop of York "at Tower Hill;" the Bishop of Chichester "at Westminster;" the Bishop of Durham "in Aldersgate Street;" and the Bishop of Worcester "lying at Paul's Churchyard."

The right loyal nobles of England seem to have followed closely the example set them by King Henry VIII., who laid violent hands on Whitehall, and even to have "bettered it in the acting." Of the Strand residences of the nobility, only two of any note were not transferences from the bishops—and even these were acquired at the expense of the Church.

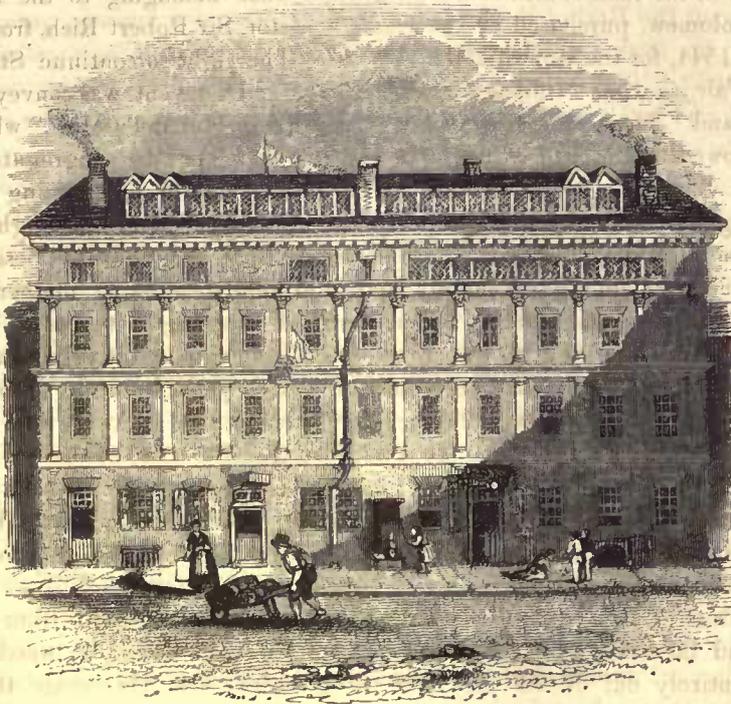
In March, 1552, a patent was granted to John Russell, Earl of Bedford, "of

the gift of the Covent, or Convent Garden, lying in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, near Charing Cross, with seven acres, called Long Acre, of the yearly value of 6*l.* 6*s.*, 8*d.* parcel of the possessions of the late Duke of Somerset." This was a modest slice of the church lands the Duke had obtained possession of. On this grant the Earl of Bedford shortly after erected a mansion, principally of wood, for his town residence, near the bottom of what is now called Southampton Street. This building was called Bedford House; it was inclosed with a brick wall, and had a large garden extending northward nearly to the site of the present-market place: it remained till 1704.

Northumberland House, at once the oldest and most aristocratic in its appearance of the existing houses of the nobility, was also erected on ground that had once pertained to the Church. On its site once stood an hospital or chapel of St. Mary, founded in the time of Henry III.; suppressed along with the alien priories by Henry V., but restored for a fraternity by Edward IV. After the dissolution of monasteries, this site was granted by Edward VI. to Thomas Cardwardon. The estate afterwards came into the possession of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who erected on it a splendid mansion designated Northampton House. On his death, in 1614, it was inherited by his kinsman, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, from whom it received the name of Suffolk House. On the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Theophilus, second Earl of Suffolk, with Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, the mansion passed with the bride into the possession of her husband, and was re-baptised Northumberland House, which name it has since retained. The edifice originally formed three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth side remaining open to the Thames. The reputed architect was Bernard Jansen, but the frontispiece to the street has been attributed to Gerard Christmas, who rebuilt Aldersgate, in the reign of James I. The principal apartments were originally on the Strand side; but Earl Algernon (who disliked the noise of that crowded thoroughfare) had the quadrangle completed by a fourth side (including the state rooms) towards the river, under the direction of Inigo Jones. Considerable alterations and additions were made by Sir Hugh Smithson, who became a Percy on the decease of Algernon, seventh Duke of Somerset, in 1749-50; two new wings were annexed to the garden front; the quadrangular court was faced with stone; great part of the northern front was rebuilt, but the central division—the entrance gateway—still exhibits the original work of Gerard Christmas. Other alterations and repairs were made after a fire, which, in March, 1780, consumed most of the upper rooms on the north side.

Northumberland House has its social and political associations. Evelyn visited it in June, 1658, and has left in his diary a criticism of the mansion and inventory of the pictures. The collection has been greatly increased since his time, and is now extremely valuable. There is likewise a noble library. Horace Walpole attended a fête here in the reign of the first Smithson; his caustic yet brilliant account of it has been quoted in an earlier number of 'London.' It was from Northumberland House that Horace sallied with a gay party to pay a visit to the Cock Lane ghost. In 1660 General Monk, who had taken up his quarters at Whitehall, was invited to this house by Earl Algernon; and here, in conference with him and other nobles and gentlemen, some of the measures were concerted which led to the re-establishment of the monarchy. With such remi-

niscences to inspire him, the Northumbrian lion above the gateway might well hold out his tail as stiffly as he does, even if he were not the guardian of the mingled bloods of Smithson and Percy.



[Craven House, Wych Street, 1800.]

At the corner of Drury Lane and Wych Street stood Craven House (rebuilt on the site of that of the Druries, the father the friend of Essex, and the son the patron of Donne the poet), the residence of Earl Craven, and the abode also of the daughter of James I., the wife of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia. On her husband's death she became a dependent on this nobleman who had fought valiantly in her cause, and who, at the restoration, brought his royal mistress here. She died in a few months after her arrival, but the Earl lived till 1697. Portions of the house remained till a comparatively recent period, and a painting of the Earl was preserved on the wall at the bottom of Craven Buildings. The Olympic Theatre now occupies the site on which the house formerly stood.

During the time of Charles I. and the Commonwealth the houses of the nobility were influenced by two diverging attractions. On the one hand there was the desire to be near Whitehall, and (which influenced politicians of the lower House as well as those of the upper) to be near the Houses of Parliament. On the other, there was the desire—the necessity with the nobility of the popular party, to keep well with the City. In these unsettled times the City of London, for a brief period, almost entirely re-assumed its ancient importance. It was the treasury of the Commonwealth party, and supplied them with some of their best regiments. Accordingly we find the Parliamentary General—Robert, Earl of

Warwick, occupying at this time what is still proudly called Warwick House, in the vicinity of Smithfield, though occupied by a shopkeeper. This mansion, though it has now lost all external appearance of antiquity, is believed to have been built in the time of Elizabeth, on ground once belonging to the Priory of St. Bartholomew, purchased by the Earl's ancestor, Sir Robert Rich, from Henry VIII., in 1544, for the sum of 1064*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* The right to continue St. Bartholomew's Fair, as when in possession of the Prior and Convent, was conveyed along with the land. Hence the origin of the title "Lady Holland's Mob," which used to be bestowed on the uproarious crowd which was wont to congregate on the eve of St. Bartholomew, to "assist," as the French say, in proclaiming the fair. It is strange the influence that property exercises over men: one might almost say with more propriety, that they are possessed by it, than that it is possessed by them. Queen Elizabeth was mainly made and kept a "nursing mother" of the reformed Church of England by the necessity of adopting its tenets as the only ones upon which her right to the crown could be argumentatively established; and the nobility whose houses were built on church land were, by their ownership, impelled, two reigns later, further than their natural likings would have led them, in the ways of revolution. It is not in fables like those of the Niebelungen alone, that wealth sways the destiny of its seeming master. Even an empty name would seem to have its influence, and the collocation of the words "Lady Holland's Mob" to be typical and prophetic of the popular tendencies of those who bear the title, through all generations.

Even after the Restoration, when London had again subsided from its temporary and factitious importance, it proved no easy matter to weed the old nobility entirely out of the City and the liberties. In Aldersgate they were thickly sown, as the name of many a court and blind alley, erected on the sites of their mansions, testifies to this day. In some solitary instances the houses themselves may have survived, though at present the only one that dwells in our recollection is Shaftesbury House, now, by the transmutations of Spencer's "Mutability," converted into a Lying-in Hospital. There was a propriety in an Earl of Shaftesbury residing so close to the City—the old political fox, who, among his other devices, had himself elected alderman at one time.

Among those families which lingered longest in the precincts of the City was that of Newcastle, the site of whose mansion, erected where once the Convent of Benedictine Nuns stood in Clerkenwell Close, is still pointed out by the buildings called "Newcastle Place." The ground on which it was built was alienated by the crown in the time of Edward VI., and came afterwards into the possession of Sir Thomas Challoner, who, if Weever may be believed, built a house in it:—"Within the close of this Nunnery in a spacious fair house, *built of late* by Sir Thomas Challoner, knight, deceased." Challoner died in 1565. From his family the house and grounds passed into the possession of Sir William, afterwards Earl, Marquess, and Duke of Newcastle, distinguished for his loyalty to Charles I. Newcastle House was the residence of two singular women. First came the right noble Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, authoress of a multitude of high-flown and most unreadable works; of whose history of her husband Pepys says, that it "shows her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an ass to suffer her to write what she writes to him, and of him;" and of whose



[Shaftesbury House, Aldersgate Street, now General Dispensary.]

self that very husband said, "a very wise woman is a very foolish thing." Next came Elizabeth, Duchess of Albemarle, and afterwards of Montague, an incident in whose life has been dramatised, by Colley Cibber, in "The Double Gallant, or Sick Lady's Cure." This lady, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry, second Duke of Newcastle, after the death of her first husband, resolved with all the gravity of lunacy, that a lady of her personal charms, mental gifts, and vast estates, was entitled to a royal husband. On this hint Ralph, first Duke of Montague, wooed and won her, as Emperor of China. After marriage he played the tyrant to the poor insane creature he had wedded for her property, and kept her in such strict confinement, that her relations compelled him to produce her in open court, to prove that she was alive. She survived him nearly thirty years, and at last "died of mere old age," at Newcastle House, in 1738. Till the time of her death she is said to have Empressed it, and to have been constantly served on the knee. The last occupant of Newcastle House, according to Brayley, was "an eminent cabinetmaker, named Mallet," after whose death, about the close of last century, it was demolished.

But even in the heart of the City some of the old nobility continued to linger till the commencement of the eighteenth century. Devonshire Square, in the Ward of Bishopsgate, marks the site of a residence of that noble family, inhabited as late as 1704, by a Countess of Devonshire, and frequented by numerous aristocratic visitors.

These, however, were exceptions. Immediately after the Restoration the full tide of aristocratic life set in with a strong current westward. It crossed the valley from Clerkenwell, and straggled along the north of the Holborn line. There was Montague House, now the British Museum, and disappearing by piecemeal as the new and larger buildings, required to contain the continually increasing collections, grow up around it. To this associated itself in time a Bedford House, on the north side of Bloomsbury Square, and a Lansdowne House,

near where the Foundling Hospital was afterwards erected. "Westward the course of empire took its way:" the gregarious portion of the nobility settled down for a time in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Soho Square, but even these have long been abandoned through the unaccountable propensity to be, in Wordsworthian phrase, "stepping westward." Even the west end of the Strand began in time to be thought too remote. The declivity which shelves down towards St. James's Palace was most affected by those who wished to sun themselves in the rays of majesty.

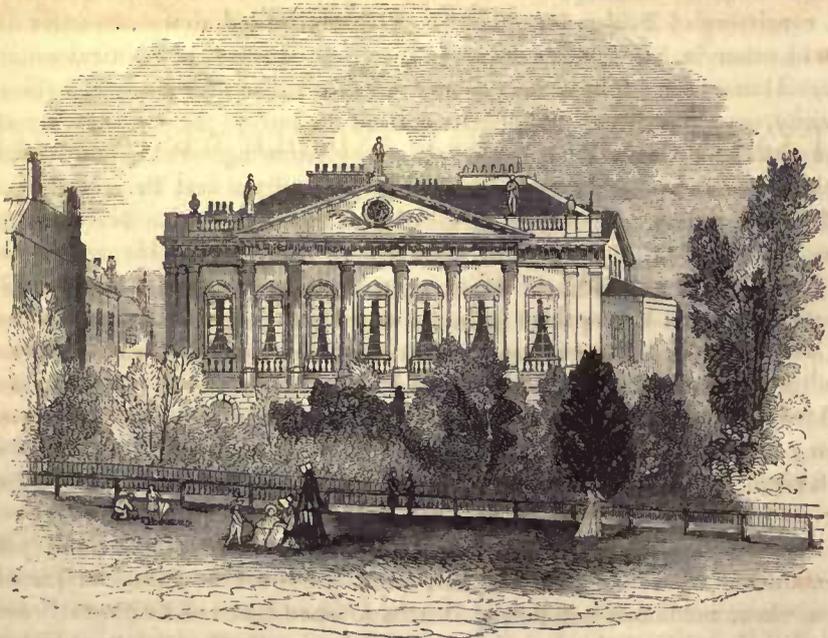
Beginning with the Restoration, and coming down to the present day, the houses of the nobility have gravitated towards St. James's as to a centre, forming concentric semicircles round it. In front there is, or was, Arlington House (where Buckingham Palace now stands); Stafford House (which, destined originally for a scion of royalty, has passed into the hands of a mere nobleman, inverting the order of the other's progress); Marlborough House, the tribute of a nation's gratitude to a successful warrior, and the scene of the magnificent impertinence of his wife and daughters, who, when he quarrelled with Queen Anne, used to show themselves at their windows in *negligée* on levee-days, in order to denote that they had "cut the Queen" (poor Brummell only threatened to cut the Regent!); Schomberg House (which has been cut up into three private dwellings); Carlton House (which, like Arlington House, passed into the occupancy of royalty, and has since disappeared); Wallingford House (converted into the Admiralty); Melbourne now Dover House (called, by Sheridan, a "round house"), in which the Duke of York had been incarcerated. Between these and the next semicircle stand, or stood, two groups: one at the corner of the Green Park, consisting of Bridgewater House (recently pulled down), Spencer House, &c.; the other in St. James's Square, Litchfield House (of political notoriety), Norfolk House, &c. The second semicircle alluded to may be called the line of Piccadilly, and has been sufficiently noticed in our paper on that street. It begins with the mansion of "sober Lanesborough dancing with the gout," and ends with the site of Leicester House, the pouting-place of the first Princes of Wales of the Hanoverian line, or perhaps it may be extended down to Northumberland House. Some of these are rich in associations. Burlington House and Devonshire House among those still existing, and Arlington and Clarendon House among those which have passed away, live in the pages of Pepys and Evelyn. Bath House (near Ashburnham House) is memorable as the seat whence the Tantalus of modern English politics, old Pulteney, looked out upon St. James's; and Apsley House is, in our day, what Marlborough House was in the age of Queen Anne. Almost in a line with the mansions now under consideration is Chesterfield House, where Johnson sat "nursing his wrath to keep it warm" at being made to kick his heels in the antechamber, and burst into a Johnsonian explosion, when Colley Cibber, issuing from the penetralia of the patron's shrine, showed whose conversation had been preferred to his; and Lansdowne House, whose noble owner followed Bentham, when that most "impracticable" of sages was on a visit to him, to his bedchamber, with the awkward question—"Mr. Bentham, can you serve me?" A third but more straggling semicircle is formed by Grosvenor House, near Hyde Park, the mansion of the Duke of Port-

land in Cavendish Square, and was terminated by Newport and Grafton Houses, near where there is now a market named after the former.

Few of the existing mansions of the nobility differ in their external appearance from those of other wealthy individuals; and their internal arrangements, though sumptuous, are all of a strictly private character. Nothing of the feudal or governing character remains about them to warrant public intrusion. The mansion of a Roman noble is the mansion of a public character—of the prince—and, with its halls and galleries, is meant to be public. But the mansion of a British nobleman is the residence of the man, where none but friends are expected or allowed to enter. Some of them, however, do still bear on their front the characteristic stamp of a lordly residence. This has been already remarked of Northumberland House, and applies to Burlington House, and to the ducal mansion of the Bentincks in Portman Square. There is an exclusive, almost fortified air about these buildings, as if meant to lodge troops of retainers and keep the “*profanum vulgus*” at a distance. They are citadels, into which the “*morgue aristocratique*” may withdraw and secure itself from intrusion. The solidity and almost gloom of the Bentinck mansion, in particular, seems to fit it for being tenanted with—

“Sour dames of honour, once who garnished
The drawing-room of fierce Queen Mary.”

Spencer House is also remarkable for its architectural pretensions, and Grosvenor House for its combination of sculpture with architectural ornament.



[Spencer House, Green Park.]



[Throne Room, Buckingham Palace.]

CXXXIII.—BUCKINGHAM AND OLD WESTMINSTER PALACES.

“BUILD me a palace,” said the King of Bavaria a few years ago to his architect, in words we have before had occasion slightly to refer to, “in which nothing within or without shall be of transient fashion or interest; a palace for my posterity, and my people, as well as myself; of which the decorations shall be durable as well as splendid, and shall appear one or two centuries hence as pleasing to the eye and taste as they do now.” Such was one monarch’s idea of what a royal palace should be, and grandly has the idea been realized: let us now glance at that of another. “George the Fourth,” says Mrs. Jameson, “had a predilection for low ceilings, so all the future inhabitants of the Pimlico Palace must endure suffocation; and as his Majesty did not live on good terms with his wife, no accommodation was prepared for a future Queen of England;” and that monarch’s views and tastes have also been done thorough justice to. Klencz, the architect of Munich, in his way, is not more worthy of the Bavarian sovereign than Nash, in his, of the English. Unfortunately, there is considerable difference

between the ways, and the result is, that whilst the capital of Bavaria possesses a palace of which it may well be proud, since the edifice is the admiration of Europe, London has that of Buckingham ! There are some facts, so significant in their naked simplicity, that they only lose force by comment,—this is one of them.

The Palace derives its name from the house that previously stood here, which was built, in 1703, by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who took the trouble to describe it at great length in a letter that has been frequently published, but somewhat unnecessarily, it appears, so far as its architectural value is concerned ; the House is described as appearing, just before it was pulled down, “dull, dowdy, and decent, nothing more than a large, substantial, and respectable-looking red brick house.”* The Duke at the same time gave us some particulars of his domestic life in it, none of which are half so interesting as that feature of it which he did not give—his “constant visit to the noted gaming-house at Marylebone, the place of assemblage of all the infamous sharpers of his time. His grace always gave them a dinner at the conclusion of the season, and his parting toast was, ‘May as many of us as remain unchanged next spring, meet here again.’”† Among the many sins laid to the authors of the Palace, it is curious to find the choice of the locality enumerated, seeing that the site is that of the once famous Mulberry Gardens, which used to be considered remarkable for “amenity” of situation, and seeing into how beautiful a place has been converted the meadow, with its formal canal, that formerly extended in front of the spot : we refer to the enclosure.

Buckingham Palace was commenced in 1825, from the designs and under the superintendence of Mr. Nash, and completed only recently by Mr. Blore, who, after the former gentleman's death, in 1835, assumed the direction. The general character of the structure, with all its merits or demerits, of course belongs to the original architect, whose successor, we have no doubt, has not the slightest desire to be invested with the reputation of the design. Perhaps the most forcible impression conveyed to the mind in examining the well-known eastern front, is that of wonder at the ingenuity—as we might almost call it—shown in preventing a pile of such large dimensions from appearing large, and in gently letting down, at it were, step by step, as the spectator moves to different points of aspect, the natural idea of grandeur with which he comes prepared to invest a building erected for the residence of the Sovereign of the British Empire. It is very pretty, no doubt ; and Waagen says it looks “as if some wicked magician had suddenly transformed some capricious stage scenery into solid reality.” Would that the same magician could re-transform it, and at the same time return the many hundreds of thousands of pounds it has cost into the Exchequer ! If it is not grand, then, in its general effect, is it original ? By no means, says one critic, and an able one (Mr. Leeds), “both the arrangement and the composition being often of the most common-place and hackneyed kind.” Well, if borrowed, is it well borrowed ? has the artist shown a thorough appreciation of all the essential qualities of his original, and how they may be best adapted to his own purposes ? “Oh, dear no,” replies another, smiling even at the question ; “look at that bald-

* Leeds' *Illustrations of Public Buildings*—Buckingham Palace.

† Pennant's *London*, ed. 1791, p. 132.

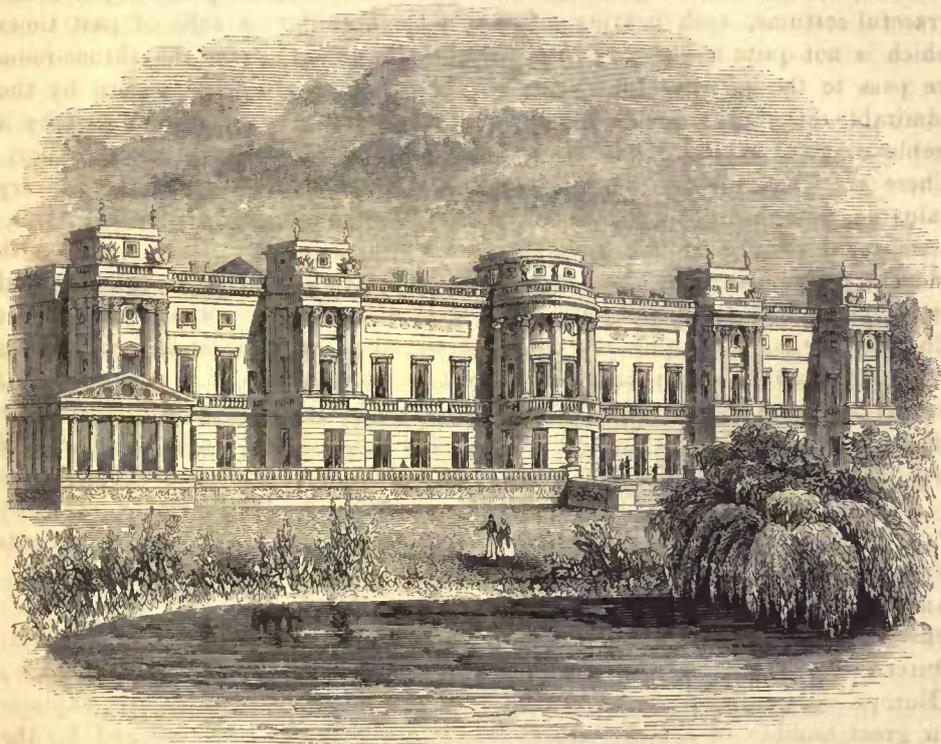
looking Doric of the basement, so carefully stripped of its characteristic frieze, and then look at the elegant Corinthian of the upper order, a contrast without harmony in itself, and therefore, if for that reason alone, most un-Grecian." Neither grand nor original, nor deeply versed in the classic lore of his art, the designer was of course a thorough practical architect, one who, if you turn him to the mysteries of architectural arrangement with all its mighty maze of halls, and saloons, and chambers,

"The Gordian knot of it he will unloose
Familiar as his garter?"

Why, not exactly, remarks a third critic; "for instance, these wings, when first built, were found too small, and in consequence had to be pulled down and enlarged; the attic from a similar cause had to be raised, and thus we lost what would have been the one picturesque feature of the pile, the pediment of the central portico standing out strongly relieved against the sky; and it may also be added, an architect of the class you describe would hardly have committed such a solecism as to build a dome which he should afterwards have to acknowledge he was not at all aware would be visible from the Park." In the name of common sense, then, it is asked for the last time, and impatiently, "Why was such an architect chosen?" to which it can only be replied, We cannot tell, unless it be that the choice lay with the "finest gentleman in Europe;" that George IV. was King.

But let us now examine the interior. A sumptuous hall receives us, as we pass below the portico; a hall surrounded with an extensive range of double columns standing on an elevated continuous basement, every one formed of a single piece of veined white (Carrara) marble, with gilded bases and capitals. The floor is also of variegated marble, and the steps of the grand staircase on the left solid masses of the same costly material, and the rail of mosaic gold. The reader may imagine the effect of such a combination, which is enhanced to a surprising degree by the play of the lights and shadows through the place, the former streaming down from the staircase, the latter produced by the depth within the columns. Directly facing the entrance, we have at times also another addition to the architectural picturesqueness of the scene, in the vista between the pillars directly facing the entrance,—through the sculpture gallery which it crosses,—and so on through the open door of the library, or council-room, with its semicircular termination (forming the inner portion of the projection seen in our view of the garden front), to the very windows that open on the opposite side of the building. The library, which is very large, is used as a waiting-room for deputations, which, as soon as the Queen is prepared to receive them, pass across the sculpture gallery into the hall, and thence ascend by the grand staircase through an ante-room, and the green drawing-room to the throne-room. The library, with the other rooms on each side of it, are furnished and decorated in a manner that happily combines elegance and luxury with simplicity and comfort, whilst their situation is truly delightful, opening as they do directly upon a terrace, having the conservatory at one extremity, the new chapel on the other, whilst over the balustrade, with its elegant vases of flowers, appears the beautifully varied and undulating surface (of course artificially made) of the park-like grounds, "a mimic Arcady embosomed in deep foliage," as it has been called, "a gay delicious solitude

rescued from the *fumum strepitumque Romæ*." The sculpture in the gallery consists chiefly of busts of eminent statesmen, and members of the royal family, ranged on each side through the gallery, which extends the whole length of the central portion of the front of the edifice. Ascending the grand staircase towards the State apartments, we find these latter comprise—to mention the principal only—an ante-room, the green drawing-room, and the throne-room, in the eastern front of the palace; and a dining-room, music-room, and two drawing-rooms in the western or garden front, with a picture gallery over the sculpture gallery, between the two ranges. All that luxury can desire, or skill and wealth accom-



[Garden Front.]

plish, to make these apartments magnificent, in the ordinary modes of obtaining magnificence, is to be found here in an extraordinary degree. The green drawing-room well deserves its name, for it is one continuous illustration of that colour in all its varieties of tints, from the walls with their striped satin hangings, down to the smallest article of the furniture, the whole beautifully relieved by gilded borders and mouldings. The play of the subdued light which enters through the slightly dimmed glass of the windows (from which one looks through the pillars of the portico upon the marble arch, and the delicious little panorama of the inclosure), is peculiarly magical, caught and reflected back as it is in endless repetitions in the glazed pannels of the door, and in the pier glasses, or sportively dancing to and fro among the pendant drops of the richly cut lustres that hang at intervals from the ceiling. The height of this, as well as of all the other apart-

ments on this floor, is thirty-two feet. The prevailing colour of the throne-room is crimson, the walls being hung with crimson striped satin, and the alcove with crimson velvet, both also relieved by a profusion of golden hues. The ceiling is richly carved and gilt; and the frieze below, adorned with bassi-relievi by Baily, after designs by Stothard, illustrative of the wars of the White and Red Roses. The scene presented in the throne-room on State occasions is as picturesque as it is splendid. Then her Her Majesty appears on the throne in her regal robes, with the Prince on her left, and a most brilliant group of attendant ladies on her right, whilst the members of the deputation, to whom audience is given, advance through a broad avenue formed by the gentlemen-at-arms, in their peculiarly rich and graceful costume, each bearing an axe on his shoulder: a relic of past times which is not quite in harmony with the glitter around. From the throne-room we pass to the picture gallery, which charms us at the first glance by the admirable distribution and arrangement of the light, which is admitted by a treble range of skylights extending through the entire length of the gallery. There are, consequently, no bad places for pictures. The collection is very valuable, though, rightly considered, it should form but one division of a complete regal picture gallery, since it comprises in the main works of the Flemish and Dutch schools. The chief exceptions are Reynolds' 'Death of Dido,' and his 'Cymon and Iphigenia,' a landscape by Gainsborough, with a few recent English works, some pictures by Watteau, and—an interesting evidence of Titian's versatility—a landscape, with herdsmen and cattle, by that master. Of the extraordinary wealth of the collection in the schools we have mentioned, some idea may be formed from the enumeration of the number of works by their chief artists:—three by Albert Durer, seven by Rembrandt, seventeen by Teniers, five by Ostade, six by Gerard Dow, nine by Cuyp, eight by Wouvermans, three by Paul Potter, six by Rubens, five by Vandyke, in addition to his various portraits of children, and a great number of others by masters scarcely less famous. Among Rembrandt's pictures, we must specially mention the 'Wise Men's Offering;' among Vandyke's, the 'Marriage of St. Catherine;' among Albert Durer's, the 'Miser;' and, among Rubens', the portrait of his wife. Claude's 'Europa' also enriches the collection. The history of the pictures here explains the great number of Dutch pictures found among them; they belonged, for the most part, to George IV., who purchased them from Sir Francis Baring, and was proud enough ever afterwards of his acquisition.

From the pictures, we pass to the range of rooms that occupy the western or garden front of the same story, namely, the dining-room at the southern extremity, then the music-room with its orchestra, and other appropriate fittings up, next the bow drawing-room, in the centre, so called from the semicircular projection; whilst beyond, towards the northern extremity, we find the yellow drawing-room, the most superb of the whole. Full length portraits of members of the royal family, painted in pannels on the walls, form a conspicuous feature. As an illustration of the sumptuous character of the decorations of this and the other drawing-rooms, it may be mentioned that the floor is bordered with satin and holly-wood, inlaid with devices of rose and tulip-wood. The most interesting portion of these rooms, to our mind, however, is the series of sculptures in relief by Pitts. In the bow drawing-room, the frieze on the side, facing the bow, represents

Eloquence, that on the south Pleasure, that on the north Harmony. It is not difficult to perceive the artist had a noticeable and appropriate meaning in these works. In the yellow drawing-room he has given us a series of twelve reliefs, descriptive of the origin and progress of pleasure, namely, Love awakening the Soul to Pleasure—the Soul in the bower of Fancy—the pleasure of Decoration—the invention of Music—the pleasure of Music—the Dance—the Masquerade—the Drama—the contest for the Palm—the Palm resigned—the struggle for the Laurel—the Laurel obtained. Lastly, in the third drawing-room, within arches produced by the elliptical curving of the ceiling, immediately above the cornice, are three reliefs representing the apotheoses of the poets Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton—each comprising numerous subordinate figures. The private apartments of Her Majesty extend along the whole of the northern front of the palace, and are therefore directly connected with the suite we have just noticed. One almost invariable feature of the numerous rooms of the palace is a piano, in all places a pleasant and genial-looking instrument from its associations; here the very number of such instruments suggests more than ordinarily interesting fancies and speculations: some wandering and most magical touch, we have heard it whispered, will at times make such sweet sounds float to and from them, now here now there, now high now low, that the surprised and spell-bound listener, whom fortunate chance has accidentally brought within hearing, might almost ask in the words of Ferdinand, in the 'Tempest,'—

“Where should this music be? 't' the air or earth?”
and sigh to add—

“It sounds no more.”

It will be seen from the preceding pages that the interior of Buckingham Palace is truly superb; that marble pillars with gilded bases and capitals, marble and inlaid floors, gorgeous hangings and mirrors, sumptuously adorned ceilings, have been scattered about with a prodigal hand; your decorative builders, and painters, and upholsterers, are great here; but if we look beyond these matters, for that highest species of adornment to which all others in such mansions should be the mere subordinates, we are disappointed. We may look in vain at Buckingham Palace for what is the distinctive glory of the palace at Munich, a grand and harmonious system of decoration which, while affording opportunity for the development of the talents of the best artists of the time, and in that alone giving the structure a high and peculiarly suitable interest, also stamps upon every wall and ceiling, on every alcove and recess, their own appropriate expression, whether in painting or sculpture, of the uses of the hall or apartments to which they belong—of the elevating, or endearing, or fanciful associations with which particular history or general custom or feeling may have invested such places; or which, in the absence of definite uses and associations, opens to the artist a field for still greater triumphs, bidding him, in the words of the poet—

“O sweet fancy! let her loose”

‘into the regions of the universal, to summon from thence whatever shapes or visions of power and loveliness most powerfully attract him. No fear but he will find some connexion between them and their future local habitation, however hidden from ordinary eyes—no fear, such is the magic of art, but he will make

them see it too. And, if not, your great artist is himself a sufficient link of connexion, though he of all men will be the least inclined to rely upon that alone. To make these remarks clearer, let us glance for a moment at the Bavarian structure. At the very entrance, the key-note, as it were, of the lofty and harmonious spirit that pervades the whole, is struck, in the motto (the king's own), inscribed in golden letters, "Just and Firm," and embodied also in the grandly modelled colossal caryatid figures that support the doorway, and, in a figurative sense, the palace itself. As we pass on, we find at every turn something to stimulate thought, and awaken noble emotions. In the series of chambers allotted to the king's use, the walls are painted with subjects from the poets of Greece, commencing with the 'History of Orpheus,' from Linus, the earliest poet of that country, and ending with Theocritus. The Queen's apartments present a similar series from the German poets, arranged in a similarly artistical manner. Both form magnificent pictorial and poetical histories. But it is in the State apartments that the grandeur of the palace appears in its grandest shape. The four principal rooms are decorated by paintings in fresco, on a colossal scale, representative of the national epic, the Niebelungen Lied, by Schnorr, "one of the greatest living artists of Europe," says Mrs. Jameson, "and these four rooms will form, when completed, the very triumph of the romantic school of painting." Not only are the whole of the paintings of the palace by the greatest of the German painters, but the very decorations that accompany them are an everlasting study and delight: they are at once so graceful, so luxuriant, and so harmonious with the greater works they enfold, and with the place in which they appear. We can hardly resist transcribing another evidence of the high poetical and artistical feeling of the chief architect, Klenze, from the charming writer to whom we are indebted for these notices of the palace; for, like the whole subject, it is filled with instruction for us. We have paid dearly for a failure, and it behoves us to know how success may be obtained before there is any danger of fresh experiments by incompetent men. Fortunately, too, there is a general interest awakening to these matters, that promises, rightly directed, to be attended with the happiest results. Mrs. Jameson is speaking in the passage in question of the Queen's throne-room. "On the ceiling, which is richly ornamented, are four medallions, exhibiting, under the effigies of four admirable women, the four feminine cardinal virtues. Constancy is represented by Maria Theresa; Maternal Love by Cornelia; Charity by St. Elizabeth (the Margravine of Thuringia);* and Filial Tenderness by Julia Pia Alpinula:—

' And there—O sweet and sacred be the name!

Julia, the daughter, the devoted, gave

Her youth to Heaven; her heart, beneath a claim

Nearest to Heaven's, broke o'er a father's grave.'

Lord Byron.

* The legend of this charming saint, one of the most popular in Germany, is but little known among us. She was the wife of a Margrave of Thuringia, who was a fierce avaricious man, while she herself was all made up of tenderness and melting pity. She lived with her husband in his castle on the Wartsburg, and was accustomed to go out every morning to distribute alms among the poor of the valley. Her husband, jealous and covetous, forbade her thus to exercise her bounty; but as she regarded her duty to God and to the poor, even as paramount to conjugal obedience, she secretly continued her charitable offices. Her husband encountered her one morning as she was leaving the castle with a covered basket containing meat, bread, and wine for a starving family. He demanded, angrily, what she had in her basket? Elizabeth, trembling, not for herself, but for her wretched protégés, replied with a faltering voice that she had been gathering roses in the garden. The fierce chieftain, not believing her, snatched off the napkin, and Elizabeth fell on her knees. But, behold, a miracle had been operated in her favour! The basket was full of roses, fresh gathered, and wet with dew.

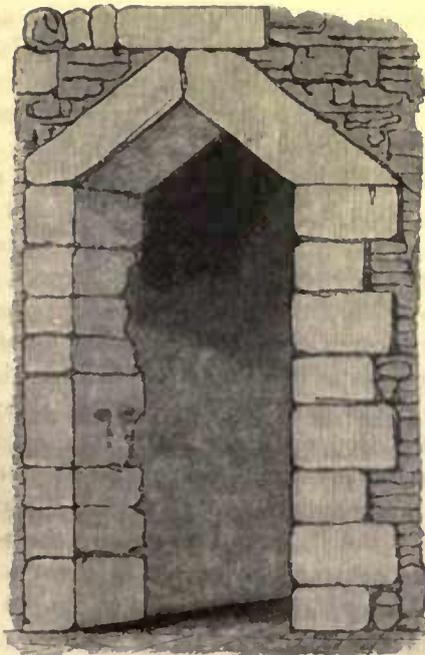
“ ‘ I always avoid emblematical and allegorical figures, wherever it is possible, for they are cold and arbitrary, and do not speak to the heart,’ said Baron Klenze, perceiving how much I was charmed with the idea of thus personifying the womanly virtues.”* Is not such a palace truly a palace for the people as well as the King? a home not merely for a Monarch to live in, but one where he must be constantly reminded, in the most persuasive of modes, how to live? There remains to be noticed one circumstance in connection with our chief metropolitan Palace, and it is one of encouragement and promise. Under the auspices of her present Majesty and her consort, a new spirit is in progress of development there, which may yet work wonders even in a place so architecturally unsuitable. We allude to her Majesty’s summer-house, which is in process of decoration, with fresco paintings, forming a series of subjects from Comus. The choice of subject for the place is admirable. The artists are Eastlake, Ross, Maclise, Stanfield, E. Landseer, and Uwins.

Buckingham Palace has, of course, no history of its own to recount, but as the residence of the descendants of the long line of Kings who have made the neighbouring Palace of Westminster a household word through the world, it has an intimate connection with that pile; so we have but to pass the few hundreds of yards of space that intervene, and give free play to the recollections that so fruitful a subject must arouse. And once within its precincts, almost every step we take we pass some spot that has been made memorable by the buildings that have existed on the site, or by the incidents or events that have there taken place. Here in New Palace Yard were two interesting structures, of which all vestige has long passed away,—the conduit or fountain, from whence, on occasions of great festivity, wine flowed forth for all to drink that pleased; and the lofty Clock Tower, which stood directly opposite the Hall, where now is the passage into Bridge Street. The history of this tower forms a choice story. Maitland thus relates it:—“ A certain poor man, in an action of debt, being fined the sum of thirteen shillings and four-pence, Randolphus Ingham, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, commiserating his case, caused the court-roll to be erased, and the fine reduced to six shillings and eightpence; which being soon afterwards discovered, Ingham was amerced in a pecuniary mulct of eight hundred marks: which was employed in erecting the said bell-tower on the north side of the said enclosure, opposite Westminster Hall gate; in which tower was placed a bell and a clock, which, striking hourly, was to remind the Judges in the Hall of the fate of their brother, in order to prevent all dirty work for the future. However, this fact seems to have been forgotten by Catlyn, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by his attempting the rasure of a court-roll; but Southcote, his brother judge, instead of assenting to this, plainly told him that he had no inclination to build a clock-house.” In the Chapter House of the Abbey, here on our right, the Commons of England first sat as a separate body from the Lords, and an amusing instance has been preserved of the very different position as to dignity and power they enjoyed then, compared with the present time. “ On one occasion the Commons, forgetting the solemn purposes of their assembling, became so riotous, and created so great a turmoil, that the abbot waxed indignant at the profanation, and, collecting a sufficiently strong party, turned the whole legislative wisdom out of his house, and swore lustily

* ‘ Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad,’ vol. i. p. 283.

that the place should not be again defiled with a like rabble."* It must have been a fine thing to have been an abbot in those days. We are now in Old Palace Yard, where events so crowd upon us that we can but refer, and that slightly, to the principal. In the north-east corner was the house that Percy, one of the gunpowder conspirators, took for the furtherance of the plot, and the cellar in which the powder was deposited, and at the door of which Fawkes was suddenly arrested as he came out to look about him at midnight; and who was thus prevented from blowing up himself, his assailants, and the houses, as undoubtedly he would have done had he had the opportunity, on seeing that the plot was discovered. And here in the yard, Fawkes, Winter, Rookwood, and Keys were executed. Here again, a few years later, the all-accomplished Sir Walter Raleigh suffered death on a sentence passed many years before, saying, at the close of an exquisitely beautiful prayer, "Now I am going to God." Taking up the axe he felt its edge, and smiling, observed, "This is a sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases." His behaviour seems to have moved even the executioner, for he paused when Raleigh, having laid his head on the block, was expecting the blow. "What dost thou fear?" said he; "strike, man!" and so he died.

The two areas we have mentioned, with the road extending from one to the other, and the river, mark pretty nearly the boundaries of the Old Palace. The Palace Yards were the courts of this edifice, and Palace Stairs still point out the spot where the monarchs of England were accustomed to pass to and from the river. The earliest notice of a royal residence at Westminster occurs during the reign of Canute, when Wulnoth was abbot, a man celebrated at once for his "great wisdom and fine elocution." And Widmore, the historian of the Abbey, says, "that for his sake that Prince came frequently to the Abbey;" and he also speaks of the Abbey as "being so near the King's Palace." Norden even tells us, that



[Doorway from the Old Palace.]

* 'Westminster Review,' Oct. 1834.

“in the time of Edward the Confessor, a Palace at Westminster was destroyed by fire, which had been inhabited by Canute, about the year 1035.” However this may have been, there is no doubt that the earliest parts of the building that has been so long denominated the Palace at Westminster, were the work of the Confessor, who is supposed to have died in one of its apartments, that known first as St. Edward’s Chamber, and subsequently as the Painted Chamber. The triangular arch that existed in the vaults beneath this apartment, make it tolerably certain that the walls and foundations were of the Confessor’s erection, although the chamber was altered in its general appearance by Henry III., in accordance with the architecture of his time. By him also, no doubt, the paintings were placed on its walls that gave it the name of the Painted Chamber, though these were not discovered till the commencement of the present century, when the old tapestry that covered the walls was removed. The enthusiastic delight of antiquaries may be imagined when it was found that these paintings, so many centuries old, were of a masterly character, representing the battles of the Maccabees; the Seven Brethren; St. John, as a pilgrim, presenting a ring to the Confessor, in reference to the well-known legend; the Canonization of the Confessor, with seraphim, &c. In the battle-scenes there were a great number of figures grouped with admirable skill, and representing, in many cases, individual character with a remarkable force of expression. Here is an example.—



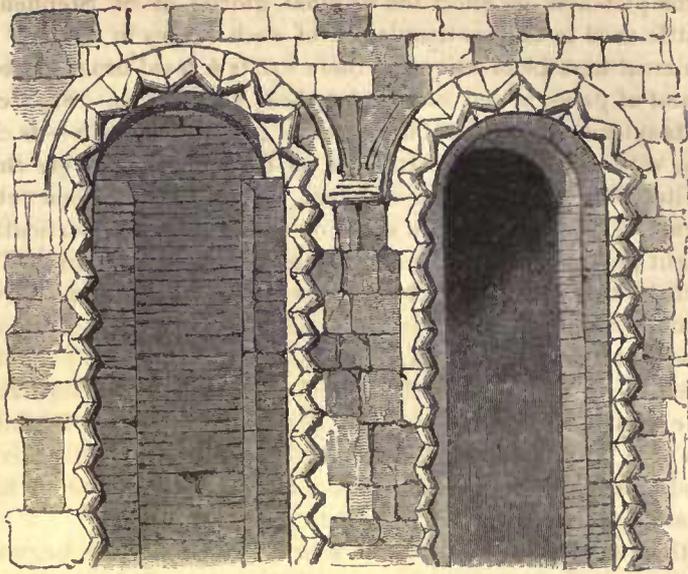
[From the Painted Chamber.]

Will it be believed that the authorities allowed the whole to be speedily coated over with whitewash? In this chamber the warrant was signed for the execution of Charles I. After the fire, the walls were raised and roofed over, and the whole fitted up for the accommodation of the House of Lords during the building of the New Houses.

Another portion of the Confessor’s building was the old House of Lords, the “fair” apartment mentioned by Stow, and the one that Fawkes and his fellow-conspirators sought to blow up; and, by the way, the cellar itself where the gunpowder was deposited beneath has been discovered to have been the kitchen of

King Edward, a fact the Earl of Northampton, who presided at the trial of Garnet the Jesuit, stated he had ascertained by ancient records; and when the building was pulled down, about 1823, to make way for a royal gallery, the original buttery hatch of the kitchen, with an adjoining ambry or cupboard, was found near the south end. The recent House of Lords, the one destroyed by the fire, was also a part of the ancient building, and a curious variety of names and purposes it has known from the period of its erection to that of its destruction. First, it formed, in all probability, the Hall, before the erection by Rufus of the vast structure now known by that name, and in consequence of which erection it was designated as the Little Hall. Here occurred the incident so characteristic of the Lion Heart, which Brompton mentions in his Chronicle:—"King Richard the First, being at dinner at Westminster, in the hall which is entitled the Little Hall, received tidings that King Philip of France had entered Normandy, and besieged Verneuil; whereupon he swore that he would never turn away his face until he had met him and fought with him; and, having directed an opening to be made in the wall [the remains of which, according to the chronicler, were visible when he wrote], he immediately made his way through it, and proceeded to Portsmouth." By the time of the second Richard, Little Hall had changed to White Hall, and John of Gaunt sat in it as seneschal for the determination of claims relating to the coronation of his nephew. Next we find it as the Court of Requests, instituted in the reign of Henry VII., when it was also, according to Stow, called "the Poor Man's Court, because there he could have right without paying any money." Fortunate poor of the fifteenth century! From the Court of Requests it was converted into the House of Lords, at the time of the parliamentary union with Ireland, when the old apartment was abandoned from want of size to accommodate the new members. This was the House of Lords destroyed at the fire, with the beautiful tapestry in it, taken from the old House, representing the victories over the Spanish Armada. The order for the execution of this national memorial was given by the brave commander of the English fleet, the Earl of Nottingham, and the artists were Cornelius Vroom, the author of the design, and Francis Spiering, who executed it. Vroom had a hundred pieces of gold, and the entire cost was 1628*l*. The border was composed of the heads of the chief English commanders. The earl sold it to James I. Next to St. Stephen's Chapel, the loss of this matchless specimen was the severest, because the most irremediable, result of the fire. The windows here represented, forming a part of the southern wall of the building we have just described, and which were almost the only vestiges left in recent times of the Confessor's work, were fully revealed during that event; what remains of the building constitutes part of the present House of Commons. To all these apartments of the old palace may be added a cluster of smaller ones that hung as it were around them in the neighbourhood of Old Palace Yard, such as the Prince's Chamber; and many of which no designation has been preserved; with cellars innumerable, extending below every part of the Confessor's pile.

The Conqueror is said, but the statement is of doubtful character, to have continued what the Confessor had begun, by enlarging the palace to the north, whilst Rufus built the magnificent hall, which we shall have an opportunity of speaking of at length in our ensuing Number, on the New Houses of Parliament, and



[Windows from the Old Palace.]

shall not therefore dwell upon here. The next noticeable addition was St. Stephen's Chapel, built by the king of that name, and afterwards rebuilt by Edward I., then burnt in the "vehement fire" of 1298, once more rebuilt in the reigns of Edward II. and III., and completed in that of the latter about 1363, in that exquisite style of architecture which one can never be wearied of admiring, the Gothic in its purest form, divested of all the rudeness that accompanied it in its earlier stages, but not yet overlaid by the excess of ornament that marked it subsequently. But the decorations of this chapel form the most interesting part of its history now, as showing—what parts of the neighbouring Abbey and the Temple Church have also satisfactorily demonstrated—that the art of decorative painting, in the higher meaning of the term, like the arts of sculpture and architecture, was in those "dark ages" in a high state of development. When the chapel was first fitted up for the Commons, in the reign of Edward VI., the walls were wainscotted, a new floor raised above, and a new ceiling below the original ones; in consequence, the artistical treasures were completely hidden—forgotten—lost. Their re-appearance caused no little sensation among antiquaries and lovers of art. The Commons, like the Lords, had to make fresh arrangements at the Union in 1800, so the whole side walls of the beautiful chapel were taken down, except the buttresses that supported the old roof, and thus the paintings were discovered. Many of these were in oil. They comprised, in numerous compartments, the histories of Jonah, Daniel, Jeremiah, Job, Tobit, Judith, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, from the Old Testament; from the New there were the Ascension of Christ, and the miracles and martyrdom of the Apostles. At the same time it was found that the walls had been originally adorned with sculpture (twelve full-length statues of stone raised on piers are mentioned), gorgeously decorated in colour and gilding, and that the windows had been filled with stained glass, illustrating a similarly double series

of stories from the Bible. But it is impossible now to recal to the imagination in all their completeness of effect the original glories of St. Stephen's Chapel: we are too little used to the contemplation of such scenes in reality. A curious circumstance must here be mentioned: there exists a royal order, dated 1350, for the *impressment* of painters and others for these very works. St. Stephen's was not alone in its splendour: its vestibule—chapel or crypt beneath—its cloister—its small oratory, with chantry above, attached to the cloister, all were characterised by their architectural beauty. The cloisters, indeed, having been rebuilt in the reign of Henry VIII., presented a scene of sumptuousness, particularly on the roof, that might almost vie with the neighbouring chapel of Henry VII. To lose all this either by the fire itself or by the necessary demolitions afterwards, was indeed a national calamity. As King Stephen had very little of the saint about him, whilst the name given to his chapel might make one naturally conclude it is he who is referred to, we may remark that the king dedicated it to his namesake the martyr. The collegiate establishment of the chapel, as settled by Edward III., consisted of a dean, twelve secular canons, twelve vicars, four clerks, six choristers, a verger, and a chapel keeper; and so liberally was it endowed by him, that at the dissolution the yearly revenues amounted to nearly 1100*l*.

We have thus noticed the periods at which the palace was begun, and from time to time increased; but that element which eventually caused so much ruin to the remains of the old palace, had more than once before played some exceedingly mischievous pranks of the same kind, and rendered extensive re-buildings necessary. Nothing, indeed, but the wonderful strength of the walls which the Confessor's workmen erected could have enabled those portions we have referred to of his structure to escape so long as they did. In 1263 the Little Hall, with many other houses adjoining, were consumed by fire, and had to be extensively repaired. The incidental injuries must have been serious. This fire occurred towards the end of the reign of Henry III., who, besides making some minor additions, greatly adorned the palace with the paintings which he caused to be executed in the Painted Chamber, and, no doubt, in other parts also. Only thirty-five years later occurred the "vehement fire," which caused so much destruction that the King, Edward I., was obliged to remove his Court to the Archbishop of York's Palace at Whitehall, which he continued thenceforth to occupy occasionally till his death. The rebuildings necessitated by this event were of a most extensive character; so much so indeed that Edward left the greater part to his son, in whose reign, and principally during the years 1307-1310, they were carried into effect. The Chapel alone seems to have been left unrestored, till Edward III. rebuilt it entirely in the splendid manner we have already described. These re-buildings of the second Richard have an interest attached to them of a noticeable character. In 1389 Chaucer was appointed Clerk of the Works here, as well as at the Tower, and at the Mews near Charing Cross—a fact which naturally suggests the enquiry, Did the great poet really fulfil in person, or only by deputy, the duties of the position?—If the former, the very selection, for such a post, is something like evidence of a more than ordinary amount of architectural ability on the part of the author of the 'Canterbury Tales.' Messrs. Britton and Brayley observe,* "It seems probable that this office was granted to Chaucer

* From Britton and Brayley's 'History of the Palace,' a work to which we here beg to acknowledge our obligations.

more with a view of providing him with a salary under the Crown than from any skill which he possessed in architectural science; yet, in the following year and exactly on that day twelvemonth upon which his appointment had been signed, he received the royal mandate to proceed to the restoration of the collegiate chapel of St. George, at Windsor, which is described as being in a state of ruin. By another precept (tested, like the latter one, at Westminster, on the same day), William Hannay, the then Comptroller of the Works at the Palace of Westminster, &c., was directed to verify the accounts of the said Geoffrey, for the repairs of the said Chapel, in order that the same should be discharged at the King's Exchequer." Now, it is to be observed, in answer to the presumption with which this passage sets out, that not only do the facts following bear every mark of the regular business-like proceedings that would characterise the connection of the real architectural man of business and his employers, but it is also to be noted that in the division of our public men into two classes—those useful to the public, and those useful to themselves only, it is not now the custom, and in all likelihood never has been, to permit "clerks" of any rank to luxuriate in the latter position, except where time and an altered state of things may have left none of the more important original duties of the office to be performed. That was evidently not the case with Chaucer's appointment. But the writers we have referred to, add that "In January, 1391, Chaucer was appointed Clerk of the Works; but he was himself superseded a few months afterwards by John Gedney, who, following his predecessor's example, appointed a deputy on the 16th of September, in the same year, and who continued in office during the 15th and 16th years of Richard II." That the said deputy was *not* appointed before seventeen months had elapsed from the date of the appointment, and until, as we have seen, Chaucer had been certainly engaged in the restoration of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, either as virtual or nominal architect, seems to us to tell the entire character of the transaction, that the poet was theoretically, and in a lofty sense of the term, an architect, with just as much practical knowledge as was sufficient to develop his views when any important occasion called them forth. One offers:—great reparations are going on in one of the most important public buildings of the country, Chaucer's court connection causes his talents to be known, appreciated, and put in requisition; his plans are begun under his own inspection for many months, and then the poet, desiring to pursue his own proper vocation, meditating too at the very time, if not actually engaged in his glorious work, the 'Canterbury Tales,' appoints his deputy to continue the course shaped out. The same hypothesis explains why, in that time of incessant turmoil and change, he, a man of action as well as reflection, might be dismissed from his office without any material injury to the work, and why his successor should so coolly follow his example by naming his deputy almost immediately after his own appointment. Chaucer, we may add, resided within the Palace precincts, in a house that stood in the garden of St. Mary's Chapel, on the very spot now occupied by Henry VII.'s Chapel. His duties as clerk of the works very probably first led him to this house, which he afterwards leased for a long term, and there, it is presumed, he died. To the reputation of the illustrious scholar, ambassador, patriot, and poet, there should seem no need to endeavour thus to add that of the artist-architect, but the grandly built and "all sided" minds of some of these older worthies could not appreciate that

modern view of human nature, which demands mere poets in literature any more than mere heads of pin-makers in political economy, and it is pleasant to dwell upon the fruits of their faith.

A third fire occurring in 1512, was a very successful imitation of the second; again was immense damage done; again was the King (Henry VIII.) driven to York Place. And there he stayed. From that time ceased the history of the Old Palace as a place of regal residence. The Great Hall, with the courts of law and some of the offices, were restored, but as to the rest, the act of parliament, annexing York Place to the King's Palace at Westminster for ever, speaks very plainly. It was then, and had for a long time been, "in utter ruin and decay." It is not necessary, and would be far from interesting, to trace, step by step, the process of restoration from that period to the fire, as the different parts were found to be required for the accommodation of Parliament and the Courts of Law; we therefore conclude with a few notices of a more important character relating to the latter.

We need hardly say that the Courts of Law were originally considered in fact, as well as in name, the King's Courts, in which he personally presided; the *Bench* was his seat,—and which courts, even at first, moved about with him as he moved. The inconvenience of this arrangement seems to have caused their permanent settlement at his chief residence, the Palace of Westminster. So early as 1069, we find a law court here, in which Elfric, Abbot of Peterborough, was tried before the King. The Courts of Chancery and King's Bench sat till within the last twenty years or so in the Hall, whilst those of the Common Pleas and the Exchequer were accommodated in the old apartments of the Palace, ranged along the side of the Hall. These, with numerous others, were all swept away to make room for the new courts, erected by Sir John Soane, 1820-1825, in which all the courts are to be now found. Having already given one amusing story in connection with the legal reminiscences of Westminster, we add another of a different character, and of higher interest. Our readers will remember the admirable scene in Shakspeare's Second Part of Henry IV., between Henry V., immediately after his father's death, and the Chief Justice, who had once committed Henry to prison for striking him on the judgment seat; the incident to which this scene refers stands not alone, the Placita Roll of the 34th of Edward I. furnishing incidentally an interesting parallel:—"Roger de Hexham complained to the King that whereas he was the justice appointed to determine a dispute between Mary, the wife of William de Brewes, plaintiff, and William de Brewes, defendant, respecting a sum of 800 marks which she claimed from him, and that having decided in favour of the former, the said William, immediately after judgment was pronounced, contemptuously approached the bar, and asked the said Roger, in gross and upbraiding language, if he would defend that judgment; and he afterwards insulted him in bitter and taunting terms, as he was going through the Exchequer Chamber to the King, saying to him, Roger, Roger, thou hast now obtained thy will of that thou hast so long desired." William de Brewes, when arraigned before the King and his council for this offence, acknowledged his guilt, "and because," continues the record, "such contempt and disrespect, as well towards the King's ministers as towards the King himself or his court, are very odious to the King, *as of late expressly appeared when his Majesty*

expelled from his household, for nearly half a year, his dearly-beloved son, Edward, Prince of Wales, on account of certain improper words which he had addressed to one of his ministers, and suffered him not to enter his presence until he had rendered satisfaction to the said officer for his offence; it was decreed by the King and council that the aforesaid William should proceed, unattired, bare-headed, and holding a torch in his hand, from the King's Bench in Westminster Hall, during full court, to the Exchequer, and there ask pardon from the aforesaid Roger, and make an apology for his trespass." And after that he was committed to the Tower during pleasure. The terrible Star Chamber may be here fittingly noticed as—what in effect it was—an irregular appendage to the Courts of Law, whose rules it contemned or overruled as it pleased. A time there was in England when even the King's courts could not satisfy the desires of the King, thirsting for arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of his subjects. The building that was pulled down within the present century was of the date of Elizabeth; erected then, it should seem, with a kind of prophetic knowledge that there was a great increase of business coming, for from the close of her reign down to what might be almost called the close of that of Charles I. in 1641, the Star Chamber became the peculiar dread and abhorrence of the people. We owe the Commonwealth some gratitude for putting down that frightful nuisance, whatever we may think of its other deeds. No doubt the Chamber of Elizabeth (the building shown below) was erected on the site of the older one. The name has been explained in various ways. Star Chamber, according to Sir Thomas Smith's conjecture, "either because it was full of windows, or because at the first all the roof thereof was decked with images or stars gilded;" or, according to Blackstone's, from its being a place of deposit for the contracts of the Jews "called starra or starrs, from the Hebrew shetar."



[The Star Chamber, Westminster Palace.]



[Westminster Hall, with the ancient surrounding buildings restored.]

CXXXIV.—WESTMINSTER HALL AND THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

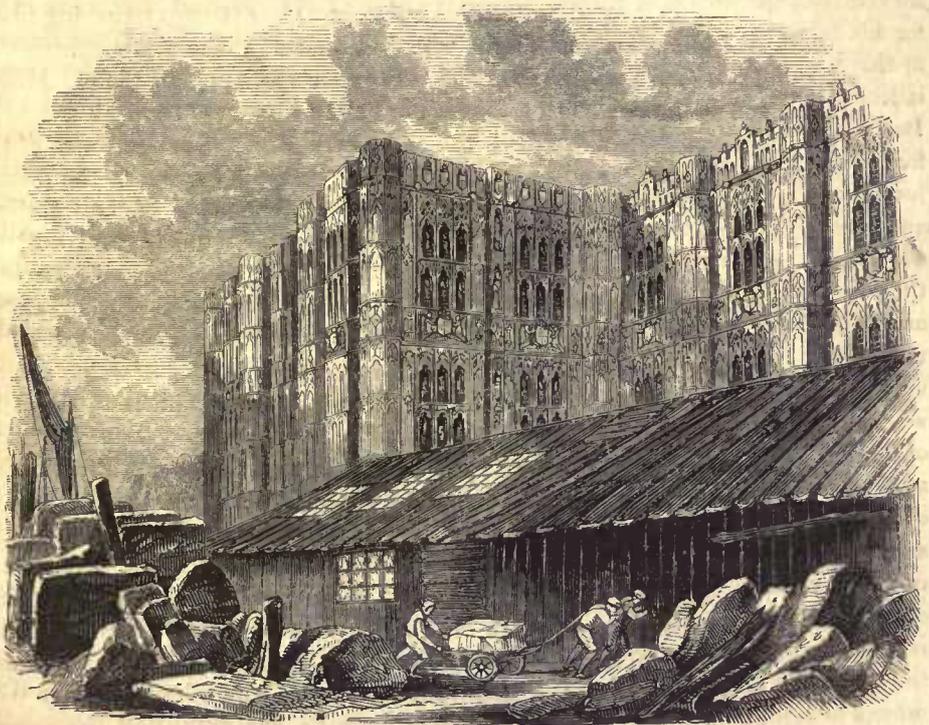
ONE need not desire a more striking illustration of the recently altered state of public feeling and knowledge on the subject of our great national edifices than is furnished by the contrast between Buckingham Palace and the new Houses of Parliament; all that, in grandeur and characteristic expression, the first—as we have endeavoured to point out in a previous number—is not, but ought to have been, it is now tolerably certain the second will be. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say, that if the works now in progress are carried on in the spirit with which they have been commenced, we shall not simply possess a structure that may bear comparison with any foreign structures of the same era, but that will at once take English architecture out of the shadow of its own greatness, by rivalling the glorious productions of our forefathers, the builders of the wonderful abbeys and cathedrals. And as with architecture, so with painting and with sculpture: the artists of England will long have reason to remember the rebuilding of these houses; centuries hence their historians will refer to it as the most momentous event in the records of English art: “Then it was,” we may imagine them saying, “the impulse was given that has gone on steadily increasing in power down to the present time, when English art are words of scarcely less potent meaning than English poetry, through the civilized world.” Not the least surprising, and, when rightly examined, possibly not the least gratifying feature of the change to which we have referred, is the mode in which it has been brought about, in so short a time. The change is the work of no enlightened but des-

potic sovereign, who may create a temporary taste in accordance with his own—to die, most likely, when he dies, unless his exertions have been attended by peculiarly favourable conjunctions of circumstances; it is the work of no very great artist—who may not only also produce tastes favourable to his art but make them permanent into the bargain—for we have of late had no such man; nor of any body of artists combining together for the purpose, as the Academy once proposed to do in connection with St. Paul's; it is not even the work—though they may lay claim to a noticeable portion of it—of critical writers in the press and enlightened men of taste in the world: it seems rather the result of a variety of agencies working, at first, apparently unconnected with each other, but suddenly brought into conjunction by the unexpected demand for a national edifice of the very highest character. Modern public buildings, for instance, have long been, as a whole, a subject of dissatisfaction with the best judges; and no wonder, when we consider the jobbing, the ignorance, and the presumption that has so often disgraced those who have had the choice of the architect and, in a great degree, the direction of his labours; wonderfully, therefore, was the architectural atmosphere purified by the introduction of the system of open competition, and the subsequent appearance, through its instrumentality, of such a plan as that by Mr. Barry. The decorations of our buildings were little better, when they had any; and where they had not, the effect of the naked and chilling-looking walls, roofs and windows, was felt, even before men generally were aware of the cause; whilst, to those who were familiar, either personally or by descriptions, with the recent structures of Munich, such walls became barer and chillier than ever; and there only needed the successful experiment of the Temple Church to satisfy all parties that in going back to the glow of colour and gilding we were not going back, as it would have been thought twenty years ago, to barbarism. But naked walls did not suggest these feelings only. The absence of the loftiest school of painting has also been a continual subject of regret with those who have meditated upon the importance of the pictorial instruction of a nation in the history of the events that have mainly contributed to make it what it is; and of something more than regret with the ambitious and able artist, thus debarred from the highest powers and triumphs of his profession. But how was such a school to be established? One of Britain's greatest historical painters—Barry—would have starved but for his extraordinary powers of self-denial; and since then wealthy patrons have remained as indifferent as ever, or have lived in houses too small for the admission of pictures on the usual historical scale. There was but one hope of a solution of the problem—namely, that in satisfying the general and growing thirst for information which characterised the time, artistical knowledge and tastes might be diffused among the people themselves, and thus lead, directly or indirectly, to the artistical adornment of our public buildings. Our Penny Magazines and other cheap publications have solved that problem; in familiarising, through the medium of engravings, their hundreds of thousands of readers with the productions of the greatest masters. The rest was and is easy with a Minister personally distinguished for his enlightened and liberal patronage of art; and who, not only as a minister, but as a member of the Commission appointed by her Majesty to inquire whether advantage might not be taken of the rebuilding of the Houses, for the encouragement of the Fine Arts, now

carries the same qualifications into the service of the country. It is to this Commission we owe the interesting scene lately presented in the Hall—the exhibition of the Cartoons; which has in itself proved that the materials are ready for a great advance, namely, artists capable of showing the way; a public not merely ready, but eager, to follow.

Numerous as are the divisions of the new houses, owing to the great number of apartments required for committee-rooms, offices, and for the residences of the several officers of the Houses, from the Speaker of the Commons downwards, the whole is characterised by a grand and harmonious simplicity of arrangement. We may thus briefly describe the plan. The chief entrance will be through Westminster Hall, forming, we should imagine, the noblest vestibule in the world. From thence, the visitor, ascending the flight of stairs at its extremity, turning to the left, and then ascending a second flight, will find himself at the commencement of St. Stephen's Hall (built on the site of St. Stephen's Chapel, or the old House of Commons, and its lobby), with a long vista before him, first through the Hall itself, ninety feet long, then through the octagon hall, the grand centre of the pile, sixty feet in diameter, and so on through the corridor beyond to the distant waiting-hall connected with the entrance from the opposite side of the building, in the middle of the river front. The breadth of St. Stephen's Hall will be thirty feet, its height the same as the octagon hall, fifty feet. As the latter is reached, the whole of the main features of the plan will become at once apparent. From hence branch off to the left in one continuous range, the Commons' corridor, then the lobby, then the House itself; and, to the right, in still grander succession, the corridor, lobby, and House of the Peers; beyond which, in the same line, lies the Victoria Gallery, one hundred and thirty feet long, forty-five wide, and fifty high, in close connection with the Royal entrance, beneath the Victoria Tower, a work which does as much honour to the architect's courage for having proposed it, as it will do to his skill when he shall have completed it. One can hardly tell how to believe it, and yet it is certainly true, that a tower, larger than the largest of our cathedral towers, is in course of erection during this the nineteenth century. The manner in which the corridors, open courts, libraries, offices, and residences of the officers of the Houses, are grouped around the more important portions of the edifice, is admirable for its combination of utility with beauty of arrangement. We may note how happily are connected the guard-rooms and Queen's robing-room, and the immense Royal Court, with the Victoria Tower and Gallery; the Speaker's residence at the north-east angle, with the House over whose sittings he presides; the different committee-rooms, and the libraries with the Houses to which they respectively belong; and the Conference Hall, with both, commanding—as the place for a meeting of the two estates should—the noblest position that the magnificent river front can furnish, namely, the spot over the entrance gateway in the centre of the façade. The dimensions of the two Houses are as follows:—The Peers 93 feet long, 45 wide, and 50 high; the Commons 83 feet long, 46 wide, and 50 high. The height, therefore, of all the chief portions of the interior is the same. The ceiling, in both Houses, as well as in the Victoria Gallery, Conference Hall, and other apartments of the Palace generally, will be flat, the only exceptions being St. Stephen's Hall, and the octagon hall, where the roofs will be groined in stone.

We should have been glad to have furnished our readers with a view of the exterior, either as it is in its unfinished state, or as it is to be according to the designs of its author; but the objections, we understand (and we must own very naturally), are so decided against the first course as liable to convey inadequate ideas of the whole; and against the second, from the alterations that in the course of the works are constantly being made in matters of detail; that we deem ourselves at once obliged and fortunate in being able to give a sketch even of a small portion of the river front, that may serve simply to indicate the sumptuous character of the architectural and sculpturesque decorations. The whole of this front, with its wings, is now fast approaching to completion; and it may here be



[Sketch of the Decorations of the unfinished South Wing of the New Houses of Parliament.]

remarked, as a proof of the uselessness of copying the original designs, and presenting them as engravings of the building, which we still see from time to time done, that elegant turrets have been substituted for the buttresses originally proposed; that the niches with statues, a most important feature, have been added, and that generally the whole surface has been most surprisingly enriched. Every square yard of it is now a study. The statues, both on the east and on the west fronts (forming the ends of the pile, as we might call them from the length of the latter), represent the same series of monarchs, that is from the Heptarchy to the Conquest; a repetition, we own, of which we do not see the peculiar beauty. Of the statues themselves it is impossible to speak too highly. The arms, coronets, and names in black letter fashion, all in high relief, of every four monarchs (the number comprised in each bay, two above and two below), are grouped together

into a most rich-looking piece of workmanship, forming the chief ornament of the broad band of decoration that divides the two chief stories. The smaller statues of the river front comprise all the sovereigns from the Conquest down to Her present Majesty, whose reign will be signalised by the erection of the structure. It was an odd coincidence that the number of places for the statues should be exactly that of the number of statues required to complete the series. Of the two towers, the only portions yet visible are the cluster of arches that are to bear the clock tower, and the massive and most elaborately designed piers of the other, with the crown conspicuously sculptured on each side of the two that will form the entrance. The state of the interior demands no particular mention, as the walls have scarcely yet reached the height of the principal floor, on which are the apartments and halls to which we have referred. It may here be observed that the architect proposes an extension of the original site marked out for his labours, which from its importance in enhancing the effect of the exterior of the pile, and the uses to which the additional space obtained may be turned, is likely enough to be acceded to either at present or at some future time. Mr. Barry observes,* “ It has ever been considered by me a great defect in my design for the New Houses of Parliament, that it does not comprise a front of sufficient length towards the Abbey, particularly as the building will, perhaps, be better and more generally seen on that side than upon any other. This was impossible, owing to the broken outline of the site with which I had to deal. I propose, therefore, that an addition should be made to the building, for the purpose of enclosing New Palace Yard, and thus of obtaining the desired front. This addition would be in accordance with the plan of the ancient Palace of Westminster, in which the Hall was formerly placed in a quadrangle [as shown in our view, where the old buildings, the clock tower, &c., are restored], where, in consequence of its low level, it must have been seen and approached, as it would ever be under such circumstances, to the best advantage. The proposed addition would, in my opinion, be of considerable importance as regards the increased accommodation and convenience that it would afford, in addition to what is already provided for in the new building, as hitherto proposed. It has long been a subject of serious complaint and reproach, that the present law courts are most inconveniently restricted in their arrangements and accommodation. If it should be determined to retain the Courts at Westminster, the proposed addition would admit of the means of removing the cause of complaint; it would also afford accommodation for places of refreshment for the public, for which no provision has been made in the new building; also for Royal Commissions, and other occasional purposes required by government, and now hired, most inconveniently, in various parts of the town, at a considerable amount of rental, or for such of the government offices as may, without inconvenience, be detached from the rest; such as, for instance, the Office of Woods, or for a Record Office, and chambers or residences of public officers. It will also afford the opportunity of making an imposing principal entrance to the entire edifice, at the angle of Bridge Street and St. Margaret’s Street; a feature which is at present required, and which would add considerably, not only to the effect of the building, but also to its security in times of public commotion.” In continuation, Mr. Barry points out the necessity

* In his Report to the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, recently published in their Second Report.

of bringing Westminster Bridge more into accordance with the New Houses as respects elevation, outline, and character, and which is scarcely less necessary as regards the first for the Houses, than for the convenience of the public itself, the steep ascent of the bridge being both dangerous and inconvenient.* He also urges the necessity of embanking the river on the south side, at all events, if it cannot be accomplished on the north also. "Having maturely considered the subject," he observes, "I think it would be practicable to obtain a public road of ample width upon arches, from the termini of the South Eastern and Dover and the Brighton Railroads, at the foot of London Bridge, to the terminus of the South Western Railway, at Vauxhall." And how imperatively such a road is needed for health, and for the making the Thames appear as so noble a river should, when surrounded by all the wealth and splendour and luxuries which it has done so much to create, we need not urge here: of course, the architect, whilst weighing these advantages, naturally feels anxious for so commanding a point of view of his structure as that part of the embankment directly opposite would form. As it is only fair that the south side should present something in return for the glorious view to be there enjoyed, Mr. Barry proposes that the arches be of considerable height, so as not to interfere with the waterside frontages of the wharfs, and of sufficient depth to allow of the erection of handsome masses of buildings for residence, along the bank. We have not yet exhausted the architect's views of the improvement which it is desirable should accompany the erection of the Houses. He evidently warms with his subject. "Old Palace Yard is proposed to be considerably increased in size by the demolition of the houses which now occupy that site, as well as the houses on both sides of Abingdon Street, by which means a fine area for the convenience of state processions, and the carriages of peers and others attending the House of Lords, as well as a spacious landing-place adjoining the river, would be obtained. The Victoria Tower, as well as the south and west fronts of the building, would thus be displayed to the best advantage. The Chapter House would be laid open to public view, and if restored, would form a striking feature in conjunction with the Abbey; and a considerable extent of new building frontage that would be obtained by this alteration might be occupied with houses of importance, in a style of architecture in harmony with the Abbey and new Houses of Parliament, by which a grand and imposing effect, as a whole, would be produced. As one means of improving the approaches, it is proposed that the noble width of street at Whitehall should be extended southwards by the removal of the houses between Parliament Street and King Street, by which the Abbey would be wholly exposed to view as far as Whitehall Chapel. The houses on the north side of King Street should be removed for the purpose of substituting houses or public buildings, if required, of an imposing style of architecture. Millbank Street is proposed to be widened and improved, in order to make it a convenient and effective approach from Millbank Road to the Victoria Tower and Old Palace Yard. Tothill Street is also proposed to be widened and improved, in order that it may be made an equally convenient and striking approach to the Abbey, the Houses of Parliament, and

* Professor Hosking, the able lecturer on architecture, at King's College, was amongst the first to suggest such an alteration of Westminster Bridge as should make it at once convenient, and in harmony with the great building near it.

Whitehall, from the west end of the town. St. Margaret's Church, if suffered to remain in its present position, should be improved in its external decorations, in order that it may not disgrace, as it now does, the noble pile of the Abbey which rises above it." The magnificence and far-sightedness of view apparent through all these arrangements need no comment nor illustration, unless it be to say, that if the architect's views should be carried out, it will be a question whether the works within or the works without the new palace will redound most to his honour; he will be, in a word, realising an approach to the almost sublime architectural views of Rufus when he built the famous hall, which Matthew Paris thus refers to, in a very interesting passage, not often transcribed: "In the same year," observes the old chronicler, "King William, on returning from Normandy into England, held, for the first time, his court in the New Hall at Westminster. Having entered to inspect it, with a large military retinue, some persons remarked that 'it was too large,' and 'larger than it should have been;' the King replied that 'it was not half so large as it should have been, and that it was only a *bed-chamber* in comparison with the building which he intended to make.'" Pretty well this, in relation to the largest hall in Europe unsupported by pillars! "*Panting Art*" would, we fear, however, in any age, "toil after" such a monarch "in vain;" and Mr. Barry will not succeed in making Westminster Hall shrink in comparison to the dimensions of a bed-chamber; sufficient will it be, if all around us, before we enter, and all we find beyond after passing through it, be on such a scale as to make the Hall appear but of natural dimensions: that will be a triumph that may satisfy any reasonable ambition.

We now approach the great subject of decoration. Mr. Barry, it appears, proposes that all the plain surfaces of the walls, that is the parts not concealed by the paintings or the sculpture, be covered with suitable architectonic decoration, or diapered enrichment in colour, occasionally heightened with gold, and blended with armorial bearings, badges, cognizances, and other heraldic insignia, emblazoned in their proper colours. The groined roofs of St. Stephen's Hall and the Octagon Hall to be similarly decorated, with, occasionally, works of art so interwoven with the diapered ground as not to disturb the architectural effect. The flat ceilings to be formed into compartments by moulded ribs, and enriched with carved heraldic and Tudor decorations, relieved by positive colours and gilding, with occasional gold ground, also diapered, and further enriched with legends and coloured heraldic devices. The screens, pillars, corbels, niches, window-dressings—and in parts also the door-jambs and fire-places, which are proposed to be of highly-polished British marbles—to be all decorated in the same gorgeous style. The floors to be formed of encaustic tiles, similarly enriched in colours and heraldic emblazonry, and laid, in combination with British marbles, in margins and compartments. The steps of the several staircases to be of solid marble. Lastly, the walls, to the height of eight or ten feet, to be lined with oak-framing, containing shields with armorial bearings, emblazoned in their proper colours, with an oak seat in all cases running along the front of and attached to the framing; the windows to be doubly glazed, to temper the light and prevent the direct rays of the sun from interfering with the due effect of the splendour within—the outer glazing consisting of plain ground glass, the inner of stained glass, richly blazoned with arms and other heraldic insignia, on a

diapered warm yellowish ground, the whole set in an ornamental design in metal. Such are the proposed minor decorations of the new Houses; the greater ones will be those which the arts, in the loftiest sense of the word, shall spread over every wall, or range—as in sculpture—through every avenue. And here we must acknowledge there seems to us a great deal of room for improvement in the proposed plans of decoration; perhaps because there has not been sufficient opportunity for fairly maturing them. In order the better to explain our meaning, it will be only necessary to notice the proposals for the four most important of those parts of the building which alone admit of extensive artistical operations, namely, the Victoria Gallery, the Central Hall, St. Stephen's Hall, and Westminster Hall. The gallery will admit, it appears, of sixteen paintings, each about twelve feet long by ten high, for which the chief subjects proposed are the most remarkable royal pageants of British history. Statues of Her present Majesty may fill each of the central niches at the ends of the hall, whilst the other niches, with the pedestals between the pictures, may receive statues of Her Majesty's ancestors. The statues to be of bronze, either partially or entirely gilt. The Central Hall cannot, from its form and divisions, receive any paintings, but may be extensively decorated with sculpture; as, in the centre, of a statue of Her Majesty, upon a rich pedestal of British marble, highly polished, and relieved in parts by gold and colour; whilst the statues in the niches of the walls and screens may represent, in chronological order, Her Majesty's ancestors, from the Heptarchy. In front of the eight clustered pillars in the angles of the hall, seated statues of some of the great lawgivers of antiquity. The paintings of St. Stephen's Hall it is proposed to make commemorative of great domestic events in British history, whilst the statues may represent celebrated statesmen, past, present, and future. In addition to these works, the upper portion of the hall will contain thirty niches, which may be filled with the statues of the eminent men of the naval, military, and civil services of the country. Lastly, Westminster Hall, with its spaces on the walls for some twenty-eight pictures, of the largest dimensions, its twenty-six statues on pedestals between them, and its proposed avenue through the central space, of additional statues, twenty in number, is devoted in the plan to the representation, in the first case, of the most splendid warlike achievements of English history, both by sea and land; in the second, to the commemoration of naval and military commanders; and in the third, to the similar commemoration of present and future statesmen whose services may be considered by Parliament to merit such a tribute to their memories. The dormer windows in the matchless timber roof are at the same time to be enlarged, in order that, while showing the latter to better advantage, sufficient light may be obtained for the due effect of the works of art. As to the idea of making the hall a depository, as in former times, of the trophies obtained in wars with foreign nations, we would humbly suggest that the times are past for such displays, which can answer no other purpose than that of fostering the evil passions and prejudices which are the true basis of war; and as there seems to be a mistake with regard to the fact alleged, the hall having never been so used before the reign of Anne, the worst possible time for obtaining precedents in matters of taste, we do hope we shall hear no more of tattered flags or rust-eaten weapons. Art may give us battle-fields, but then it will assuredly, if it be art, raise us into

a loftier region than the mere scene represents; the flag is a memento of the struggle, the bloodshed, the victory—nothing more. The one, if it does descend from the calm and serene regions that it best loves, will do so to raise us up; the other can have no effect in these solemn halls of legislature but to lower the tone of thought and feeling when elevated to its highest pitch by the combined influences of architecture, painting, and sculpture in their loftiest developments.

The chief objections we would venture to urge to these proposals for the arrangement of the paintings and the sculpture, are as follows:—First, there seems to be no one grand and harmonious idea pervading the whole, of which the different parts of the structure shall be each, to a certain point, a development; and secondly, the plan, as it is, would seem to imply that ours, whilst a very fair, respectable old country on the whole, and especially remarkable for sovereigns and heraldry, had yet very little history to boast of, or at least, very few great men, which is coming to the same thing, as they make history. How else are the striking repetitions to be accounted for? Two series of kings before the Conquest, and one since, on the exterior; then the same thing again, in part, at least, in the Victoria Gallery, and yet again in the Central Hall; then, as to statues of Her Majesty—one on the exterior, two in the Victoria Gallery, one in the middle of the Central Hall. As to the minor decorations, heraldic arms and insignia will meet us everywhere—floor, walls, roofs, windows; surely, it would give even greater effect to the decorations of this kind that are chosen (a meaning being attached to every one of them that shall be worthy the pausing to find out), if they were fewer; whilst it would be in every sense better if the subjects or works of art “so interwoven with the diapered ground as not to disturb the harmony or the effect of the architectonic decorations, or interfere with the elementary features of the architectural composition,” should come upon us more than “occasionally” among these minor decorations. Or how, again, but on the hypothesis suggested, are we to account for the truly magnificent Victoria Gallery being devoted chiefly to mere royal pageants? But, thirdly, there is even a positive confusion of arrangement of the subjects: to say nothing of the statues of the lawgivers of antiquity, sitting in close juxta-position with such monarchs as Edward II. and Henry VIII., the inevitable result of the series system, we are to find in Westminster Hall, along the walls, pictures of naval and military achievements, with statues of naval and military men; very well: is not the Hall large enough, but that the niches in St. Stephen’s must be again devoted to them, with a sprinkling of eminent civilians? On the other hand, has not St. Stephen’s ample accommodation for all our “celebrated statesmen—past, present, and future,” but that a double line of offshoots must press into the Hall of Rufus? If not, we can only say they must come very thick and fast in the said future, before the whole forty-two niches will be occupied.

It would be presumption in us, thus lightly scanning the subject, to attempt to answer the question of what ought to be done. But every suggestion that can be thrown out at the present time may, if not useful in itself, be the humble means of developing others that are; and in consequence, we venture to submit a few remarks. It appears, then, to the writer, that our first object in such an inquiry should be to discover some principle, inherent in the building itself or in its associations, that shall afford, when looked at in a large spirit, ample scope for

illustrations, to be characterised throughout by their local fitness and universal interest, by variety, and yet to be at the same time all so many harmonious manifestations of that one principle. With public buildings it can seldom be difficult to find such a principle. Their history—when they have history—in which, of course, their uses are included, would be one; or their uses only, when they had not. Apply this to the Houses of Parliament, and what a field is at once opened. *Their* history is *too* rich for the artist to hope to escape some uneasiness and anxiety as to the selection. Then, as to the local fitness, what, we may ask, would be the effect of making every hall and gallery and apartment tell their own story—that story, at the same time, being one that England will never be tired of listening to? But is it practicable? A very moderate degree of diligence in the study of the history of the two Houses would, we think, show that it is. At all events, we can answer decidedly for the principal portions of the structure. Do we want pictures, for instance, for the Speaker's apartments? Here is but one of many waiting for the touch that shall describe them in more glowing language than the pen can command. The walls of the old House of Commons are dimly visible in the back ground; the place is filled with the members in the highest state of excitement; Charles, the King, is in the front demanding the five who have offended him; the Speaker, the chief figure, is on his knees, with a mingled look of firmness and respect, uttering his memorable words, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in that place, but as the House was pleased to direct him, whose servant he was there, and humbly begging pardon that he could give no other answer. With such pictures, and with portraits (and statues, if required) of such men, would we adorn the Speaker's apartments. St. Stephen's Hall, as we have before had occasion to mention, occupies the exact site of the old House of Commons—now, as the new houses present no opportunity for the commemoration of the great events which have signalised the local history of the Lords and Commons, what better alternative than to take the Hall for that purpose? The right wall we would appropriate to the history of the Lords' House, the left to that of the Commons, as suggesting and harmonising with their respective positions. And, passing from thence, where our thoughts might rest undisturbed upon such memorials, what could be finer than the bustle, the reality, the life of the very thing itself memorialised, the contrast of what was with what is? It were idle to speak of individual subjects here. No reader but will at once be able to recall many and mighty ones to his mind. Of course, they would be arranged chronologically. Between the pictures, and everywhere corresponding with them in point of time, if not even still more intimately, statues of all the more eminent members of the Houses in past times would find their suitable home: orators, statesmen, patriots, philanthropists, philosophers; their order, and the known design of the place resolving the different elements of so goodly a company into perfect harmony. As the Octagon Hall lies midway between the Houses, ideas connected with the Crown which the estates on either side may be said to support, should determine the subjects for the chief statues, but ideas connected with it entirely in its public capacity, and as more immediately relating to the business of the legislature; in short, we would have here the monarchs who have distinguished themselves by their enlightened views and acts—legislative, governmental, legal, constitutional, commercial. Conspicuous, here, should be seen Alfred. In the

stern features of Edward I. we would here forget the ravager of Scotland and Wales in remembering the services of the English Justinian. The smaller statues in the niches might be happily filled with the servants of the Crown and of the people, who have by their labours in the council, the closet, or, on the bench, made memorable their names in connection with the same subjects. And, as your chief legal reformers in the middle ages were the mailed barons, the statues of the men of Runnymede should not be absent. There remain, now, the two grand approaches; the one for royalty through the gallery, the one for the people through the old hall. They should, in consequence, without descending to repetition, present a kind of fine uniformity of tone and feeling; both should prepare the mind generally for the better examination and study and enjoyment of all that relates to the essential business of the Houses, which, according to the suggestions thus hastily made, would be more and more evident to the eye, as we approached nearer and nearer; both also should have reference to those for whose instruction art pours forth its hoarded treasures of thought and feeling, of beauty, grandeur, and sublimity. Let, then, the Victoria Gallery be a royal gallery, let the Hall be the people's. Let the first be devoted to a grand chronological series of statues, as proposed by the architect, of all the sovereigns of England, whilst the paintings, between and above, shall represent the great or noble events in which the sovereigns of England have been personally, as it were, engaged (especially choosing subjects, where practicable, that mark excellence and nobility of personal character), and where nothing truly worthy of commemoration of this kind presents itself, then of the greatest events which signalised the reign. How many fine "morals" would not such a principle of choice and arrangement "point" to the most cursory observer? It may be observed in passing, that mere personal histories or incidents relating to our monarchs would find suitable place in the robing-room; and battle-subjects, naval and military, would be happily placed in the adjoining guard-room. Such might be the approach of royalty. Westminster Hall demands more careful consideration, if it be only that its own history and associations are too high and important to be at once thrown overboard, even for the development of a good principle. Fortunately, there is no need. That history furnishes, with something like chronological regularity, a series of events from the very earliest time, bound up with its own walls and roofs (and never may they be disunited), most of which are at the same time among the events of general history which artists are constantly selecting for their pencils on account of their universal interest. Were it only for the sake of the fine old hall, these, from the size of the pictures representing them, should predominate, and form, indeed, a something as closely appertaining to the hall, as its roof or its floor. But something still would be required. Here is the hall, with its glorious past history written on the walls; but the history is not complete; what is the hall now?—The people's approach to the imperial legislature: then let the remainder of the paintings tell that part of the history too. As the Victoria Gallery has honoured, wherever circumstances would permit, the sovereign, let the hall honour all that history has shown to be peculiarly deserving of honour in the people. This, like all the other parts of our subject, is a vast and almost unexplored field; but the principle indicated would, we think, guide in safety through it. One particular illustration we must mention; we would include

illustrious individual examples of the virtues that adorn the citizen, or that endear and elevate the social life. The statues round the walls should be but additional manifestations of the two principles of arrangement—the history of the hall and the history of the people. What remains? The central space is yet unfilled. We scarcely mention the words before we fear we are anticipated in the idea of the use to which we would devote it. Legislation, law, government, can doubtless influence, to some degree, the characters and happiness of the people, but are themselves too much a mere reflex of the people to do so to any very material extent; who are then the men who do mould and temper, soften and elevate, and so prepare the way for an advance in the only possible mode of advance, that is, by general mental and moral improvement? Who, but the great poets, and philosophers, the men of science, art, and literature? Here, then, midway, as it were, between the outer world and the powers which rule it, is their place: could we desire a nobler or more fitting connection between the two?

And now, quitting the subject of decoration, with a rapid notice of the history of the Hall we must conclude. It was built by Rufus in all probability for the express use to which it was for a considerable period afterwards chiefly devoted, that of a grand banqueting hall for royalty, on occasions of high festivals, as holydays and coronations; for which last purpose it has only ceased to be used in our own time. In our account of Westminster, we have had occasion to speak generally on the subject of the coronations of our kings, and the ensuing feasts; we shall only therefore now add an interesting incident from Holinshed, relating to a coronation, not long after the erection of the hall. Henry II., having obtained the assent of a General Assembly of his subjects, met together at Windsor, caused his son Henry to be crowned in his own life-time, and when the feast took place in the great hall, a striking scene was presented. The old king himself, “upon that day, served his son at the table as sewer, bringing up the boar’s head, with trumpets before it, according to the manner. Whereupon, according to the old adage

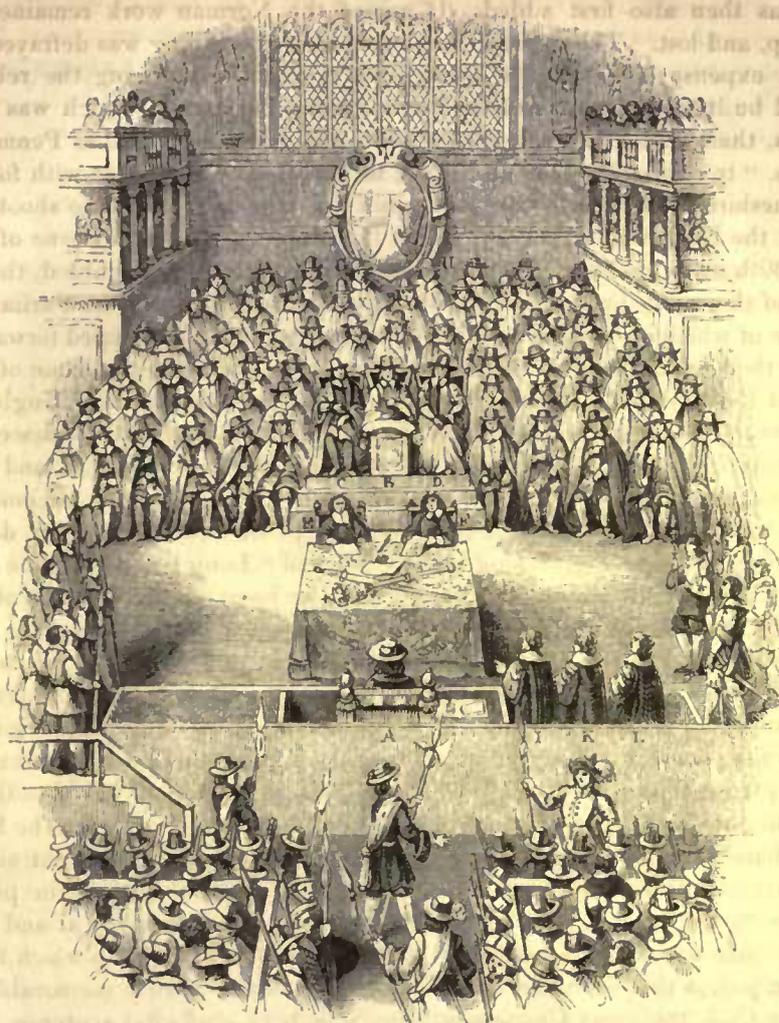
‘Immutant mores homines cum dantur honores,’—

the young man, conceiving a pride in his heart, beheld the standers-by with a more stately countenance than he had wont; the Archbishop of York, who sat by him, marking his behaviour, turned unto him, and said, ‘Be glad, my good son, there is not another prince in the world that hath such a sewer at his table;’ to this the new king answered, as it were disdainfully, thus: ‘Why dost thou marvel at that? my father, in doing it, thinketh it not more than becometh him; he, being born of princely blood only on the mother’s side, serveth me that am a king born, having both a king to my father and a queen to my mother!’” So ingenious a youth could be at no loss under any circumstances to find reasons for what it pleased him to do. It is a pity we have not an equally accurate record of his notions as to the fitness of his subsequent and repeated appearance in arms against his parent. Hospitality was a marked feature of the old English character, and no where did it appear on such a magnificent scale as in Westminster Hall, when royalty was the bounteous host. Henry III. seems to have especially distinguished himself for his liberality. On the day of St. Edward (January 5th, 1241-2), whom he held, it seems, in especial honour, he feasted sumptuously an innumerable multitude, among whom were the citizens of London, tempted hither

by the extraordinary invitation of a royal edict which subjected them to a penalty of one hundred shillings if they stayed away. The disturbed political aspect of the time was the cause, we presume, of the very un-citizen-like reluctance here indicated. At another feast given by Henry, on account of the marriage of his brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, thirty thousand dishes were prepared for the dinner. But the best of these feasts were the ones given by Henry to the poor; he is said to have had not only this but the little hall before mentioned, filled with them, year after year, on the day of his saint. Another use to which the hall was turned, and very naturally, on account of its size and imposing magnificence, was that of holding in it public assemblies of a very extraordinary kind, and subsequently of Parliaments, which sat here before the division into two Houses, and where the Lords still continued to meet after. In 1253, the Hall was the scene of an awful exhibition. The king we have just referred to had so often broken every promise made to his parliament of observing the charters, that when, in that year, he wanted money from it, he could obtain his wishes only on the condition of a fresh and most solemn confirmation of the public liberties. So on the 3rd of May, he met, in the Hall, the barons, prelates, and abbots, the latter in full canonicals, and bearing each a lighted taper. One was also offered to the king, who refused it, saying he was no priest. The Archbishop of Canterbury then publicly denounced excommunication against all who should infringe the charters; and amongst part of the terrific ceremonies which took place, the prelates and abbots threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, as the lights disappeared in smoke, "May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and be extinguished in hell!" The king, acknowledging the application of the whole proceeding, subjoined, "So help me God! I will keep these charters inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed." The ceremony over, Henry speedily resorted to his old habits; the scene in the Hall became but a faded dream. Turn we now to a public event of a more agreeable nature. After the famous entry of the French King and the Black Prince into London, the procession passed on to Westminster, where Edward III. sat on his throne in the Hall to receive his august prisoner. One can hardly avoid something like a sentiment of affection towards the memory of both father and son for their whole conduct in this business, however little else in their characters there may be to inspire such sentiments in any but warlike spirits. As John entered the Hall, Edward descended from his seat, embraced him, and led him with the greatest possible respect to the banquet prepared. For some time the French King remained a guest in the Palace, but subsequently the Savoy was prepared for him. There, as Polydore Vergil informs us, he was frequently visited by Edward, his queen, his son, and other members of the royal family, who strove by various means to soothe his sorrow. Failing in their indirect endeavours, Edward and the Prince begged him to lay aside his melancholy and derive consolation from cheerful thoughts. The unhappy monarch answered in the words of the Psalmist, and with a mournful smile, "How shall we sing in a strange land?" The reign of Richard II. was in every way a noticeable one for the Hall. It was then rebuilt essentially as we now see it, and the wonderful roof thrown across. The northern

front was then also first added. If any of the Norman work remained it was cased up, and lost. The expense attending this rebuilding was defrayed, as the original expense had been, by a tax upon foreigners. During the rebuilding, Richard built a temporary wooden house for the Parliament, which was open on all sides, that constituents might see what was going on; and, as Pennant slyly remarks, "to secure freedom of debate, he surrounded the house with four thousand Cheshire archers, with bows bent, and arrows notched ready to shoot." This was but the beginning of the end which the Hall was to be the scene of; it was on the 30th of September, 1399, that the Parliament being assembled, the renunciation of the crown by Richard II. was read and accepted by the Parliament, at the close of which an anxious and deeply-interested observer stepped forward, and, making the sign of the cross upon his breast, said aloud, "In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown, with all the members and appurtenances, as that I am descended by right line of the blood, coming from the good lord King Henry III.; and through the right that God, of his grace, hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance, and undoing of good laws." Cries of "Long live Henry the Fourth" no doubt greeted the claim. In Richard III. we have another claimer of thrones out of the usual order of succession, and on the same spot. An amusing instance of his duplicity, or perhaps it may be called of his policy, for had matters gone well with him we should probably have found he had something better in him than cunning to make a governor, is preserved in Holinshed. Having assumed the crown, he made an open proclamation that he put out of his mind all enmities, and did pardon thus openly all offences committed against him. "And to the intent that he might show a proof thereof, he commanded that one Fog, whom he had long deadly hated, should be brought there before him, who being brought out of the Sanctuary (for thither he had fled in fear of him), in the sight of the people he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people rejoiced at and praised, but wise men took it for a vanity."* The last important use to which the Hall has been put, is that of State Trials, of which it boasts a truly memorable series. Here, in 1535, the great Chancellor More was tried, and after sentence, and two or three attempts to speak, which were prevented by his judges, electrified them by his boldness in saying that what he had hitherto concealed, he would now openly declare, that the oath of supremacy (in not taking which his guilt in the king's eyes consisted) was utterly unlawful. As he moved from the bar, his son rushed through the hall, fell on his knees and besought his blessing. Three years later Henry himself presided at a trial, that of Lambert for heresy; the scene is represented in our engraving. With Lady Jane Grey's relatives, the Duke of Norfolk, Strafford, and Charles I., continues the long list. A view of the Hall, during this last-named tremendous event, is here given. Then we have, beyond Charles's time, the trial and acquittal (rare occurrences here were acquittals, and implying, when they did happen, the worst of political crimes, according to some writers—namely, a most serious blunder) of the Seven Bishops in James the Second's time; the trials of Balmerino and his gallant companions,

* Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 397. Transcribed from Britton and Brayley.



TRIAL OF CHARLES I. From a Print in Nalson's Report of the Trial, 1684.

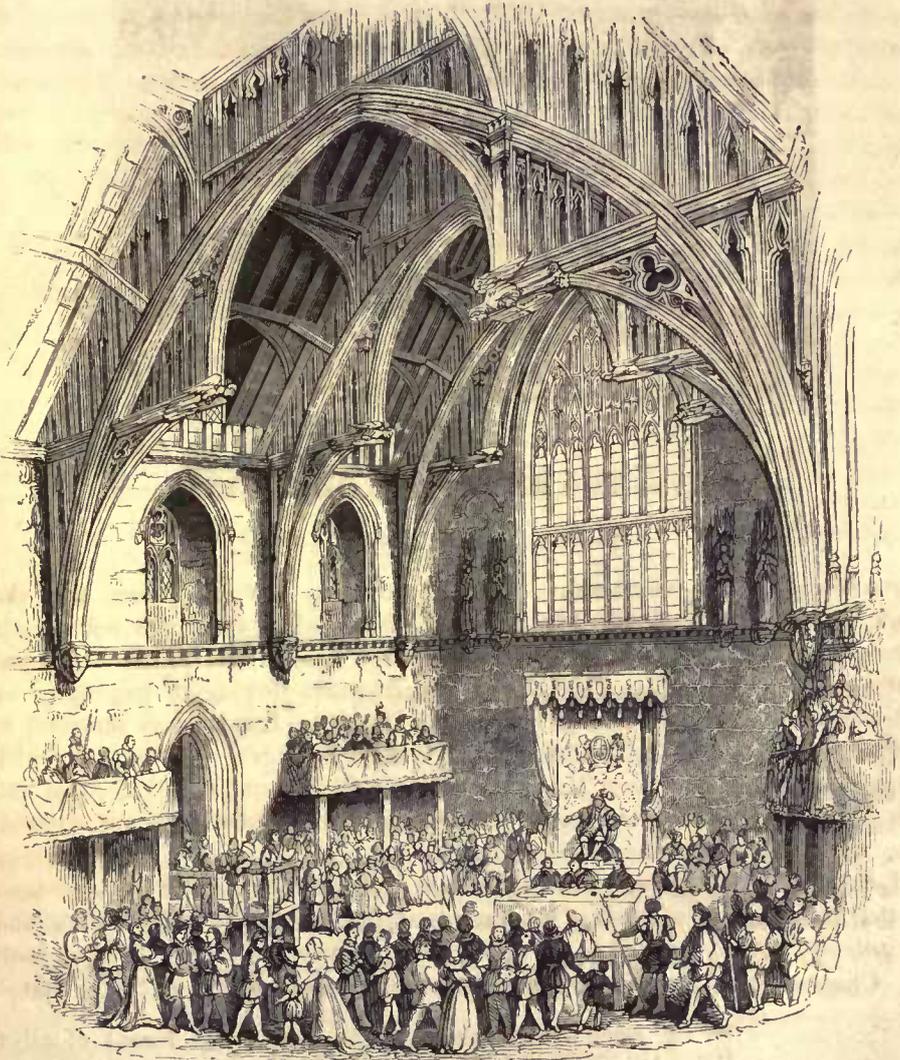
- A. The King.
- B. The Lord President Bradshaw.
- C. John Lisle, } Bradshaw's Assistants.
- D. William Say, }
- E. Andrew Broughton, } Clerks of the Court.
- F. John Phelps, }

- G. Oliver Cromwell, } The Arms of the Commonwealth
- H. Henry Marten, } over them.
- I. Coke, } Counsellors for the Commonwealth.
- K. Dorislaus, }
- L. Aske, }

The description of the original plate ends with these words:—"The pageant of this mock tribunal is thus represented to your view by an eye and ear witness of what he saw and heard there."

for their support of the same James's descendants; and, most recent of all the very important trials, that of Warren Hastings in 1778. Of the building we may add that it was new-fronted and largely repaired during the reign of George IV., and that within the last few years extensive reparations of the stone-work of the interior have been carried on. It is now, we believe, considered to be in as fine a state of preservation in all essential respects, as the admirers of a building so trebly rich in its age, architecture, and history, could desire. Many different

accounts have been given of the dimensions of the Hall, and, in consequence, we hardly know what authority to trust to; Mr. Barry's, we presume, must be from actual admeasurement; and the result is 239 feet long, 68 feet wide, and 90 feet high. This is considerably less than Pennant's, namely, 270 feet long by 74 feet broad; he, however, may have included the depth of the walls.



[Interior of Westminster Hall, as seen during the Trial of Lambert, before Henry VIII.]



[The Lord Mayor's Show, 1750, after Hogarth.]

CXXXV.—THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

A LOVE of sight-seeing was a characteristic feature in our forefathers, and the remark made by Trinculo, in 'The Tempest,' that "when they will not give a doit to a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian," was a most truthful saying. This feeling generated the frequent display of pageantry on public occasions; more particularly when the Mayor of London was installed in his office—an event anciently commemorated with a degree of pomp of which spectators of a modern "Lord Mayor's Show" can form but little conception, and which was intimately associated with the office in the eyes of the ancient citizens. These *Ridings*, as they were termed, occurred so often also on the public entries into London of our kings or their consorts, or of foreign potentates and ambassadors, that they became matters of constant expectation with the gayer classes, and were ardently looked forward to by the City apprentices, as an excuse for a holiday. Chaucer, speaking of the gay apprentice, "Perkin Revelour," says that—

— "when there any riding was in Chepe
 Out of the shoppe thider wold he lepe,
 And till that he had all the sight yseen
 And danced well, he would not come agen."

The origin of these *Ridings* may be traced to the early part of the thirteenth century; for when King John, in the year 1215, first granted a Mayor to the City of London, it was stipulated that he should be presented, for approval, either to the King or his justice. From this originated the procession to Westminster, where the King's palace was situated; and as the judges also sat there, it was necessary

for the citizens in either instance to repair thither, which they did annually, on horseback. A water procession, however, came into vogue earlier than is generally imagined; the accounts of the Grocers' Company for the year 1436 contain items of expenditure for "hiring of barges"* for such water processions nineteen years before the date of their supposed introduction by Sir John Nörmán, who is lauded by the City Laureate, Middleton, in his Pageant for 1621, called the "Sun in Aries," as "the first Lord Mayor that was rowed to Westminster, with silver oars, at his own cost and charges." The Thames watermen, who found the alteration of most essential service to them, gratefully recorded their sense of it in a ballad, the only two existing lines of which are the often-quoted—

"Row thy boat, Norman;
Row to thy Leman."

Although the old chroniclers have left us a pretty complete series of descriptions of royal entertainments, and processions through the City,† we meet with nothing that will inform us of what the Lord Mayor's own pageantry consisted, as exhibited in his honour, on the day of his entrance upon the duties of his office, until the year 1533, when the unfortunate Anne Boleyn came from Greenwich to Westminster, on the day of her coronation; the Mayor and citizens having been invited by Henry to fetch Anne from Greenwich to the Tower, and "to see the Citie ordered and garnished with pageauntes in places accustomed, for the honour of her Grace." Accordingly "there was a common counsail called, and commandment was given to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Mayor, Sir Stephen Peacock, then was), that they should prepare a barge for the Bachelors, with a wafter and a foyst ‡ garnished with banners and streamers, *likewise as they use to do when the Mayor is presented at Westminster, on the morrow after Simon and Jude.* § Also all other crafts were commanded to prepare barges and to garnish them, not only with their accustomed banners and bannerets, but also to deck them with targets by the side of the barges, and to set up all such seemly banners and bannerets as they had in their halls, or could get, meet to furnish their barges, and each barge to have minstrelsy." Here, then, we are furnished with a good idea of the annual civic procession by water to Westminster, in the description given by Hall, of the barges of the Mayor and company. "First,

* The City companies continued to hire barges for state occasions two centuries after this period. The Grocers hired the last in 1636, when it was thought to be beneath the dignity of the company to appear in a barge which was not their own, and accordingly the Wardens and some of the assistants were empowered to contract for the construction of "a fair and large barge for the use of this Company; and that they should take care for the provision of a house and place for the safe-keeping of the said barge."

† The earliest of these shows on record is the one described by Matthew Paris as taking place in 1236, on occasion of the passage of King Henry III. and Eleanor of Provence through the City to Westminster. They were received by the Mayor, Aldermen, and three hundred and sixty of the principal citizens, apparelled in robes of embroidered silk, and riding on horseback, each of them carrying in their hands a gold or silver cup, in token of the privilege claimed by the city, for the Mayor to officiate as chief butler at the king's coronation. Stow relates that upon the return of Edward I. from his victory over the Scots in 1298, "every citizen, according to their several trades, made their several show, but especially the Fishmongers, who, in a solemn procession, passed through the City, having, amongst other pageants and shows, four sturgeous gilt, carried on four horses, then four salmons of silver on four horses, and after them six and forty armed knights riding on horses made like luces of the sea, and then one representing St. Magnus (because it was St. Magnus's day), with a thousand horsemen," &c.

‡ A barge or pinnace propelled by rowers.

§ The 29th of October, the regular Lord Mayor's day, until the alteration of the style in 1752.

before the Mayor's barge was a foist or wafter full of ordnance, in which was a great dragon continually moving and casting wild fire, and rounde about stood terrible monsters and wild men casting fire and making hideous noises;" this vessel served to clear the way for the Mayor's barge, which "was garnished with many goodly banners and streamers, and richly covered; in which barge were shalmes, shagbushes, and divers other instruments, which continually made goodly harmony. Next, after the Mayor followed his fellowship the Haberdashers, next after them the Mercers, then the Grocers, and so every company in his order; and last of all, the Mayors' and Sheriffs' officers, every company having melody in his barge by himself, and goodly garnished with banners, and some garnished with silk and some with arras and rich carpets; and in that order they rowed downward to Greenwich towne, and there cast anchor, making great melody."

Among the pageants exhibited upon land on the day of the Lord Mayor's "inauguration," one was generally introduced, if possible, in punning allusion to the name of the Mayor. The earliest on record, of this kind, is described by Lydgate, in his account of the reception of Henry V. by the citizens of London, on his victorious return from Agincourt, in 1415, and which far surpassed in splendour that of any of his predecessors. John Wells, of the Grocers' Company, was Mayor, and three *wells* running with wine were exhibited at the conduit in Cheapside, attended by three virgins to personate Mercy, Grace, and Pity, who gave of the wine to all comers; these wells were surrounded with trees laden with oranges, almonds, lemons, dates, &c. in allusion to his trade as a grocer. In the same way Peele's Pageant of 1591, "*Descensus Astreæ*," which was written for the mayoralty of William Web, contained a similar allusion; for "in the hinder part of the pageant did sit a child, representing Nature, holding in her hand a distaff, and *spinning a web*, which passeth through the hand of Fortune, and is wheeled up by Time." In 1616, when Sir John Leman was Mayor, "*a lemon-tree* in full and ample form, richly laden with the fruit it beareth," was exhibited; and to give it due importance, its fabulous virtues were enforced by the five senses, who were seated around it, "because this tree is an admirable preserver of the senses in man; restoring, comforting, and relieving any the least decay in them."

The earliest notices of pageants exhibited on Lord Mayor's day, hitherto discovered, are the entries from the Drapers' books, quoted by Herbert, in his 'History of the Livery Companies,' where an entry for 13*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* occurs for Sir Laurence Aylmer's pageant, in 1510; and in 1540, the Pageant of the Assumption, which had figured in the annual show, at the setting of the Midsummer watch in 1521-2, appears to have been borne before the Mayor, from the Tower to Guildhall. When Sir William Draper was Mayor, in 1566-7, a pageant was exhibited in which six boys were placed, who sang and pronounced speeches; in the procession appeared forty-six bachelors in gowns furred with foins,* and crimson satin hoods; twenty-eight whiffers, to clear the way; forty-eight men bearing wax torches an ell in length, and the same number armed with javelins.

* Foins bachelors and budge bachelors are frequently mentioned in all old accounts of civic pageantry; they obtained their names from the furs with which their gowns were trimmed. Foins is the skin of the martin; budge is lamb-skin with the wool dressed outwards.

Two "wodemen" or savages carried clubs and hurled squibs, to clear the way for the procession. They were constant precursors of pageants in the olden time, and are frequently alluded to by the old dramatists and authors of popular literature; and as late as 1686 "twenty savages or green-men walked with squibs and fire-works to sweep the streets and keep off the crowd," before the principal pageant. The representation here given of these wild-men with their clubs, and green-men hurling their fire-works, are derived from Bate's 'Book of Fireworks' (1635), and other contemporary sources.



William Smyth, "citizen and haberdasher, of London," penned, for the benefit of posterity, in the year 1555, 'A breffe Description of the Royall Citie of London,' in which the best detailed account of the mayoralty-shows during the reign of the Virgin Queen, is to be met with. The water procession consisted of the Mayor's barge, wherein he sat with all the Aldermen, near which "goeth a shyppbote, of the Queen's Majestie's, being trymmed up, and rigged like a shippe of war, with dyvers peeces of ordinance, standards, pennons, and targets of the proper armes of the sayd Mayor, the armes of the Cittie, of this Company," &c. before which goes the barge of his own Company, with the bachelors' barge, "and so all the Companies in London, in order, every one havinge their own proper barge, garnished with the armes of their Company." On their return from Westminster they land at Paul's Wharf, when the Mayor and Aldermen "take their horses, and in great pompe passe through the greate street of the Citie, called Cheapside." The procession is opened by "certain men appparelled like devils, and wyld men with squibs." Then come standards, emblazoned with the armes of the City, and the Mayor, drummers, fifers, and about "seventy or eighty poore men marchinge two and two together, in blewe gownes, with redd sleeves, and capps, every one bearing a pike and a targett, whereon is paynted the armes of all them that have been Mayor, of the same Company that this new Mayor is of." These are followed by other banner-banners, musicians and whifflers; "then the Pageant of Tryumph, rychly decked; whereuppon, by certayne figures and wrytinges (partly touchyng the name of the sayd Mayor), some matter touching justice and the office of a magistrate, is represented." Then come trumpeters, "and certayne

whiffers, in velvet cotes and chaynes of golde, with white staves in their hands," to clear the way; followed by the Batchelors of the Mayor's Company, and "the waytes of the Citie in blewe gownes, redd sleeves and cappes, every one having his silver collar about his neck." Afterwards come the Livery, and the great officers of the City, followed by the Lord Mayor, attended by his sword and mace bearer, with whom rides the old Mayor. Behind them come the Aldermen, two and two together, the procession being closed by the two Sheriffs.

The Whiffers, who played so important a part in the Show, were young freemen, who marched at the head of their proper companies, to clear the way.* Douce says, in his 'Illustrations to Shakspeare,' "that the name is derived from *whistle*, a fife or small flute, the performers on which usually preceded armies or processions, and hence the name was ultimately applied to any one who went before a procession." Among the Collection of Prints and Title-pages formed by John Bagford, and now placed in the British Museum, are two very curious ones, which are here copied. They bear date, 1635, and represent a Whiffler, with his "staff and chain," and the Lord Mayor's Hench-boy, as decorated for attendance, with



[Whiffler and Hench-boy.]

a gold chain and a staff, having a bunch of flowers at top, secured by a lace handkerchief tied in a knot round the stems, and flowing below. These Pages to the Mayor derived their name, says Blackstone, from following the *haunch* of their masters, and thence being called *haunch-boys* or *hench-boys*. The reader will remember the quarrel between Oberon and Titania, in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' concerning the "little changeling boy" the King of Fairies wished to make "his henchman."

* The Whiffers have long since passed away from the Mayoralty processions of London and have given place to the New Police. They existed in Norwich until the passing of the Municipal Reform Act in 1832, which, "at one fell swoop," abolished them, and the usual procession on Guild-days. There were four in number who held the office, which had continued in the family of one Whiffler (William Dewing) for more than two centuries; mention is made in Kemp's "Nine Daies' Wonder" of their being employed when he danced into Norwich in 1599. That very ancient favourite of the people, a dragon, was also exhibited on the same occasion; he was known as "Snap," from the movement of his jaws, which opened and shut continually as his head moved round to the amusement of children, who threw half-pence in his mouth.

The earliest Pageant of which we possess a printed description was composed by George Peele, the dramatist, for Sir Woolstone Dixie, in 1585. It consisted of a group of children who personated London, Magnanimity, Loyalty, the Country, the Thames, the Soldier, the Sailor, Science, and four Nymphs, who each addressed the Mayor in a short speech, the pageant being fully descanted on by "one that rid on a luzern" or lynx, who concluded his explanatory speech with an exhortation to the Mayor to keep the City carefully—

"This lovely lady, rich and beautiful,
The jewel wherewithal your sovereign queen
Hath put your honour lovingly in trust,
That you may add to London's dignity,
And London's dignity may add to yours."

It was not uncommon to introduce allusions to passing events and circumstances, or even to religious opinions, in these annual Shows; thus, in Peele's Pageant for 1591, entitled "Descensus," *Astreæ* is intended for Queen Elizabeth, who attends with her flock at the Fountain of Truth, beside which sits a friar, named Superstition, who exclaims to Ignorance, a priest by his side—

"Stir, Priest, and with thy beads poison this spring;
I tell thee all is baneful that I bring."

who answers—

"It is in vain: her eye keeps me in awe
Whose heart is purely fixed on the law,
The holy law; and bootless we contend,
While this chaste nymph this fountain doth defend."

During the reign of James I. the display of pageantry on Lord Mayor's Day considerably increased, both on land and water, for it was not uncommon to place sea-chariots, with Neptune and other characters in them, upon the Thames, to address the Mayor before going to Westminster. Middleton's Pageant, 'The Triumphs of Truth,' 1613, describes "five islands, artfully garnished with all manner of Indian fruit-trees, drugges, spicerics and the like; the middle island having a faire castle, especially beautified," the whole intended as an emblem of the Grocers' Company (of which body the Mayor was a member), their East Indian trade, and recently-erected forts there. These islands, upon his return, figure in the Show by land, being placed on wheels, and having one of the five senses (personated by children), seated on each of them. The other pageants exhibited on this occasion, and the various impersonations displayed, had all some reference to morality and good government. Thus the first character who attends at Baynard's Castle to receive the Mayor, on his return from Westminster, is Truth's attendant Angel, accompanied by his champion, Zeal, who conduct him to Paul's Chain, where they are met by Envy and Error in a triumphant chariot, who propose to the Mayor, to—

"Join together both in state and triumph
And down with beggarly and friendless Virtue
That hath so long impoverish'd this fair city."

They are, however, put to flight for a time by Truth, who approaches in her chariot, and conducts the Mayor to "London's Triumphant Mount"—the great feature of the day's Show. It is veiled by a fog or mist, cast over it by Error's

disciples—Barbarism, Ignorance, Impudence and Falsehood, four monsters with clubs, who sit at each corner. At the command of Truth “the mists vanish and give way; the cloud suddenly rises and changes into a bright spreading canopy, stuck thick with stars, and beams of gold shooting forth round about it.” In the midst sits London attended by Religion, Liberality, Perfect Love, Knowledge and Modesty; while at the back sit Chastity, Fame, Simplicity and Meekness. After a speech from London “the whole Triumph moves in richest glory towards the Cross, in Cheap,” where Error again causes his mist to enshroud it, which is again removed by Truth, a manœuvre of the machinist which is frequently repeated during the passage to Guildhall, and back to the service at St. Paul’s; where it was always customary for the Mayor to attend after dinner, going in full procession with all the pageants; and when service was over, he retired to his own house, where farewell speeches were addressed to him, in this instance, by London and Truth; Zeal, at the command of the latter, finishing the day’s Show by shooting a flame at the chariot of Error, which sets it on fire, and all the beasts that are joined to it.

Anthony Munday’s Pamphlet for 1615, “Metropolis Coronata—the Triumphs of Ancient Drapery,” in honour of Sir John Jolles, of the Drapers’ Company, describes two pageants on the Thames: Jason and Medea, in “a goodly Argoe, rowed by divers comely eunuchs,” and bearing the Golden Fleece; the second being a sea-chariot containing Neptune and Thamesis, together with Fitz-Alwin, the first Lord Mayor, attended by eight “royall virtues,” each one bearing the arms of some famous member of the Drapers’ Company. The first Show by land being “a faire and beautifull ship, stiled by the Lord Mayor’s name and called Joell,” filled with sailors, and attended by Neptune and the Thames. This is followed by a Ram or “Golden Fleece,” the Drapers’ crest, “having on each side a housewifely virgin sitting seriously employed in carding and spinning wool for cloth.” Then comes “the Chariot of Man’s Life, displaying the World as a Globe running on wheels, emblematic of the seven ages of man’s Life; it is drawn by two lions and two sea-horses, and is guided by Time, as coachman to the life of man. The principal pageant follows: London and her twelve daughters—the twelve Companies, “four goodly mounts” being raised as protections around them, which are—“Learned Religion, Militarie Discipline, Navigation and Home-bred Husbandrie.” Robin Hood, Friar Tuck, and his merry men all, conclude the display with a jovial song in praise of their lives; which is very characteristic of Anthony Munday, who was a favourite ballad writer of the day. The easy flow of the verses here selected bespeak a hand well practised in this species of composition:—

“No man may compare with Robin Hood,
With Robin Hood, Seathlocke, and John;
Their like was never, nor never will be,
If in case that they were gone.

They will not away from merry Sherwood,
In any place else to dwell;
For there is neither city nor towne
That likes them half so well.”

From this it will be seen that the pageants in general were so constructed as

allegorically to allude to the Mayor or his Company; to London, as the seat of commerce, and to the riches procured by that means; to the duties of good government and wise magistracy, and were varied occasionally by the introduction of popular characters, such as that of Robin Hood and his attendants, in this year's Show.

Munday's Pageant for the following year was entitled "Chrysalancia, the Golden Fishing, or Honor of Fishmongers, applauding the advancement of Mr. John Leman," alderman, a member of that Company, who were at the expense of the pageantry then displayed; which was constructed as much as possible in their honour. Thus the first show was "a very goodly and beautiful fishing busse,* called the Fishmongers' Esperanza, or Hope of London," in which "fishermen were seriously at labour, drawing up their nets laden with living fish, and bestowing them bountifully upon the people." This pageant was followed by a crowned dolphin, in allusion to the Mayor's arms and those of the Company; and "because it is a fish inclined much by nature to music, Arion, a famous musician and poet, rideth on his back." The King of the Moors follows "gallantly mounted on a golden leopard, he hurling gold and silver every way about him;" he is attended by six tributary kings on horseback in gilt armour, carrying each one a dart, and ingots of gold and silver, in honour of the Fishmongers' combined brethren the worthy Company of Goldsmiths. They are followed by the punning pageant on the Mayor's name, "a lemon-tree in full and ample form," which has before been alluded to.

The next device is a bower, adorned with the names and arms of all the members of the Fishmongers' Company who have been Lord Mayors. Upon a tomb within it lies the body of Sir William Walworth, who was a member of the Company, and of whose membership the Company were always proud.† It is attended by five mounted knights, six trumpeters, and twenty-four halberdiers, "with watchet silke coats, having the Fishmongers' Arms on the breast, Sir William Walworth's on the backe, and the Cittie's on the left arme, white hats and feathers, and goodly halbards in their hands;" London's Genius, a crowned angel with golden wings, sits mounted by the bower, with an officer-at-arms bearing the rebel's head on Walworth's dagger. Upon the Lord Mayor's arrival the Genius strikes Walworth with his wand, who comes off the tomb and addresses the Mayor and attendants, declaring that the sight of them

" Mooves tears of joy, and bids me call
God's benison light upon you all."

The last grand pageant, "memorizing London's great day of deliverance, and the Fishmongers' fame for ever," in the death of Wat Tyler, is drawn by two mermen; and two mermaids, the supporters of the Company's arms. At the top sits a victorious angel, King Richard the Second being seated on a throne beneath, surrounded by impersonations of royal and kingly virtues.

* *Busse*, signifying a fishing-boat, is a word of German origin.

† Walworth and Wat Tyler were generally exhibited whenever a Mayor was elected from this body. As late as 1700, when Sir Thomas Abney was chosen, the 'Postboy' for October 31 tells us:—"On this occasion there was in Cheapside five fine pageants, and a person rode before the cavalcade in armour, with a dagger in his hand, representing Sir William Walworth, the head of the rebel Wat Tyler being carried on a pole before him. This was the more remarkable, by reason that story has not been before represented these forty years, none of the Fishmongers' Company happening to be Lord Mayor since."

The Fishmongers' Company are in possession of a very curious drawing of this day's pageantry, which has been fully described in Herbert's "History of the twelve great livery Companies of London," vol. i., p. 209, and which agrees pretty exactly with the above description; from the inscriptions upon this drawing it appears that the pageants remained "for an ornament in Fishmongers' Hall, except that in which Richard the Second figured, and which was too large for that purpose;" a note above the drawing says, "therefore thenceforth if the house will have a pageant to beautify their hall, they must appoint fewer children therein, and more beautify and set forth the same in workmanship." The children here alluded to personated the virtues, and other emblematical characters in the pageants, and were all gorgeously apparelled.

The incongruities occasionally displayed, which, in good truth, were as unlike "angels' visits, few and far between," as possible, were amusingly satirized by Shirley, in his 'Contention for Honour and Riches,' 1633, by Clod, a countryman, who exclaims, "I am plain Clod; I care not a bean-stalk for the best *what lack you* * on you all—no, not the next day after Simon and Jude, when you go a-feasting to Westminster, with your galley-foists and your pot-guns, to the very terror of the paper whales; when you land in shoals, and make the understanders in Cheapside wonder to see ships swim upon men's shoulders; when the fencers flourish and make the King's liege people fall down and worship the devil and St. Dunstan; † when your whifflers are hanged in chains, and Hercules' club spits fire about the pageants, though the poor children catch cold, that show like painted cloth, and are only kept alive with sugar plums; with whom, when the word is given, you march to Guildhall, with every man his spoon in his pocket, where you look upon the giants and feed like Saracens, till you have no stomach to Paul's in the afternoon. I have seen your processions and heard your lions and camels make speeches instead of grace before and after dinner. I have heard songs, too, or something like 'em; but the porters have had the burden, who were kept sober at the City charge two days before, to keep time and tune with their feet; for, brag what you will of your charge, all your pomp lies upon their back." ‡

From 1639 to 1655 no pageants were exhibited; the unhappy civil wars of England broke out, and the City became one of the strongholds of Puritanism.

* The constant cry of the shopkeepers to their passing customers, and which was sneeringly applied to the citizens. In 1628, Alexander Gill was brought before the Council for saying, among other things, that the king was only fit to stand in a shop and cry, *What do you lack?*

† This was the patron saint of the Goldsmiths' Company; and when any of that body happened to be Mayor, he was displayed seated in the laboratory in full pontificals, and the old legend of his seizing the devil by the nose with red-hot tongs, when the arch-enemy came to tempt him while he was working as a goldsmith, was re-enacted to the life for the amusement of the spectators. In the pageant for 1687 he talks remarkably large, and promises his patronage to the company with boundless liberality, while the Cham of Tartary and the Grand Sultan crouch at his feet as he exclaims—

"Of the proud Cham I scorn to be afeard;

I'll take the angry Sultan by the beard.

Nay, should the Devil intrude among your foes—"

At which words the father of all evil rushes in, in no good humour, and loudly asks,

"What then?"

To which the holy father responds—

"Snap—thus I have him by the nose!"

which he at once seizes *sans ceremonie*.

‡ An allusion to the custom of hiring porters to carry the pageants.

Isaac Pennington, who was Mayor in 1643, rendered himself eminently conspicuous by "the godly thorough reformation" he practised in the City. At his orders Cheapside Cross was demolished, and St. Paul's desecrated: a wit of the day sticking a bill to this effect upon the door:—

" This house is to be let,
It is both wide and fair;
If you would know the price of it,
Pray ask of Mr. Mayor."*

During the mayoralty of Sir John Dethick, in 1655, the first restoration of pageantry took place; for on the day of his inauguration he exhibited the usual realization of the arms of the Mercers' Company, of which he was a member—the crowned Virgin, who rode in the procession with much state and solemnity. The number of pageants yearly exhibited continued gradually to increase until 1660, the year of the Restoration of Charles II., when the Royal Oak was exhibited as the principal feature of the day's display, and gave title to Tatham's descriptive pamphlet; after which period they gradually increased the splendour and importance of the Shows, which contained many allusions to the blessings of the Restoration and the *virtues* of Charles II., in contradistinction to the days of Oliver. Thus, in the Pageant for 1661, Justice inveighs against—

" The horrid and abominable crimes
Of the late dissolute licentious times" —

and in proportion as Charles increased in open libertinism and unmasked tyranny, just in the same degree do the City laureates ascend in the scale of praise, until, in 1682, at a time when the breach between Charles and the citizens was daily widening, the Charter of the City was suspended, and the pliant creatures of his own party only allowed office as Mayor, the walls of Guildhall echoed to a song in which his Majesty was described as a person—

" In whom all the graces are jointly combined
Whom God as a pattern has set to mankind."

From 1664 to 1671, the great fire † and the plague also, hindered the ordinary exhibition of pageantry, which generally consisted of two or three pageants on the water, one of which was, generally, Neptune and Amphitrite, the Thames and attendants, or the Story of the Voyage for the Golden Fleece, which pageants were brought to land, and swelled the procession to Guildhall. There is a curious series of wood-cuts, by Jeghers of Antwerp, representing the pageants there exhibited on great state occasions, by the various guilds, and which may have given our citizens a few ideas for their own: one of them is precisely similar to the Triumph of Neptune, as exhibited in London, bearing the same name, and agreeing in all points with the description published by the City poets; it is here copied, and is curious inasmuch as it exhibits the mode adopted for hiding the machinery and movers of the pageant, and for obviating as much as possible

* After the Restoration, Pennington was tried with twenty-eight others as regicides, was convicted of high treason, and died during his confinement in the Tower of London.

† This calamity was the excuse for omitting the usual religious observances of the day. Jordan, in his Pageant for 1672, tells us that the Mayor was now always conducted home from the hall "without that troublesome night-ceremony which hath been formerly, when St. Paul's church was standing."



[The Triumph of Neptune.]

the absurdity of water Triumphs swimming through the streets, by covering the lower portion down to the ground with cloths painted to represent water, and fishes swimming therein, having two windows in front for the men withinside to direct its motions, amid the crowd.

It would be impossible in the space we have at disposal to give but a mere mention of all the various pageants exhibited until their final discontinuance in 1702. Many displayed considerable invention and mechanical ingenuity, which involved great expenditure; thus the Pageant for 1617 cost more than 800*l.*, but they continued to diminish in cost; in 1685, 473*l.* was the outlay. Each company generally contributed its trade pageant on the mayoralty of a member; thus the Goldsmiths exhibited a laboratory with their patron, Saint Dunstan, who gratified the mob by seizing the Devil by the nose with his tongs the moment he answered the Saint's challenge to appear at his peril. The Drapers gave the Shepherds and Shepherdesses with their lambs; carolling in praise of country life, and dancing beneath the greenwood; while the Grocers generally exhibited a King of the Moors, an island of Spices, and mounted Blacks, who liberally distributed foreign fruit from panniers at their side to the crowding spectators.* In the Pageant for 1672, two great Giants, each 15 feet high, were "drawn by horses in two several chariots, moving, talking, and taking tobacco as they ride along."

The pageant produced for Sir William Hooker, of the Grocers' Company, in the year 1673, was concocted by Thomas Jordan, the most facetious of city poets,

* Among the expenses of the Pageant for 1617 we find, "Payed for 50 sugar-loaves, 36 lbs. of nutmegs, 24 lbs. of dates, and 114 lbs. of ginger, which were thrown about the streets by those which sat on the griffins and camells—5*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*

who had formerly been an actor at the Red Bull Theatre. In the first pageant appeared a negro boy, "beautifully black," as he declares him to have been, who was seated on a camel, between two silver panniers, strewing fruits among the people as before. In the car behind sat Pallas, Astrea, Prudence, Fortitude, Law, Piety, Government, &c. : Pallas exclaiming,

"How can a good design be brought about
In mask or show if Pallas be left out?
Which makes me in my chariot of state
Present my love to London's magistrate,
And that Society of which he 's free,
The King-bless'd loyal Grocers' Company." *

The next pageant is drawn by two griffins, led by negroes, bearing banners of the city and company, and carrying Union and Courage at each corner. Behind is the God of Riches, with "Madam Pecunia, a lady of great splendour," Reputation, Security, Confidence, Vigilance, and Wit; Riches declaring himself and the rest to be fully at the mayor's service. A droll of Moors is next exhibited, working in a garden of spices, with musicians to lighten their labours with melody not too refined for any ears, as it consists of "three pipers, which together with the tongs, key, frying-pan, gridiron, and salt-box make very melodious music, which the worse it is performed, the better is accepted." Pomona from the midst declares that she has

"——— come to see
The celebration, and adore the state
Of Charles the Great, the Good, the Fortunate,
Who from the royal fountain of his power
Gives life and strength to London's governour." †

A jovial song was composed in praise of the King and Queen who were present on this occasion, and dined in Guildhall, in company with the Dukes of York and Monmouth, Prince Rupert, the ambassadors and nobility; the first and last verses of the song ran as follows:

"Joy in the gates,
And peace in the States,
Of this City which so debonair is;
Let the King's health go round,
The Queen's and the Duke's health be crown'd,
With my Lord and the Lady Mayoress.

"Divisions are base,
And of Lucifer's race;
Civil wars from the bottom of hell come;
Before ye doth stand
The plenty of the land,
And my Lord Mayor doth bid ye welcome."

The concluding chorus to the entertainment being

"This land and this town have no cause to despair;
No nation can tell us how happy we are,

* The Grocers' Company numbered some kings among their members.

† Charles II. visited the City on the two previous Lord Mayor's days, witnessing the pageants in Cheapside, and dining afterwards at Guildhall. He continued to visit the future Mayors for the four following years.

When each person's fixt in his judicial chair,
 At Whitehall the King, and at Guildhall the Mayor ;
 Then let all joy and honour preserve with renown
 The City, the Country, the Court, and the Crown."

But perhaps as quaint and curious imaginings were exhibited on the mayoralty of Sir Francis Chaplin, of the Cloth-workers' Company, in 1677, as in any of their Shows. They were also invented by Thomas Jordan, who produced, on this occasion, a "Chariot of Fame," a "Mount of Parnassus," with Apollo and the Muses, attired as shepherds and shepherdesses in honour of the Company, and "the Temple of Fame," within which stood that venerable character, attended by six persons, representing a Minute, an Hour, a Day, a Week, a Month, and a Year; thus habited, viz:—

"A Minute, a small person in a skie-coloured robe, painted all over with minute-glasses of gold, a fair hair, and on it a coronet, the points tipped with bubbles; bearing a banner of the Virgin.*

"Next to her sitteth an Hour, a person of larger dimensions, in a sand-coloured robe, painted with clocks, watches, and bells; a golden mantle, a brown hair, a coronet of dyals, with a large sun-dyal in front, over her brow; in one hand a golden bell, in the other a banner of the golden ram.†

"A Day, in a robe of aurora-colour; on it a skie-coloured mantle, fringed with gold and silver, a long curled black hair, with a coronet of one half silver, the other black (intimating Day and Night); in one hand a shield azure, charged with a golden cock, and in the other a banner of the Cities.

"Next unto her sitteth a virgin, for the personating of a Week, in a robe of seven metals and colours, viz. or, argent, gules, azure, sable, vert, and purple; a silver mantle, a dark brown hair, on which is a golden coronet of seven points, on the tops of which are seven round plates of silver, bearing these seven characters, written in black, viz. : ☉ ☽ ☿ ♃ ♀ ♁, which signifie the planets and the dayes; in one hand she beareth a clock, in the other a banner of the companies.

"Next to her sitteth a lady of a larger size, representing a Month (of May), in a green prunello silk robe, embroidered with various flowers, and on it a silver mantle fringed with gold, a bright flaxen hair, a chaplet of May-flowers, a cornucopia in one hand, and a banner of the King's in the other.

"Contiguously (next to her) reposeth a very lovely lady representing a Year, in a close-bodied silk garment down to the waist, and from the waist downward to her knees hang round about her twelve labels or panes, with the distinct inscriptions of every month; wearing a belt or circle cross her, containing the twelve signs of the zodiack; a dark brown hair, and on it a globular cap (not much unlike a turban), with several compassing lines, as on a globe; in one hand she beareth a target, argent, charged with a serpent vert, in a circular figure, with the tip of his tail in his mouth; in the other a banner of my Lord Mayor's."

The dissension that sprung up between Charles II. and the citizens, towards the close of his reign, acted prejudicially to the annual civic displays. In 1681 Sir John Moore was elected in opposition to the citizens, being greatly favoured by the court party. In the following year Charles again managed to get in ano-

* The arms of the Mercers' Company.

† The crest of the Company of Clothworkers.

ther of his creatures, in the person of Sir William Pritchard, who was so ill-received by the livery-men that several of the Companies hesitated to accompany him to Westminster. Moore had acted with great injustice toward the Sheriffs Papillion and Dubois, who had been elected by a large majority of voters; but, being staunch lovers of the city rights and a Protestant succession, they were forced from Guildhall by a body of soldiers, and North and Rich put in their places. They, however, brought actions against the mayor, and upon Pritchard's accession to power, and his persistence in keeping them out, they arrested him publicly. The most extreme measures were adopted by Charles and the Court, and a counter-action was got up against Papillion and his friends for a riot in Guildhall, on the day of their election. The crown lawyers were eloquent against them, and when juries could be easily found to convict a Russell and a Sydney, it can excite but little surprise to find that Papillion was condemned to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, although not a shadow of proof was offered of any illegality on his part. Jefferies was at this time rising in favour, by such "sharp practice," and in the end the breach between the court and city widened, until Charles suspended the charter, and he and his brother after him nominated mayors at pleasure.* Among the number who were heavily fined was the unfortunate Alderman Cornish, an equally staunch defender of the city rights; he became thenceforward a marked man, and during the reign of James II. he was arrested under a pretence of being connected with the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; his trial was hurried over, he was convicted on perjured evidence by the infamous Jefferies, and hung a few days afterwards at the top of King Street, Cheapside, with his face toward Guildhall (Oct. 23, 1685), his last devotions being rudely interrupted by the Sheriffs, and his quarters set up on Guildhall.

Pageantry again revived during the reign of William III., but the spirit of the old shows had departed, and the inventive genius of the City Laureates had fled with it.

The last City Poet was Elkanah Settle; he had been preceded by Peele, Munday, Dekker, Middleton, Webster, and Heywood, the dramatists; John Taylor the Water Poet, Tatham, Jordan, and Taubman. The last public exhibition by a regular City Poet, was in 1702, on occasion of the Mayoralty of Sir Samuel Dashwood, of the Vintners' Company, and it was, perhaps, as costly as any. The patron Saint of the Company (St. Martin) appeared, and divided his cloak among the beggars, according to the ancient legend; an Indian galeon rowed by Bacchanals, and containing Bacchus himself, was also exhibited; together with the Chariot of Ariadne; the Temple of St. Martin; a scene at a tavern entertainment; and an "Arbour of Delight," where Silenus, Bacchus, and Satyrs were carousing. Settle also prepared an entertainment for 1703, which was frustrated by the death of Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, who died on the 28th of October, the day before its intended exhibition.

This last attempt at resuscitating the glories of the ancient Mayors, being so unfortunately frustrated, and the taste for such displays not counterbalancing that for economy, no effort was made to revive the annual pageantry, and the display

* In Strype's *Stow*, opposite the name of Sir John Shorter, Mayor in 1687, are placed these significant words: — "Never served Sheriff, nor a freeman of the City; appointed by King James II."

seems to have sunk to the level at which it has remained for more than a century; the barges by water, or a single impersonation or two on land, being all that were exhibited.

Hogarth, in his concluding plate of the "Industry and Idleness" series, has given us a vivid picture of the Lord Mayor's Day in the City, about the middle of the last century, which has been copied at the head of this paper. Frederick Prince of Wales, and his Princess, are depicted seated beneath a canopy at the corner of Paternoster Row, to view the procession. Other spectators are accommodated on raised and enclosed seats beneath, the members of the various companies having raised stands along Cheapside, that of the Mercers appearing in the foreground, while every window and house-top is filled with gazers, the streets being guarded by the redoubtable City Militia, so humorously satirized by the painter, and one of whom, anxious to honour the Mayor, discharges his gun, as he turns his head aside, and shuts his eyes for fear of the consequences. The Mayor's coach, with its mob of footmen, the City companies, the men in armour, and the banners, present as perfect a picture as could be wished of this "red-letter day" in the City.

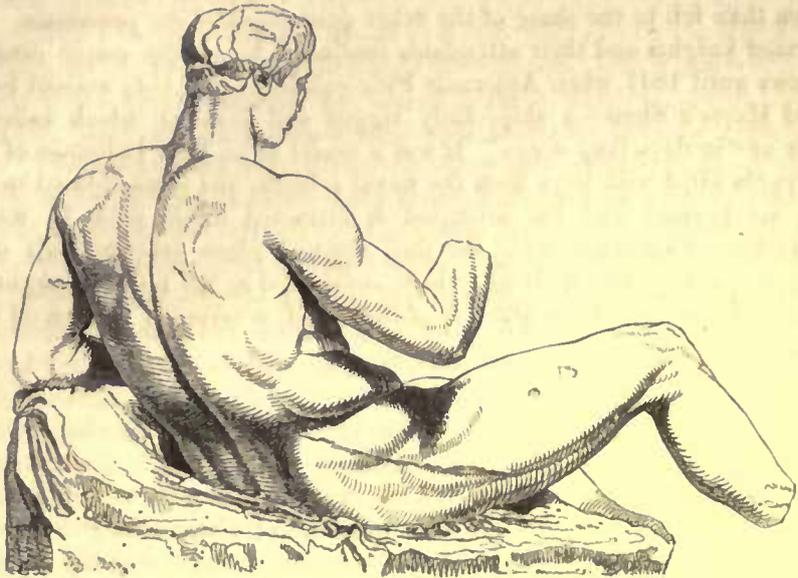
In 1761, when King George III. and his Queen, in accordance with the usual custom, dined with the Mayor on the first Lord Mayor's Day of their reign, a revival of the ancient pageants was suggested and partly carried out. Among the City Companies, the Armourers, the Braziers, the Skinners, and Fishmongers particularly distinguished themselves; the former exhibited an Archer in a Car, and a Man in Armour; the Skinners were distinguished by seven of their company being dressed in fur, "having their skins painted in the form of Indian princes;" while the Fishmongers exhibited a statue of St. Peter, their patron saint, finely gilt; a dolphin, two mermaids, and two sea-horses.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, in 1711, was the last Lord Mayor who rode in his mayoralty procession on horseback, since which time the Civic Sovereign has always appeared in a coach, attended by his chaplains, and the sword and mace-bearers, the former carrying the pearl sword presented to the City by Queen Elizabeth upon opening the Royal Exchange; the latter supporting the great gold mace, given by Charles I. to the corporation. The present coach, which is the most imposing feature of the modern show, was built in 1757, at a cost of 1065*l.* 3*s.* Cipriani was the artist who decorated its panels with a series of paintings, typical of the Virtues, &c., which may not unaptly be considered as the last relics of the ancient pageants that gave their living representatives on each Lord Mayor's Day, to dole forth good advice to the Chief Magistrate of London.

Men in armour are the anticipated "sights" of our modern civic displays. The armour is generally borrowed from the Tower, or from the theatres. The number of these "armed knights" varies at different times; in 1822, three of them were exhibited, with their attendant squires bearing their sword and shield, accompanied by banner-bearers and heralds. In 1825, five were exhibited, one in copper armour, one in brass scale armour, a third in brass chain mail, the other two being armed in steel and brass. In 1837, the far more attractive novelty was something like a revival of the ancient pageantry, in two colossal figures, representing Gog and Magog, the giants of Guildhall; each walked along by

means of a man withinside, who ever and anon turned their faces; and, as the figures were fourteen feet high, their features were on a level with the first-floor windows. They were extremely well contrived, and appeared to call forth more admiration than fell to the share of the other personages of the procession.

The armed knights and their attendants continued to be the staple ornament of the shows until 1841, when Alderman Pirie exhibited that very ancient feature of a Lord Mayor's Show—a ship, fully rigged and manned, which sailed up Cheapside as “in days lang syne.” It was a model of an East Indiaman of large size, the yards filled with boys from the naval schools, and it was placed in a car drawn by six horses; and the attention it attracted would seem to warrant the introduction of some feature in the dull common-place arrangements of the procession, as usually exhibited; and which, considered as the public inauguration of the Chief Magistrate of the first city of the world, is certainly capable of much improvement.



[Statue of Theseus, back view.]

CXXXVI.—THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

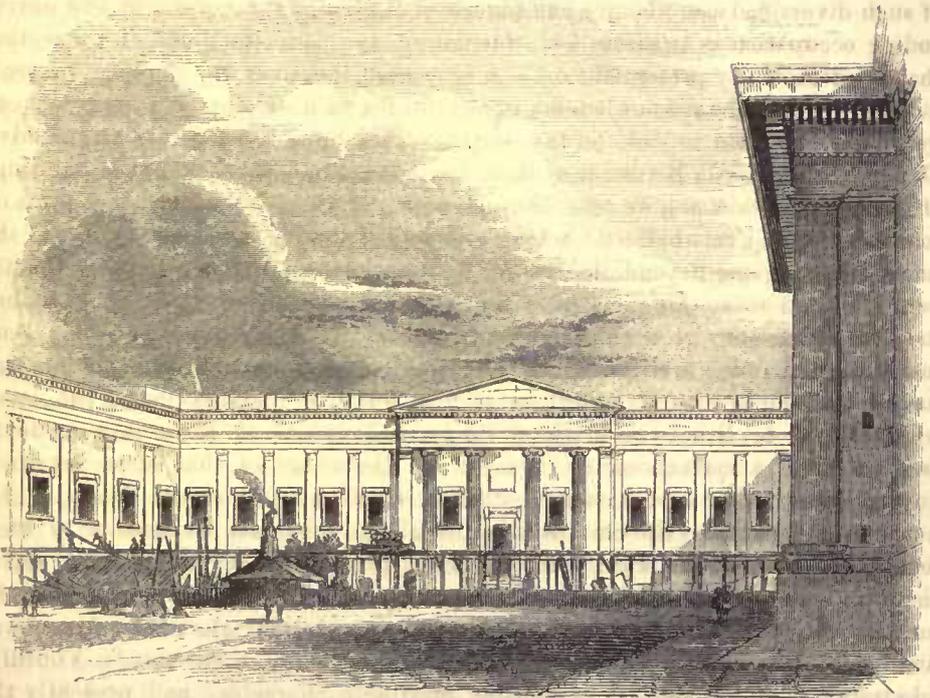
LOOKING at the commencement only of schemes proposed for the benefit of the public, the sanguineness of projectors has become a bye-word among us; and it must be acknowledged not without reason; though at the same time the want of that quality among their audience would, we suspect, appear equally remarkable, if we took a different point of sight, and looked backwards from the existing prosperity of the many important establishments around us, through their previous history, even to the time when they too were but "schemes." We repeat, it must be acknowledged, that projectors are often sanguine; but it is neither without interest or instruction to note in how many instances their visions have been, after all, but as shadows thrown before of the coming event, when compared with the ultimately obtained reality. The British Museum, for example, is a striking case of this kind. Little, we may be sure, did the benevolent Sir Hans Sloane dream of *this* mighty establishment, when he, in effect, founded it, by directing in his will that his library of books and manuscripts, his collection of natural history and works of art, should be offered to the Parliament after his decease for 20,000*l.*, its cost having been not less than 50,000*l.* That collection as a whole was the marvel of his day; what would be thought of it now were it separate, we may judge from looking at the fate of its chief department, natural history, which, we are told by competent judges, has insensibly but materially diminished in its comparative value, as the science to which it belonged became better known and appreciated. But, of course, it is not kept separate; and Sir

Hans, if he could revisit his collection in the interminable series of rooms, and the no less interminable series of cases in each room containing it, would be assuredly—whilst bewildered and delighted with the amazing extent and variety of the whole—not a little humiliated to see how small a portion of its essential value was derived immediately from him. Still less would the founder of the Museum have anticipated that the books and manuscripts of which he was so proud should have swelled into that almost unfathomable ocean of literature which we now call the Museum Library; or that his few and not very valuable works of art, then forming a mere appendage to the department of natural history, would be the germ of a grand school for English sculpture, where the richest treasures of ancient Greece should be the daily text-books of a host of students. Above all, although of course he, and his Parliamentary and other supporters, talked and thought about a *people* as the recipients of the benefits to be conferred by the new establishment, it is impossible that, with a knowledge of the tastes and education of the middle and poorer classes of the eighteenth century, they could have anticipated the future crowds among which one should with difficulty make way through the Museum Halls; that, in short, the word—people—could have meant with them what it now means with us, half a million or more of general visitors to this single institution in the course of one year (1842), and which, if the recent rate of increase be continued, will speedily be doubled; that half million, being too, exclusive of the 5672 student visitors to the Sculpture, the 8781 visitors to the Print Room, and of a still more important class of visitors, those to the Reading Room, who, from less than 2000 in the year 1810, have increased to nearly 72,000 in the past year! Contrast this fact with the state of things when Robertson, the historian, thought an introduction to the Reading Room so important a favour, as to demand grateful mention of the friend through whose agency it was accomplished. The growth, indeed, of the British Museum, and of the ideas of the uses to which it might be directed, and, as a natural consequence, of the multitudes who now come hither for study or enjoyment, are among the most significant and satisfactory signs of the times: they mark a great era of social change and improvement, which, of course, Sir Hans, and those who carried out his plans, could not be expected to see, but which they have, however, unconsciously greatly contributed to promote. For the good aimed at, and the still greater good achieved, let us not forget then to honour the name of Sloane; although the authorities, relying perhaps upon the feeling which made Brutus only the more thought of, because his statue was *not* where it ought to have been, seem to have considered it unnecessary, as yet, to erect the statue of their founder, where one naturally looks to find it, in the Court or in the Hall of the Museum.

Those among our readers who may yet have in store the pleasure of a first visit may form some kind of vague notion of the wealth of the Museum, from the mere statements we have given of the numbers whom it annually attracts; but we think it may be safely affirmed that only personal and often repeated inspection, guided too by no inconsiderable amount of acquired knowledge and tastes, can give an adequate idea of this wondrous storehouse of objects brought hither from all parts of the globe, at an expense that is literally incalculable, owing to the variety of modes by which they have been obtained, purchase, gifts,

bequests, loans. From the period of the opening of the Museum, January 15, 1759, there has been a continual stream of additions to every department, some of which, individually, almost equal, whilst two certainly far exceed, the original value of the entire repository. Such was the library of George III., given by his successor, estimated to have cost 200,000*l.*; such were the Elgin marbles, purchased in 1816 for 35,000*l.*, but the true value of which can hardly be over-estimated. In the present century, the building in which the collection was first deposited was found unable to meet any longer the incessant demand for room—room! and on the arrival of the Egyptian monuments, acquired by the capitulation of Alexandria, in 1801, and given by George III. the year after, it became necessary to consider how additions might be made. The Townley marbles and the King's Library set this question at rest, by showing that a new building was necessary. Hence the works still in progress. Montague House, we may pause a moment to state, was built by Ralph Montague, Esq., afterwards Duke of Montague, in the style of a French palace, though from the designs of an Englishman, the celebrated mathematician Hooke. The decorations, chiefly by French artists (Pope's sprawling Verrio among them), were of the most sumptuous character; and the mansion, on its completion, was esteemed the most magnificent private residence in the metropolis. This, however, was not exactly the building purchased for the Museum, a fire having destroyed all but the walls in 1686. Not even a solitary countryman of the Duke was permitted to interfere with the pile which was quickly restored, and, if possible, with enhanced splendour, upon the burnt walls and foundations. Peter Puget was the architect: De la Fosse, Jacques Rousseau, and Baptiste Menoyer, the foremost men in their time and country, in their several walks, were the decorators; the first presiding over the ceilings, the second over the landscapes and architectural paintings of the walls, whilst the third, emulous apparently of the attributes of the floral goddess, scattered about him at every step a profusion of charming and gaily-hued flowers, wooing you by their beauty almost to try if they were not fragrant into the bargain. The Duke was no doubt a rich man, but the expenses of this double erection, the employment of French artists, and the fact that the owner had been twice ambassador to France, taken in connection with the political features of the time, suggested a notion which became widely diffused that Louis XIV. himself undertook the office of treasurer during the rebuilding. It may not be true; but the Duke knew, no doubt, that there was a capital precedent for any such transactions to be found in high places. This was the building subsequently purchased for 10,250*l.* from Lord Halifax, and which is now "nodding to its fall," for as soon as the new works shall be completed, every vestige, we believe, of Montague House will rapidly disappear. These new works may be briefly described as forming chiefly a vast quadrangle, inclosing an inner court, extending about 500 feet from north to south, and about 350 feet from east to west. As a slight indication of the interior arrangements it may be mentioned that the King's Library, a magnificent apartment a hundred yards long, occupies the principal floor of the east side, with the eastern Zoological Gallery above it; that the Reading Room and General Library are on the north side, over which extend, side by side, the north Zoological Gallery and the North Gallery with its minerals and fossils; and that the

Egyptian Saloon, and the Grand Central Saloon (from which last branches off a suite of apartments consisting of an ante-room and the Phigaleian and Elgin Saloons) occupy the lower portions of the finished half of the western side, with the Egyptian and the Etrusean Rooms above. In advance, on each side of the main building or square, houses for the residence of the chief officers of the establishment are in course of erection; whilst, lastly, there is to be a grand street-front to the pile, about 600 feet long, inclosing an outer court, through which we shall pass as at present to the entrance-doors of the Museum. Of the architectural character of any portions of the exterior it were unfair, perhaps, to judge from the specimen that is before us, the view of the buildings of the inner court, as with regard to them it may have been thought unnecessary to aim at any very lofty architectural effects; yet one cannot but fancy so grand an opportunity should have been turned to better purpose.



[Back of the New Entrance to the British Museum.]

Let us now enter, premising by the way that whilst there are few places of exhibition which should not be visited more than once, if worth visiting at all, it is, as respects the British Museum, absolutely necessary not only to come again and again, but to pass through it on something like system, if we would avoid being confounded by the multiplicity of objects that surround us, or by the essential differences that exist between the different departments. The best mode, perhaps, is to go through the whole Museum at once on the first visit, in order to understand its general arrangement, and to learn which portions of it will be most interesting or valuable to us on our subsequent visits, when we can throw

ourselves familiarly at once into whatever corner best pleases us, and there examine and reflect, and compare and inquire, without troubling ourselves as to what objects may be behind or before, satisfied that when we want them there in their proper locality they will be. Most regular and easiest managed of households is this, with all its ranks of conquerors and warriors, civilized and barbarian; its herds of animals, from the giraffe down to the tiniest of four-footed animals; its shoals of fish, and swarms of insects. Sesostris, or, as they call him here, Rameses the Great, mightiest of statues of mightiest of monarchs, seems to look even more benignly placid than ever in such an atmosphere; the terrible-looking gods of the New Zealanders seem to whisper that, grim and blood-stained as they look for consistency's sake, they would not in reality hurt a hair of our heads; the very wild animals, looking so meek and domestic, would evidently roar gently, like Bottom, if it were permitted to them in such an establishment to roar at all. But, in truth, there is something strangely interesting in the general appearance of such diversified assemblages and objects, and a fruitful fancy might find never-ending occupation in twisting and untwisting the fantastic links of connection that are continually presented to it. A somewhat less busy day than the present, however, it must be acknowledged, is needful for such employment; scarcely can we pause a moment to look on the statues in the hall of the lady-sculptor, Mrs. Damer, of Sir Joseph Banks, or of Roubiliac's fine Shakspeare, or on the paintings of the staircase, doomed, we fear, to quick destruction. Nay, if we do not press on too, we shall be overwhelmed: seeing already, in imagination, the wonders of the unexplored regions beyond, this party of young visitors from the country directly behind us can see nothing else apparently. Their enthusiasm will wear out but too speedily as they grow older; let them then revel in its impulses now. And mark as they sweep into the rooms where the curiosities from the lands which have long been to them as full of romance as was ever Bagdad itself, the lands which Cook, or Bruce, or Park, or Parry, or Franklin, or Ross have made as familiar and as marvellous to them as are the scenes of that other favourite voyager Sindbad's discoveries and exploits; mark how, amid all their delight, now suppressed from the impossibility of giving adequate expression to their feelings, now bursting almost into a scream of pleasurable surprise at some unanticipated marvel, mark how religiously careful they are to avoid injury to the meanest article within their reach. But why should they *injure* what they have learnt to *value* and even to look upon as, in a measure, their own? Youthful admiration is of a somewhat wandering, insatiable character; and presently the strange dresses, and arms, and furniture, and ornaments, the hideous wooden idols, and thousands of other articles, describable and indescribable, from the Polar regions, New Zealand, or Mexico, are passed with a rapid step; even the poisoned arrows, and the carved bows, cannot detain them many seconds, and the original Magna Charta there in the window they don't understand; so the Mammalia Saloon next receives them ripe for fresh wonders. And now how they run along from case to case, exchanging exclamations with each other, 'There's the lion! and Here's the hyena! what a running fire of names is kept up, of dogs, foxes, gluttons, bears, hedgehogs, flying squirrels, opossums, antelopes, ant-eaters, and sloths; and above all, when the central spot is reached, where a whole herd of cattle and deer, some of the

last bigger than the first, are seen penned in on one side of the walk, and a mighty giraffe peeping, as it were, out of the lofty skylight on the other, with an enormous walrus, spreading its shapeless bulk along by its feet, there are no bounds to the expressions of youthful amazement. That giraffe has determined in their eyes the satisfactory character of the establishment; the reputation of the Museum is henceforth safe. In vain all this while they are told of the systems of arrangement so admirable here; in vain of distinctions of rapacious beasts and hoofed beasts; in vain of genera and kinds. But they have not yet arrived at the portion which forms the greatest treat of the whole, the birds; the ostriches, the eagles, the vultures; and by the time they do get to the long gallery, which is full of them, from the gigantic emu down to the diminutive humming-bird, they have, as it were, blunted the too eager appetite, and may be observed listening, with something like interest, to the remarks that drop from the speakers around, describing some trait, or relating some anecdote illustrative of the habits or history of the birds before them. This boy here has been listening these last ten minutes to the interesting account of the dodo, that bird once supposed to be fabulous and still believed to be extinct, yet whose existence at no remote period appears to be as unquestionable from the facts recorded, as from the existence of a veritable foot, and head, still preserved, the first here, the second at Oxford: of which head however there is a cast placed beside the foot. And the dodo may well excite the surprise of even older and wiser heads than our young friends here, if the curious painting at the back of the case represents it truly, as there is good reason for presuming it does: the head and foot there, for instance, agree with the head and foot we have referred to. The corroborative historical evidence is also strong. Well, we see in that bird the colour and shortness of wing of the ostrich, with the foot of the common fowl, and the head of the vulture; a combination of characteristics sufficient even to puzzle a Linnæus or an Owen, and make it as difficult for them to place the bird to which they belong in any theoretical system, as the authorities of the Museum have found it to determine the proper position in their practical one. But we must pass on, and we see our country juveniles have not waited for us, but are by this time busy among the shells, far ahead.

We have already incidentally spoken of the excellence of the arrangements that prevail throughout the Museum; and cannot but pause a moment here to give an illustration from the ornithological department. The system observed is that of Temminck, whose generic names are in most cases adopted, with the specific names of Linnæus, and the English synonymes of Latham. Thus we have in cases 1 to 35 the Raptorial birds: vultures, eagles, falcons, buzzards, kites; the last five being confined to the nocturnal birds of the division, such as the owls of different kinds; in cases 36 to 83 we have the Perching birds, subdivided into the wide gaped, as the goat-suckers and swallows; the tenuirostral, as the honey-eaters and wheat-ears; the conirostral, including the crows and finches; and the scansorial, as the parrots and woodpeckers: to these, in cases 84 to 106, succeed the Gallinaceous birds: pigeons, turtles, pheasants, partridges; in cases 107 to 134 the Wading, comprising the ostriches, trumpeters, storks; and lastly, in cases 135 to 166 the Web-footed, as the flamingos, swans, and ducks. An extensive series of cases of eggs of birds, ranged to correspond with the cases of the birds themselves, and placed opposite them, gives completeness to the whole. All

the other departments of natural history are illustrated in the same simple but scientific manner. And with this remark we must pass rapidly by the shells, with their elegant and diversified forms, their transparent surfaces and fairy-like hues, though not without a glance at the "glory of the sea," and the no less glory of the collectors who are fortunate enough to get hold of the precious thing, and at the Iris wave shell, which gives out when wetted brilliant prismatic reflections, and above all at the little nautilus shell, of which Pope sings, and—fiction though the idea contained in the lines is alleged to be—shall continue to sing to us—

" Learn from the little Nautilus to sail,
Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale."

Neither must we dwell upon the Portraits, one hundred and sixteen in number, which line the walls of this gallery, longer than will suffice to mention the mere names of a few of the most interesting, as the two portraits of Cromwell in armour, one of them painted by Walker, and given by the great Protector himself to Nathaniel Rich, then a colonel of horse in the Parliamentary army; a Queen of Scots, by Jansen; her obdurate sister-Queen of England, Elizabeth, by Zuccheri; Charles II., by Lely; Peter the Great, and Charles XII.; Vesalius, by Sir Antonio More; and Britton, the small-coal man. There is also here a landscape, by Wilson. The Northern Zoological Gallery is devoted chiefly to Reptiles, preserved dry or in spirits, as the lizards, serpents, tortoises, crocodiles; to the Handed beasts, comprising the apes and monkeys; to the Glirine mammalia, under which scientific denomination we are to look for rats and mice, porcupines, hares, and squirrels; and to the Spiny-rayed and anomalous fish. Insects; crustacea, including such animals as the crab and the lobster; corals, star-fish, and sponges are the chief contents of the tables that extend along the floor of the same gallery; whilst over the cases against the walls, containing the animals and fishes, are ranged the larger fish which could not be accommodated within, such as the famous flying sword-fish, sturgeon, and conger. In no department probably is the Museum richer than in its Minerals; the Collection is already superior to any in Europe, and is daily increasing. We can only notice two or three features of it, such as the beautiful specimen of branched native silver, the sculptured tortoise in the centre of the room, brought from the banks of the Jumna, near Allahabad, in Hindostan, and the famous stone used by Dr. Dee and his assistant Kelly, during their communications with spirits, and in which stone the angels Gabriel and Raphael appeared at the call of the enchanters. Hence Butler's lines—

" Kelly did all his feats upon
The devil's looking-glass—a stone."

A rich collection of Fossils lines the walls of this gallery, which of itself would form materials for a pleasant volume; but a something infinitely more attractive, the sculptures of Egypt, and Greece, and of Rome are before us, and demand every line of our yet available space. Before, however, descending to the saloons below, containing the sculptures, there are two rooms that should be visited, not merely for their great intrinsic interest, but as furnishing a valuable preparative for the due appreciation of the first series of sculptures, the Egyptian; we allude to the Egyptian room and the Etruscan room, the latter containing a rich collection of vases, the former, every conceivable variety of article relating to the

domestic life, religion, manners and customs, and funereal ceremonies of the people of Egypt. The amazing extent of this collection may be judged from the mere fact that the enumeration of the different objects, with the briefest possible description attached, occupies forty closely-printed pages of the Museum catalogue. Ancient Egypt here revives before us—Osiris and Isis are no longer mere names, we behold them face to face, as their worshippers beheld them; who are here also represented, and that so numerous in their mummies and mummy cases, and who look so life-like from out their portraits upon us, that one is half tempted to question them; and many a knotty riddle could no doubt be solved if the humblest of them would but speak. Yes, here are the very people of Egypt themselves; we see the expression of their faces, the colour of their hair, the outlines of their form; we know their very names, and their professions; this, for instance, is Otaineb, no Egyptian born, but one, no doubt, by naturalization, as the gods of the country are exhibited on the case taking especial care of him; Thoth, the Egyptian Mercury, is there seen introducing him to the many deities



[Mummy Case, or Coffin of Otaineb.]

to whom the different parts of his body are respectively dedicated. This again is Hor, or Horus, incense-bearer to the abode of Noum-ra; this, Onkhhapê, a sacred musician; this, Khonsaouonkh, a sacerdotal functionary and scribe; this, Kotbi, a priestess of the Theban temple of Amoun; that, Har-sont-ioft, a priest of the same building. From hence we descend a staircase to the Egyptian Saloon, passing midway the unrolled papyri, on the walls of a small vestibule leading to the Print room, which is famous through the European circles of artists and collectors, for its Drawings and Prints of the Flemish and Dutch schools, and which may be considered wealthy in most departments. The arrangements of this part of the building are, it appears to us, remarkably happy. The mind brought into a fit state by the contemplation of the miscellaneous antiquities of Egypt,—we step into the saloon, and find ourselves suddenly introduced into a strange and primeval looking world of art, peopled by gigantic statues, and still more gigantic parts of statues; a studio such as the Titans might have revelled in, had any of them ever turned artists. And finely, most finely, does the aspect of the place harmonise with its essential history. It is what it appears; the broken and scattered portions of the mighty foundation upon which the subsequent schools of Greece and Rome were built up, and by means of which the sculptors of those countries raised the Greek and Roman names to their highest points of permanent glory: for what are the other glories of those nations now? who would willingly exchange the possession of a Theseus in our museums, for the record of the mightiest of Grecian conquests in our books? who would not willingly, if it were possible, give back to oblivion the whole of the Roman victories, if oblivion would teach us in return where to find some of the many great works of art belonging to that country, and mentioned in ancient writers, which have been lost? But, to return, the sculptures in the Egyptian Saloon are scarcely less valuable in themselves than in their connection with artistical history. Is there not something inexpressibly beautiful in this head of Sesostris (the young Memnon, as it was formerly but incorrectly called) in spite of the disadvantages attending the conventionalisms of art at the period of its execution? Here are thick lips, projecting eyes, rounded nose, besides other less striking deviations from the loftiest standard of human beauty; yet such was the power of the artist that he has made them as naught; he has, in spite of them, left to remotest posterity on that enormous block of hard stone, so hard that our finest tempered tools can hardly make any impression upon it, an evidence of genius, that may rival, all things considered, the loftiest of succeeding ages. This work, the most precious of Egyptian remains, was found among the ruins of the Memnonium at Thebes, and brought from thence to the Nile by Belzoni, who gives a very interesting account of the difficulties of his task, having no other implements than “fourteen poles, eight of which were employed in making a sort of ear to lay the bust on, four ropes of palm leaves, and four rollers, without tackle of any sort,” no other assistants than a few ignorant Arabs; and having, in addition, to contend with the intrigues of the local governor, and of the French consul, and the fright of the boat-owner, lest his vessel should be sunk. The bust, which is above eight feet high, formed part of a sitting statue, about twenty-four feet high.

Among the multiplicity of other important works in the Egyptian Saloon, we



[Side View of the bust of Ramoses the Great.]

may particularly direct attention to the colossal seated statue of Amenoph III., from the Temple of Memnon; the sarcophagi of different forms, some sculptured and one painted; the numerous statues of Bubastis, the Egyptian Diana, having the head of an animal upon a human body; the colossal lions; and the Rosetta stone, containing three inscriptions of the same import, one in hieroglyphics, another in the ancient vernacular language of Egypt, and another in the Greek, recording the services of Ptolemy V., and which were engraved by order of the high priests, assembled at Memphis to invest him with the royal prerogative.

Facing us, in the centre of the Grand Saloon, are some of the newly-obtained Xanthian marbles, also most appropriately placed midway between the Egyptian Saloon and the saloons and apartments containing the Phigalian, Elgin, and Townley marbles; for whilst these last exhibit Grecian art in its perfection, the first show that same art in its earlier stages, struggling, as it were, for emancipation from Egyptian bondage; we see in them a certain stiffness and precision that serves to remind us of the country of the Nile, from which most probably those

qualities were derived; but we also see in them the true Greek feeling and touch which in later times were to give us such sculptures as those of the Parthenon, such statues as the Apollo, or the Venus "that enchants the world," or, we may add, such exquisite works as those by which we are here surrounded; these heads and busts, and full length figures of gods, and "men like gods," not wanting, too, in the honours of deification itself; here, for instance, in this bas-relief, purchased at the expense of 1000*l.*, we have the apotheosis of Homer where figures are actually offering sacrifices to the father of poetry, whilst Jupiter looks on from the summit of Parnassus in approval. Among the many other gems of the saloon how shall we select for notice? If we look in one direction there is the grand head of Minerva, in another Hadrian's sumptuous statue, in a third the vase with the Bacchanalian groups; in a fourth—but it is useless to go on, for such gems are here thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa; so we pause for a moment only by this lovely statue of Venus or Dione, naked to the waist, but draped below, and then hurry on, no matter how reluctantly, into the Phigalian Saloon.

Pausanias, speaking of a certain temple at the ancient Bassæ on Mount Cottyion, says of it, that after the temple "at Tegea, it may be considered the most beautiful of all the temples of the Peloponnesus;" it is of this building that we possess the frieze from the interior of the cella, in twenty-three slabs, each about two feet high; and the whole now known as the Phigalian marbles, so named from the town of Phigalia near which the temple stood. The subject represented on them is the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. The story may be thus told. The Centaurs having been invited to the marriage-feast of Pirithöus, king of the Lapithæ, one of their number, called Eurytion, offered violence to the person of Hippodamia, the bride. Theseus, the friend of Pirithöus, in his indignation at the insult, hurled a vessel of wine at the offender, who fell lifeless. The Centaurs rushed forward to avenge their companion, at the same time endeavouring to carry off the females present, when a general combat ensued, which ended in the overthrow of the Centaurs and their being driven from Thessaly. Of the manner in which these incidents are represented in the sculptures, our engraving of one of the slabs will give the best notion. We need only observe that the lofty beauty of the figures, the harmony of the composition, and the wonderful vigour and life that informs the whole, make



[Slab from the Phigalian Marbles.]

it not improbable that they are from the designs of Phidias himself. Ictinus was the architect of the Temple of Apollo, to which the Phigalian marbles belonged, the same who was associated with Callistratus in the erection of the Parthenon, during the administration of Pericles, and at a time when Phidias had the general direction of the public works. Now we know that this great sculptor superintended the decorations of the one temple, and that many of them were from his own hands; it is probable, therefore, the same arrangement prevailed as to the other. The similarity between the styles is most striking, as the visitor will at once acknowledge, if stepping from the frieze of the Phigalian Saloon he goes direct to the Metopes of the Parthenon in the Elgin Saloon, where the same subject is represented. It is strange the Greeks should have prevented their sculptors from doing their best to prevent such doubts, in forbidding them to inscribe their names upon their productions, as it is evident they did. Phidias is a memorable instance. The interior of the Parthenon was enriched with a statue of Minerva, one of Phidias's master-pieces. On the shield of the goddess a figure was seen, old and bald, uplifting a stone, which Cicero says was done by the artist to perpetuate his memory, since he was not permitted to inscribe his name upon the statue. Aristotle further informs us that the shield was constructed with such extraordinary ingenuity that removal was impossible, without causing the fall of the whole group among which the artist had placed himself. But his was a name the world would not—will not—let willingly die, inscribed or not inscribed. The loftiest desire that a truly great mind can cherish is that of influencing the minds of others kindred to its own, and through them the world generally: Phidias died more than two thousand years ago; but behold the power of genius—daily and hourly is the spirit of the Greek sculptor teaching and inspiring our students, and extending its subtle and penetrating influence through every department of our arts. The means by which such potent effects are achieved are the Elgin marbles, so named from the Earl of Elgin, who obtained them between the years 1801 and 1812, chiefly from the remains of the Parthenon. This grand temple was constructed entirely of white marble, and decorated as never building was before or since. The sculptures in the Museum which belonged to it are of three kinds; Metopes, the square-shaped intervals between the raised tablets or tryglyphs of a Doric frieze, the Frieze itself, imperfect, and Statues, broken or entire, from the pediments. The Metopes, we have already incidentally stated, represent the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. The frieze is devoted to the solemn procession called the Panathenæa, which took place at Athens every five years in honour of Minerva, the guardian divinity of the city, when something like a whole people conveyed the sacred veil to the temple, which was to be hung up before the statue of the goddess within: one of the mightiest subjects sculpture ever attempted, and the most mightily executed. In the original state of the frieze, which occupied the upper part of the walls within the colonnade, the figures advanced in parallel columns, one along the northern and the other along the southern sides of the temple, then turning the angles of the west front met towards the centre as ready to enter. What remains of the frieze is now arranged around the walls of the saloon, so as to appear in the same order to a visitor here as they would formerly have appeared to a spectator who, approaching the temple by the east, should walk in succession round the north, west, and south sides. These remains are very considerable, amounting

to about 249 feet, to which may be added plaster casts of 76 feet more. The chief deficiency is in the western frieze, of which but a single original slab remains, and that is of such exquisite beauty as to enhance the sense of the loss we have incurred by the absence of the remainder. But, probably, the finest portions of the whole are found on the northern frieze, where the chariots and charioteers are seen sweeping on in the procession, followed by a train of horsemen. Movement is here so vividly represented that you can hardly fancy but that the whole are actually passing away before your eyes; whilst if you examine into the details, the perfect form and spirited action of the horses, the graceful and airy costume, and elegant *abandon*, as it were, of the *seat* of the riders, every one of whom the artist must have intended to “witch the world with noble horsemanship,” you can only feel how inadequate will be any praise or admiration that can be expressed in words of the marvellous productions before you. Then the variety—it is endless. Of a hundred and ten horses introduced, no two are in



[The Panathenaic Frieze.]

the same attitude; each is characterised by a marked difference of expression. The bridles of the horses were originally of gilded bronze. The principal Statues in the Elgin collection belonged to one or other of the two pediments of the Parthenon; one of which represented the birth of Minerva, the other the contest of Minerva and Neptune for the guardianship of Attica. The recumbent statue called Theseus belonged to the first; and the statue of Ilissus, or the river god, to the second: both are seriously mutilated, and both are, notwithstanding that drawback, esteemed by our greatest artists as the grandest individual specimens of sculpture the world can furnish.

The Townley Collection was begun at Rome, by Charles Townley, Esq. of Townley, in Lancashire, about 1768, and was so unremittingly and liberally increased that, when the whole was offered to the nation (at two different periods), the sums voted by Parliament for their purchase amounted to 28,200*l.* These are arranged partly in the Grand Saloon, and its ante-room, but chiefly in the series of rooms that extend southward from the Grand Saloon, and which will shortly be rebuilt in continuation of the line formed by the latter and the Egyptian Saloon. As this gallery forms the general or miscellaneous collection of the

Museum in antiquities, many important additions have been made to it, since the period of the purchase. Returning through the Phigalian Saloon, towards the ante-room, our eyes are attracted by the two great pediments which decorate the upper portions of the walls of the saloon, which it appears are exact copies in size and in decoration of the eastern and western extremities of the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, in the island of Ægina. The statues also, which give to the pediments such a striking effect, standing out like so many real figures, are mostly originals, and occupying their original position. The restorations that have been made were confided to admirable hands—Thorwaldsen's. For the information necessary for restoration of the pediments, and the general arrangement of the statues in them, we are indebted to Mr. Cockerell, who, with other gentlemen, carried on careful and extensive excavation among the ruins of the Temple. As the ante-room is chiefly devoted to Roman sepulchral antiquities, we need not delay there, but pass on to the first of the series of rooms above mentioned, the Room XII. of the Catalogue. Here, among a variety of beautiful works, such as the Cupid sleeping, the head of Adonis covered with a hood, is the bust of a female, issuing from amidst the petals of a flower, which Mr. Townley esteemed the gem of his gallery, as we know from a curious anecdote connected with it. During the Gordon riots, Mr. Townley, as a catholic, was marked out by the mob, who intended to attack the house in Park Street where all his darling treasures were collected. He secured his cabinet of gems, and casting a long and lingering look behind at his marbles, was about to leave them to their fate, when, moved by some irrepressible impulse of affection, he took the bust in question into his arms and hurried off with it to his carriage. Fortunately the attack did not take place, and his "wife," as he called the lady represented, returned to her companions. In Room XI. the most valuable piece of sculpture probably is the Discobolus, which is supposed to be an ancient copy in marble of the celebrated bronze statue by Myro; who, by the way, like Phidias, secretly rebelled against the rule we have referred to; for he put his name on a statue of Apollo, but in letters almost imperceptible, and upon a part of one of the thighs where it would be likely to remain undiscovered, except upon close search. The intoxicated Faun, the sleeping Mercury, the bronze Hercules, and the bronze Apollo, of this room, are scarcely less distinguished for their excellence. Sir William Hamilton's miscellaneous collection of antiquities occupies the tenth room, and in the ninth, on the upper floor, ascended by a staircase on the left, is the unique Portland or Barberini vase, so often described. The eighth room of the series is unoccupied, and the seventh devoted to British antiquities, upon which our space will not permit us to dwell: so we pass on at once to the last of the rooms that we shall notice, the sixth, rich beyond measure in the finest treasures of the past. Did ever poet or sculptor, for instance, conceive any thing more exquisitely lovely in form than this broken, headless, leg-less, and all but arm-less torso of Venus still appears, in spite of all injuries and mutilations? Or any thing more expressive, more Cupid-like, than the statue of the mischievous divinity bending his bow, ready for action, as shown in our last page? There is a speculation connected with this work of a noticeable character Pausanias observes, speaking of Praxiteles and the courtesan Phryne, that the latter, "whose influence over the sculptor seems to have been considerable," was "anxious to possess a work of Praxiteles, and not knowing, when she was desired



[Torso of Venus.]

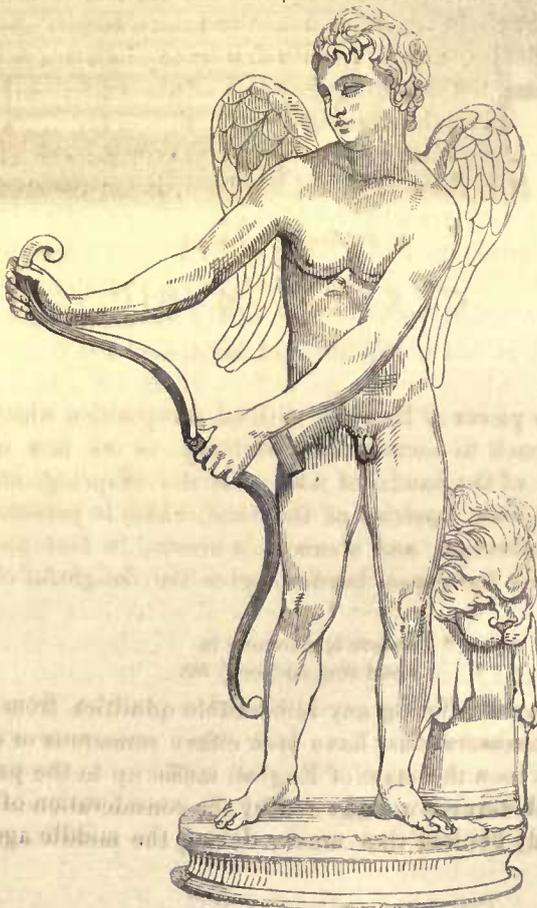
to choose for herself, which of two exquisite statues to select, devised the following expedient. She commanded a servant to hasten to him and tell him that his workshop was in flames, and that with few exceptions his works had already perished. Praxiteles, not doubting the truth of the announcement, rushed out in the greatest alarm and anxiety, exclaiming, ‘ all was lost if his Satyr and Cupid were not saved.’ The object of Phryne was answered; she confessed her stratagem, and immediately chose the Cupid.” Now, is not the statue in the Museum a copy of the one here referred to? If the statue of Cupid, described by Callistratus as a most admired work of Praxiteles, be Phryne’s, which is most probable, then, as the Museum statue agrees exactly with that description, there is little doubt but we are in possession of a copy of the favourite work of this illustrious Grecian artist. It is not quite two feet high, and was found in 1775 enclosed within a large vase, about twelve miles from Rome: the vacancies in the vase round the statue were carefully filled with earth.

We have thus noted the more prominent objects that arrest the attention in passing through the Museum; but what a host remain behind, scarcely if at all less worthy of note, in every apartment we have passed through! Nor is that all. There are entire departments of which we have said nothing, or referred to but incidentally, and of which we can now but give little more than the names. Such are the Medal Room, an aggregate of several collections, each of an extensive character; the Manuscript department, the very catalogues of which form a small library; the General Library of printed books, now, in connection with the King’s, on a par with the greatest continental libraries, and which is constantly increasing through the new books brought into it by the operation of the Copyright law, and in consequence of the sum of money set apart, nearly 2000*l.* yearly, for the purchase of old or foreign works; and the Banksian, or Botanical, department, which is on the very first scale of magnitude and completeness. Truly the *British Museum* is worthy of its name.

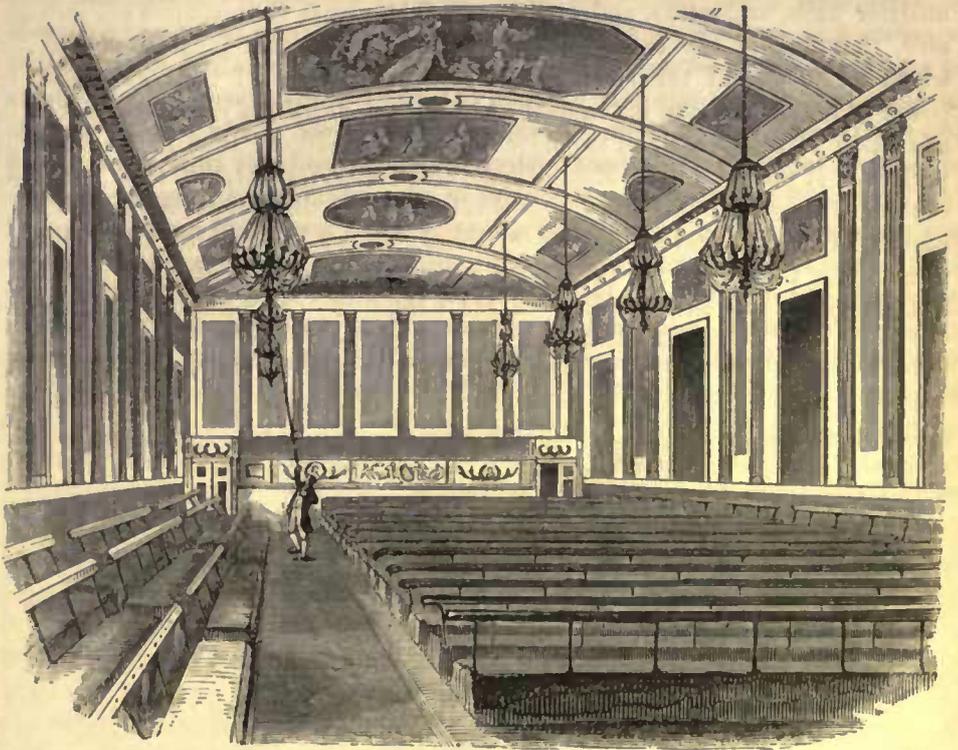
It will be evident that the expenses of such an establishment must be considerable; and that many persons must be occupied in fulfilling the duties attached

to it; but the number of the last will surprise, we fancy, those who are but slightly acquainted with the economy of the place. There is first a Principal Librarian, next a Secretary, then there are seven keepers of departments, next six assistant keepers. In addition to these, above 30 persons of literary eminence are constantly employed as assistants. A clerk of the works and an accountant are also permanently attached. Lastly, there is a little army of attendants dispersed through the libraries, saloons, and apartments, nearly seventy strong; with a corps of subterranean bookbinders, averaging probably thirty strong, with a few fumatori* or cast makers, exclusive of other regular and irregular appendages, such as household servants and labourers. The reader will now be prepared to see a somewhat considerable sum mentioned as the annual expenditure in this way alone; and it is considerable, namely, for the year 1842, 15,258*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*; the entire expenses of the establishment in the same period being 31,658*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, which, we need hardly say, was chiefly defrayed by the annual parliamentary vote.

* It will interest those who may not be already aware of the circumstance, that casts of the finest things in the Museum can be obtained at an expense that is little more than sufficient to cover the actual costs. Thus a cast from Mr. Townley's favourite bust is charged only half-a-guinea.



[Statue of Cupid, Townley Collection.]



[Hanover Square Rooms.]

CXXXVII.—MUSIC.

THE earliest known pieces of English musical composition which present even a semblance of approach to melody and harmony, as we now understand these words, are the song of the battle of Azincour, the offspring, no doubt, of some enthusiastic and patriotic musician of the time, which is preserved in the Pepysian collection, Cambridge; and a canon in unison, in four parts, with a free tenor and base added by way of burden, set to the delightful old Anglo-Saxon song—

“ Summer is y coming in
Loud sing cuckoo;” &c.

neither of these pieces exhibiting any remarkable qualities, from which we might infer that their predecessors must have been either numerous or excellent. How low then must have been the state of English music up to the period in question seems to be a remark naturally suggested by the consideration of such facts. Yet whilst it is sufficiently evident that music, during the middle ages, was not what

it is now, there are many things which seem to show that—such as it was—music was more universally appreciated and enjoyed among our forefathers than it is among ourselves, notwithstanding our concerts, festivals, and oratorios, our monster halls, orchestras, and audiences. The proofs for instances are innumerable, that one of the most valuable features of a truly musical people, and which is also one of the most indispensable conditions of their existence, the power of playing on one instrument at least, was deemed a necessary part of the education of all persons of superior rank and condition, from the very earliest periods. It was by no accident of individual taste, for instance, that Alfred was enabled to assume the disguise of a minstrel, during his dangerous visit to the Danish camp; for we find that several other princes, Saxon and Danish, adopted at different times the same expedient. Bede even tells us that the harp, of which distinct forms will be perceived in the accompanying engravings, was in com-



[Anglo-Saxon Illumination, showing various Musical Instruments, from the Cotton MSS.]

mon use among his countrymen on festivals, when he adds the custom was for it to be handed round the company, that *all* might sing and perform in turn. If we look to another class, and a mighty one in numbers alone, apart from other

considerations, the clergy, we perceive, at a glance, that the very duties of their office, involving a continual study and practice and exhibition of the art, must have made them essentially a musical class; but it was more than a duty, a pleasure also; from the day St. Augustine and his companions first sung or chanted before King Ethelbert, down to that when Thomas, archbishop of York, in the twelfth century, not content with the ordinary resources of the church, pressed into the service whatever song tunes of the minstrels pleased him, we find the members of our cathedrals and abbeys, and parochial churches, constantly doing something to diffuse, to develop, or to improve the art. We learn from the author before-mentioned that the pope, in 678, sent one John from Rome expressly to teach music to the English clergy; and that, in consequence, they began universally to use singing in their churches. An amusing instance of the value attached to a little musical knowledge, in the following century, is furnished by the appointment of one Putna, "a simple man in worldly matters," but well instructed in ecclesiastical discipline, and especially accomplished in song and music for the church, to the bishopric of Rochester. And, probably, he got on very well while there were no particular difficulties to be surmounted in the performance of the onerous functions attached to his rank; but on the spoliation of his church by the Mercians a few years after, he went contentedly off to Servulf, Bishop of Mercia, and there obtaining of him a small cure and a portion of ground, remained in that country; not once labouring to restore his church of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach song, and instruct such as would learn music, wheresoever he was required or could get entertainment."* But sterner minds could sympathise with the taste if they would not, under similar circumstances, have followed the example of the simple-minded Putna. Dunstan was almost as famous for his harp-playing as for his peculiar conferences with princes and potentates, natural and supernatural. As to the people, it is not difficult to see what must have been the inevitable effect of the influences thus surrounding them, in the musical tendencies of the two great and governing, and in every way, influential classes. Wherever they moved, music met them—now with its mighty voice pealing forth from the organ, as they stepped into the sacred edifice, and now rising upon the simple but sublimely-sounding chant of the passing procession as they hurried along to their daily labour; now echoing through the halls of their feudal lord, commemorating the glories of his line, in which they had so material a share, and now rousing them to renewed exertions as he led them forth to fresh fields of warfare. We might almost say music never left them: scarcely had one festival passed before another was expected; the minstrel guest of to-day—of all guests the most universally acceptable and welcome, from the battlemented castle to the humblest hut—as he poured forth his collected treasures to the absorbed groups about him, was told of the songs of his predecessor of yesterday; the very watchmen of the neighbouring city walls—the original *waits*, made musical the night by their "pipings" the long year through.

But we are not left entirely without evidence of a more direct and positive character. The true classical land of Britain, if we believe the Irish historians,

* Holinshed.



[Anglo-Saxon Illumination, representing a Dance with Musicians, from the Cotton MSS.]

was the Green Isle itself, and certainly the position of that country was as remarkable for its superiority, at a very distant period, as it is now for the reverse. We have before had occasion to show the literary obligations of England to Ireland; its musical appear to be equally signal. And in this it stands but in the same position as Wales and Scotland; the national music of the whole having been traced to Ireland. Nay, there have not been wanting Italian writers to confess their faith in the Hibernian paternity of the Italian school. The state of the instrumental music of such a nation, then, is an interesting subject, and Giraldus Cambrensis gives us a passage, of some importance, relating to it. Having described their instrumental music as, beyond comparison, superior to that of any nation he had known, he says their modulation "is not slow and solemn, as in the instruments of Britain, to which we are accustomed, but the sounds are rapid and precipitate, yet, at the same time, sweet and pleasing. It is wonderful how, in such precipitate rapidity of the fingers, the musical proportions are preserved; and how, by their art, faultless throughout, in the midst of their complicated modulations and most intricate arrangement of notes, by a rapidity so sweet, a regularity so irregular, a concord so discordant,* the melody is rendered harmonious and perfect." Then, again, in another department, the same writer tells us, the Welsh practised vocal harmony in many parts, and that the people of York, and beyond the Humber, were accustomed to sing in two parts, treble and base. Lastly, as to song singing, it should seem that following the Italian scale in the eleventh century, the Italian style had crept in by degrees, before the thirteenth, when John of Salisbury says of the singers in the churches, that they "endeavour to melt the hearts of the admiring multitude

* Ford might have been thinking of this passage when he wrote the following lines, in his exquisite account of the contention of a bird and a musician :

"Upon his instrument he plays so swiftly,
So many voluntaries, and so quick,
That there was curiosity and cunning,
Concord in discord, lines of different method,
Meeting in one full centre of delight."

with their effeminate notes and quavers, and with a certain luxuriandy of voice." Still later, Chaucer, in his 'Romaunt of the Rose,' describes a lady's performances in terms that imply no mean style of the art at the period.—

" Well could she sing, and lustily,
None half so well and seem-e-ly,
And could make in song such réfraining,*
It sate her wonder well to sing.
Her voice full clear was, and full sweet
She was not rude, ne yet unmeet,
But couthe † enough for such doing
As longeth unto carolling."

Some of these notices seem to show that even the art of music can hardly have been so low, in the early ages of our history, as a slight glance at some of the facts we have mentioned would lead us to suppose. Look, for instance, at the number of instruments possessed by the Anglo-Saxons. In some of their illuminations we find the minstrels with the pipe and tabor, violin, base flute, lute or cittern, and treble or old English flute; in the one at page 178, a harp, violin, horn, and a kind of straight trumpet; and in page 180, a lyre, and a double-flute, which, remarkably enough, are of the exact classical shape. Here we have apparently the parent of the modern trombone. Bells, of course, were common.



[Anglo-Saxon Illumination, from the 'Cotton MSS.']

The cymbal and drum were also among the Anglo-Saxon instruments. The chief instrument of the church was the organ, the making of which we find the Archbishop of York before mentioned sedulously engaged in teaching to his clergy soon after the Conquest. In the fourteenth century Chaucer, in 'The Flower and the Leaf,' speaks of

———— " Minstrels, many one,
As harpes, pipes, lutes, and sautry,
Alle in green ;"

whilst in the band, as we may call it, of Edward III.'s household we find mention made of performers on the oboe, clarion, and tabret; and, lastly, in an illumination of the period, we are presented with the hand-organ, or dulcimer.

* Refrain, the burden of a song, or return to the first part.

† Knew.

How then is it that we have no remains of the music of so musical a people, older than the fifteenth century? The answer we think must be, that putting aside technical considerations relating to the art, which was, of course, as an art, in a very rude state prior to the invention, by Guido d'Arezzo, of the scale in the eleventh century; and of the other improvements that speedily followed,



! [Dulcimer and Violin.]

the fact seems to be that music in ancient times in Greece, and Rome, as well as in England, meant poetry even more than music; that the last, though studied,—and most assiduously studied—was intended rather as a delightful vehicle for the accompanying words, than for its own sake. But in such a view there is nothing opposed to the position with which we set out. On the contrary, the ground-work of all music, even in its loftiest developments, melody, must have flourished under such circumstances. When the minstrel's heart swelled with his theme, and his voice sought to give it adequate expression in song, he was placed under the most favourable influences for the production of essentially good, because characteristic music; and it is hardly too much therefore to say, that could we summon from the shadowy regions of the past a Taillefer, to sing us the song of Roland, as he poured it forth in leading the attack at the battle of Hastings; or could we ourselves be carried back into them, and listen to the song of Blondel as he raised it near the castle where he thought the Lion Heart might be confined, and had the exquisite delight of immediately hearing the continuation sung, by way of answer, from one of the windows: could we really know the value and amount of the musical stores of such men,—we should never again think of the paucity of our musical remains with any other sentiment than that of regret at the consideration of how much we must have lost.

In the general invigoration of feeling and intellect produced by the Reformation, our musicians did not fail to participate; from that time we may date the origin of modern English music. Then began to arise, in quick and remarkable succession, a host of men whose works, in many instances, are not merely known but enjoyed at the present day. Tye was the earliest of these; who was music-

preceptor to Prince, afterwards King, Edward VI. Rowley, the dramatist, makes the Prince thus speak to the doctor in one of his plays :

“ Doctor, I thank you, and commend your cunning.
I oft have heard my father merrily speak
In your high praise ; and thus his highness saith—
England one God, one truth, one doctor hath
In music's art, and that is Dr. Tye,
Admir'd for skill in music's harmony.”

Surely there is nothing new under the sun : What is this but the original of the famous exclamation, “ One God, one Farinelli ”? This is the musician who, at a later period, was playing somewhat too scientifically before Queen Elizabeth, and caused her to send the verger to tell him that he played out of tune ; to which the testy doctor returned, that “ her ears were out of tune.” Contemporary with Tye were Tallis and Bride—the latter the author of the glorious ‘ *Non nobis, Domine.* ’ These were chiefly distinguished for their church music. But the time of Elizabeth is still more remarkable for its madrigalian composers, who, in number and excellence, almost form to music what the dramatists of the same period are to poetry. Morley was one of them ; Dowland—the immortalised of Shakspeare's poems ;

“ Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch
Upon the lute doth ravish human sense”—

was another, whose madrigals are so exquisitely beautiful as to give ten-fold interest to the lines ; Wilbye, a still greater name, was a third : to these, among many others, must be added, Ford, Ward, and Gibbons ; the last equally illustrious for his cathedral music. Suddenly the growing prosperity of the art was arrested by the civil wars, and the ensuing Commonwealth, when music and musicians were alike proscribed ; although it is a noticeable trait in Cromwell's character that he, who had so just an appreciation of what was most valuable in art as to purchase the Cartoons, seems to have been also devotedly attached to music in its sublimest forms. When the great organ of Magdalen College, Oxford, was forcibly removed, the Protector caused it to be carefully taken to his palace at Hampton Court, and placed in the gallery, where it formed one of his especial enjoyments, when he could steal an hour from the absorbing cares of the state, to come hither and listen. Hingston was his organist, who gave occasional concerts in his house, and these Cromwell also attended. No doubt musicians yearned for the termination of a period so generally fatal to their pursuit ; but when that desire was gratified by the Restoration, the result was anything but what they must have anticipated. It was a pity that the French people did not devise some expedient of attaching permanently to their country a monarch who was so fond of all that belonged to them, and had so little respect for his countrymen. With French manners and French literature, French music also accompanied or followed the returning steps of the long-exiled prince. And although the impulse previously given was too powerful to be suddenly checked, and great British composers still occasionally appeared, fashion did as much as it could to keep down such attempts, and to a certain extent succeeded. But in this reign an event of some novelty and of great importance occurred, the in-

fluence of which in preserving a certain amount of pure taste, and consequently of genuine relish for the excellence of the native school, can hardly be overrated. We allude to the rise of concerts.

Sir John Hawkins gives but a melancholy view of the opportunities furnished to the middle and lower classes of society, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, for the study and enjoyment of music. The nobility had, of course, private concerts of paid performers, as, to a certain extent, they had, probably, always been accustomed to have; then, for a class lower in position, we find a kind of public concerts gradually growing into use, of which the chief manager was Mr. John Banister; but as to the people generally, it seems the musical portion of them was satisfied with entertainments given in public-houses, and by performers hired by the landlords. Here, says Sir John, there was no variety of parts, no commixture of different instruments; "half a dozen of fiddlers would scrape Sellenger's (or St. Leger's) Round, or John come Kiss me, or Old Simon the King, with divisions, till themselves and their audience were tired; after which as many players on the hautboy would, in the most harsh and discordant tones, grate forth Green Sleeves, Yellow Stockings, Gillian of Croydon, or some such common dance tune, and the people thought it fair music."* But a great reformation was at hand, though every one was astonished at the quarter from whence it came. There was then to be seen daily, walking through the streets of London, a man distinguished from his rivals in the same trade—that of selling small-coal from a bag carried over his shoulder—by his peculiar musical cry, by his habits of stopping at every book-stall that lay in his way, where, if there happened to be a treasure, it was sure to be caught up and purchased, and by his acquaintances, many of whom, as they paused to speak to him in the street, were evidently members of a very different rank of society to his. Ask any bye-stander you see gazing upon him with a look of mingled respect and wonder, who or what he is, and you are answered—That is the "Small-coal man, who is a lover of learning; a performer in music, and a companion for a gentleman any day of his life." It is, indeed, Thomas Britton, the founder of modern concerts. Let us follow him home. He has done his day's work, and is thinking, probably, of some interesting speculation that has been started in the course of his usual weekly meeting in Paternoster Row, with the dukes and earls, who are, like him, collectors; of more wealth, certainly, but not of greater taste, knowledge, or zeal; or else he is running over in his mind the pieces of music that he thinks of selecting for the evening's amusement. Thus, to his little coal-shed and house in Clerkenwell cheerily he goes, where all traces of the business of the day soon disappear; an hour or two elapses, and he is in the midst of a delightful circle of friends and fellow-amateurs, exchanging sincere congratulations, paying his respects to new visitors, opening music books, and tuning his violin. That is indeed a remarkable circle for a small-coal man to draw around him. Know you not the broken German of that last comer who sits down to the harpsichord?—O yes, that is Handel, the great foreign musician; and by his side is Dr. Pepusch, who is also a foreigner, and who has also adopted England for his home. That other pair are Woollaston the painter, and Hughes the poet; the former has just shown a

* History of Music, vol. i. p. 2.

portrait of Britton he has this day sketched, having called him in as he went his rounds; and the latter, with an exclamation of pleasure, recognises a capital likeness of the host. The poet will not be behind the painter in contributing from the stores of his art to the honour of an excellent man, so a few lines are presently roughly traced with a pencil beneath the sketch; which is then handed round by the pleased artist, who sees how happily the two will one day preserve the memory of their friend.



[Thomas Britton.]

“Though mean thy rank, yet in thy humble cell
Did gentle peace, and arts, unpurchas'd, dwell.
Well pleas'd, Apollo thither led his train,
And music warbled in her sweetest strain.
Cyllenius so, as fables tell, and Jove,
Came willing guests to poor Philemon's grove.
Let useless pomp behold, and blush to find
So low a station—such a liberal mind.”

But whose delicious silvery-sounding laugh is that on the stairs, produced apparently by the repeated trips of the laughter, as she endeavours to ascend with her usual step stairs to her of a very unusual character? She enters; her face, one of the most beautiful in the world, a little flushed with her conquest over the difficulties of the way, but radiant with good-humour; it is no less than the Duchess of Queensberry, who comes this evening to share in the musical hospitalities of the small-coal man. But the music begins, and in the taste with which it has been selected, and in the style in which everything is performed, the duchess finds continual matter of surprise and gratification.

These interesting meetings, which began in 1678, appear to have been continued till the death of Britton, which, it is painful to add, occurred indirectly through them. A justice Robe was among the members, one of those greatest of social nuisances, a practical joker. This man introduced into Britton's company a ventriloquist of the name of Honeyman, who, making his voice descend apparently from on high, announced to Britton his immediate decease, and bade him, on his knees, repeat the Lord's Prayer by way of preparation. The command was obeyed; and a few days afterward the subject of it was lying a corpse, overcome by the terrors of his imagination thus recklessly and basely worked upon.

The impulse given by the establishment of the small-coal man's concerts soon extended itself. In one direction "music-shops" of different kinds and different grades arose; whilst in another, societies sprang into existence for the mere enjoyment and promotion of music only, apart from any pecuniary considerations. First of these, and therefore the first of such societies in England, was the Academy of Ancient Concerts, established in 1710, for the practice of ancient vocal and instrumental music; among the principal founders being Dr. Pepusch and Bernard Gates of the Queen's Chapel. A library was commenced; and, with the assistance of the gentlemen of the chapel, the choir of St. Paul's, and the boys from each, a powerful executive formed. For above eighty years did this society exist (it was dissolved in 1792), during which many and weighty were the especial services rendered by it to music, apart from the beneficial tendencies of its general course. One of these occurred in 1732. Handel, after rising to the summit of popularity, had offended his more aristocratic supporters during his management of the Italian Opera, and, in consequence, been driven into retirement with the loss of 10,000*l.*, and with a broken constitution. At the time we have mentioned, the quarrel was still raging, and the great musician's position almost desperate. Then it was that during Lent the Academy brought forward the oratorio of Esther (which had been composed by Handel for the Duke of Chandos's chapel at Cannons); and performed it by means of their own members and the children of the chapel only: the boys of St. Paul's having been taken away by Dr. Greene, on the occasion of a schism in the society, who then opened the Apollo room in the Devil Tavern; on hearing of which Handel, who had been indirectly a cause of the schism, remarked wittily, "De toctor Creene is gone to the tefel!" Although thus shorn of its fair proportions, the Academy exhibited Esther with such remarkable success, that Handel thought he might try the same experiment on his own account; hence arose the custom of regularly performing oratorios in Lent. Deborah was produced in 1733, Israel in Egypt in 1738, Saul in 1740, and the Messiah in 1741; when unable any longer to endure the mortification of finding such works too unpopular even to pay their expenses, the musician determined to quit the country, and accordingly went to Ireland. Pope's well known lines will not be here out of place. Alluding to the quarrel between Handel and the nobility, the poet, in his appeal to the Goddess of Dullness, writes—

"But soon, ah! soon, rebellion will commence,
If music meanly borrow aid from sense.
Strong in new arms, lo! giant Handel stands
Like bold Briareus, with a hundred hands:

To stir, to rouse, to shake the world he comes,
 And Jove's own thunders follow Mars's drums.
 Arrest him, empress, or you sleep no more—
 She heard—and drove him to th' Hibernian shore;

where he was received with a fitting welcome, and from which he returned with fresh laurels to London, in 1742, to try once more his fate. Samson soon appeared at Covent Garden, and an unbroken career of success commenced at last. Under the management of Handel's friend J. C. Smith, Stanley, Linley, and Dr. Arnold, the oratorio long maintained the popularity given to it by the author of 'The Messiah;' but toward the close of the century a person of the name of Ashley started in rivalry to Arnold, and, according to the ordinary rules of managers in opposition, adopted any expedients that promised a temporary success; among them those of partially secularizing and wholly vulgarizing the performances. From that time oratorios, though continued until a comparatively recent period, and with occasional gleams of returning prosperity, produced by occasional gleams of managerial sense and spirit, kept up but a kind of languishing existence that left little to regret when they at last disappeared altogether. The two most noticeable events in their history, since Handel's time, were the re-production of 'The Messiah' with Mozart's accompaniments, and the performance of Beethoven's 'Mount of Olives.'

The madrigalians were not idle during this period. There was among the members of the Academy a Mr. John Immyns, a reduced attorney, who satisfied his pecuniary wants and his musical tastes at the same time by becoming amanuensis to Dr. Pepusch, and copyist to the Society. An ardent admirer of the good old days of madrigal singing, he had the good fortune, as no doubt he esteemed it, to light upon some compositions belonging to that class and time. Thenceforth there was nothing for it but to teach the world madrigals. It is a significant fact, that he sought for disciples at the loom and in the workshop; men whom he already knew, or had heard spoken well of, for their musical tastes and their practice in psalmody. Kotzebue says every one tries to draw a circle around him, of which he may be the centre; our attorney had now found his circle, and happy enough, no doubt, he was in it; extending the knowledge of its members, improving their tastes, developing their skill. They met in 1741 at the appropriate sign of the Twelve Bells in Bride Lane; the expenses of their music, books, paper, and refreshments being all defrayed by a quarterly subscription of 5s.; so that their weekly enjoyments cost them something less than 5d. each. And it would have done the hearts good of some of those old composers whose works they revived, to know how they performed them; we may judge of the excellence of the Spitalfields' weavers and their companions by seeing what men were attracted to their society as members—Dr. Arne, Sir John Hawkins, Drs. Cooke and Callcott—in short, almost all our great eminent musicians down to the very present time, in which the society looks as vigorous and healthy as ever, though but two years ago it celebrated its hundredth year.

In contrast with the Madrigal Society and its plebeian foundation, stands the Catch Club, founded in 1762, says Dr. Burney, by the Earls of Eglington and March, and other noblemen and gentlemen, but which Mr. Gardiner carries back

to a more distant and elevated source. "This Society, I believe, originated in the social meetings spent by Charles II. with Purcel and other *bon vivants* of that age, the portraits of whom, painted by the first masters, occupy the walls of the dining-room in that ancient tavern (the Thatched House). These convivial meetings commence on the opening of Parliament, and continue every Tuesday, with a splendid dinner at four o'clock, immediately after which the grace, *Non nobis Domine*, is sung by the whole company. After the cloth is drawn the Chairman recapitulates some of the ancient laws of the Society, namely, 'If any honourable member has come to a fortune or estate, he shall pay a per centage upon the same, or he may commute the same for ten pounds. If any nobleman, knight, baronet or esquire, shall have taken unto himself a wife, he shall pay into the treasury a fine of twenty pounds in sterling money!'" And it appears from the bank-notes that Mr. Gardiner saw handed in, on the occasion of his visit, that the rules have by no means fallen into desuetude. Music owes much to the early exertions of this Society. The Glee may almost be said to have originated with it. Up to the year 1793 gold medal prizes, of the value of ten guineas each, were annually given for the best glees, canons and catches. And among the successful candidates we find the names of Webbe, Cooke, the Earl of Mornington, Hayes, Danby, Callcott and Stevens. Two of these alone—Webbe and Callcott, obtained nearly fifty prizes. After this it were needless to expatiate upon the merits of the Catch Club. Webbe became Secretary of the Society, in 1784; and we may incidentally observe, that on the establishment, three years later, of the Glee Club—something on the plan of the Catch Club, but without prizes, and which is still existing, he was appointed its Librarian: for this Society he wrote both the words and the music of 'Glorious Apollo,' after its wanderings from one member's house to another had ceased—a feature in its early history, which is alluded to in the Glee: Arnold, Linley, Webbe, Callcott, and Bartleman, were members of this Club. But to return. The cessation of the prizes of the Catch Club has, of course, materially diminished the influence and value of the Society, and we regret to see that the original division into subscribing and professional members has been attended with a result which ought not to have been, and, most probably, was not anticipated, namely, a division into ranks: if the fact be, as stated, that the professional members "enter the room on terms of admitted inferiority," it is certain that music, as well as its professors, will suffer; the divine art knows nothing of social distinctions, and will certainly soon disappear from the place where they are insisted on.

Immediately after the establishment of the Catch Club a new evidence appeared of the rapid progress of music, as regards diffusion, which, after all, was the thing then wanted, since so many admirable composers had appeared within the previous century, that good music was at all times available. Whilst amateur, and mingled professional and amateur societies were flourishing in one direction, and the music-shops—including such really useful establishments as Vauxhall and Ranelagh, in a second, a something combining the musical character of the one and the pecuniary features of the other—subscription-concerts, on a scale of great splendour, appeared in a third.

In 1763, Abel, a distinguished German composer and performer, a pupil of the

great Sebastian Bach, and John Christian Bach, the son of the latter, commenced weekly subscription concerts in London, which for many years were highly successful. Abel himself contributed in no slight degree to this result. On that little six-stringed violoncello, or viol di gamba of his, an instrument now disused, and with some one of his many simple but elegant compositions, he performed such wonders, that the enraptured Dr. Burney says, no musical production or performance with which he was acquainted seemed to approach nearer perfection. We should have been very much surprised if Abel, then, had not highly estimated his instrument, and can fully sympathise with him when he even becomes so enthusiastic about it as he did at the dinner at Lord Sandwich's, according to Dr. Wolcot's story. After the dinner, which took place at the Admiralty, the merits of different musical instruments were canvassed, and his Lordship proposed that each one should mention his favourite. One after another did so; and harps, pianofortes, organs, clarionets, found numerous admirers; but the indignant Abel heard not a word of the viol di gamba. Other instruments followed, and still no viol di gamba. Abel could no longer restrain himself, but suddenly rose in great emotion, exclaiming, as he left the room, "O dere be brute in de world; dere be those who no love de king of all de instrument!" Numerous other concerts of the same kind followed the success of Bach and Abel's experiment; the most noticeable are the Pantheon Concerts, held in the beautiful building then standing in Oxford Street, but which was destroyed in 1792 by fire; the professional concerts, given in the rooms since so famous in musical history, those of Hanover Square, and Salomon's, by far the most important of the whole. This distinguished foreign violinist, having carefully matured his plans in 1790, set off to Vienna, with the gallant determination of bringing back with him either Haydn or Mozart, to produce in person some of their own compositions. They were so pleased with the scheme that *both* agreed to it, and arranged with Salomon that one should come over one year, and the other the next. Poor Mozart did not live to fulfil his part of the arrangement; but Haydn arrived in London in 1791, and, in the course of that and the following year, produced six of the twelve grand symphonies, that now add so greatly to the illustrious musician's name. In 1794 he came again to London, to fulfil a similar engagement with the enterprising Salomon, and the remaining six symphonies enriched that and the ensuing season. But Salomon's claims upon the musical world were to be yet incalculably enhanced. In 1798 he ventured, at his own entire risk, to bring out at the Opera Concert Room, Haydn's grandest work, the 'Creation,' the only oratorio, it is said, which will bear comparison with Handel. Of the many other subscription concerts that followed those of Salomon, it will be sufficient to mention those conducted by Harrison and Knyvett, from 1792 to 1794; by the same parties, in connection with Bartleman and Greatorex, from 1801 to 1821; and by Mrs. Billington, Mr. Braham, and Signor Naldi, from 1808 to 1810, at Willis' Rooms; whilst Madame Catalani, during the same period, opposed them at Hanover Square Rooms.

As to the musical societies of the present day, their name is Legion. We have them for all classes, of all degrees of importance, and embodying the cultivation of all schools. Then again some are for pure instruction, as the Royal Academy

of Music, established in 1822, and the multitudinous classes of Exeter Hall, from which offshoots are fast spreading into every parish of the metropolis; some for the glorification of particular musicians, as the Pureel Club; but generally, of course, enjoyment is aimed at, whether it be in the grand amateur performances of the Sacred Harmonic Society at the hall before mentioned; in the Promenade Concerts, which give us an artificial garden and Monsieur Jullien's cravat, besides all the music, for a shilling; in the Melodists' Club, one of the most agreeable, because the most universal in its plan, of musical assemblages; or in the numerous Septet and Quartet Societies which enliven our domestic circles, and occasionally occupy the concert-room. But pre-eminent above all these, and the older (existing) societies previously noticed, and exercising over most of them an indirect influence through their superiority, are the Ancient Concerts and the Philharmonic. The Ancient Concerts were established in 1776, at a period when the taste of the time promised to banish from the orchestra the works of the mighty masters who had given to it all its true glory, and when the older academy had ceased to exercise any effectual preventive influence. At the Concerts of Ancient Music all lovers of music of the highest order were promised a gratification and an instruction that they could no where else obtain, and upon the whole the institution has redeemed the pledges with which it set out. The original suggester of the society was the Earl of Sandwich, who, with the aid of other noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank, also carried it into effect, and with such spirit that royalty itself became a constant visitor; a great honour, no doubt, but attended ultimately with one serious inconvenience. George III. admired Handel greatly, and in so doing shared but an almost universal feeling; but George III. admired no one else, or if he did care to hear a few notes of Pureel, just by way of relief, now and then, why that was the extent of his toleration; and to this bigotry Greatorex, whilst director, uninterruptedly lent himself. It was out of this society that the famous Handel Commemoration arose in 1784, and which, by the grandeur of the scale upon which it was conducted, gave a new impetus to the study and enjoyment of the great musician's works, the effects of which are still strikingly visible in the grand musical movement now on foot: a movement that promises to restore the old English universality of feeling for the art, with incalculably increased means for study and enjoyment, through the advances that art has made in the last two or three centuries.

The Philharmonic was established in 1813, and from a somewhat similar motive to that which originated the Ancient Concerts. Grand instrumental compositions of the highest class, by modern musicians, had ceased to have a home, as the more important of the subscription concerts before-mentioned lost their popularity and became gradually extinct. "Never was a society formed in a better spirit and with a more commendable aim than the Philharmonic. It began where it ought; it was governed as it ought. There was no hunting after titled patrons or subscribers; no weak subserviency to mere rank. The most eminent members of the profession took the whole affair into their own hands, and entered upon their duties strong, and justly strong, in their own strength. They merged all claims of rank or precedence in one great object—the love of their art. Men of the highest musical rank were content to occupy subordinate stations

in the orchestra. Every man put his shoulder to the wheel; and this very fact impressed the public with a conviction that they were in concert."* Among the early members were John Cramer, Clementi, Crotch, Horsley, Bishop, Attwood, François Cramer, Spagnoletti, and Braham. It was fitting that the man who had before done so much in the cause in which they were engaged should preside at the opening meeting. Salomon, then an old man, led the concerts with "a zeal and ability that age had in no degree impaired." The progress of the Philharmonic was for some years equal to the preparation; and it is impossible to over-estimate the services rendered by it to the art during that period. It has since, it must be confessed, slackened in its exertions; there has not been exhibited the same single-minded enthusiasm. But we would fain hope that it will yet again arise like a giant refreshed from its slumber. The objects for which it was instituted were never more desirable than now; we might say they were never more generally desired. But it is by no petty effort, no absurd appeals to the love of novelty merely, no yielding to the caprices of fashion, that the Philharmonic can recover its once overflowing lists of subscribers. It was formed to lead, and not to follow, and must redouble its exertions, if necessary, in order to place itself once more in a position to fulfil its mission. And if that be grand, what grand instruments are not in its possession to work by? The Philharmonic band is, perhaps, the finest in the world. It is something in a lifetime to remember that first visit to the Hanover Square Rooms, on one of the eight Philharmonic nights. Mozart and Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, and Spohr, appear there as we may no where else find them, unless it be at the representations of their operas by their own countrymen, when they occasionally visit us. Mr. Gardiner has given us a picturesque description of a great work of one of the men we have named—the 'Eroica' by Beethoven—as he heard it performed by the Philharmonic band. And, as it illustrates in an unusually clear manner the mechanism of a grand piece of instrumental music; and incidentally, the demands made by such a work on the skill of the performers, and on the capacity to guide and to hold with an unfailing hand, of the conductor; it may not be uninteresting to our readers to see it here. So let us imagine ourselves seated with the writer amidst the crowded benches of the room shown at the head of our paper, and waiting anxiously the commencement. Hush! there is the slow but sharp tap-tap of the conductor. And the Eroica "opens with two massive shocks, like the firing of cannon; after which springs up, apparently at a great distance, a solemn bewailing melody from the violoncellos, re-echoed by the grave and pensive horn. This strain is taken up in turn by all the instruments, gradually increasing and swelling in sound to an overwhelming degree. The ingenious author keeps the melody constantly in view, playing upon *platforms* of harmony, while these steady masses of sound are made to slide through the different keys. At the sixty-fifth bar a collision takes place, reiterated several times, and between every shock the dragon-like wings of the violins dart among the instruments with frightful asperity. The whole scene is wild confusion, in which some of the instruments grow mad with rage. For a moment something like repose takes place, when a running fight is represented by the

* 'Spectator' newspaper, 1843, p. 759.

violins and basses in *staccato*, driving after each other with increased rapidity. Successive crashes of sound depict the battle in close combat; the oboes and bassoons deplore the fate of the wounded, and out of the crowd rise tones of despair and death. Here the orchestra seems exhausted, and discomfited voices try to resume the original melody, but always without success.; Wide floods of harmony still undulate in massive waves, upon which the double basses carry the opening subject triumphant to the end. After this most extraordinary movement, the Funeral March is heard at a distance—a strain of solemn beauty and simplicity. This is *sung* by the voices of the wind instruments, while the violins and basses, by soft touches at regular intervals, imitate the muffled drums. The weeping oboe and the solos from the bassoon fill the whole strain with gloom and sorrow. This is followed by a soldier savage-like song that runs into the last movement, expressing tumultuous joy. The blaze of harmony is intense, but agreeably relieved by the flutter of the violins, casting a veil over the loud instruments and mitigating the sound. Near the end is a delicious strain from the wind instruments—a prayer to the Supreme Being, whom this author, in his inspired moments, always conceived to be at his elbow; a few sublime crashes of sound terminate this wonderful piece.”* The ‘Eroica’ was written in honour of Napoleon; but, on his assuming the imperial robe, Beethoven—a determined republican—changed his title of ‘Sinfonia de Napoleon,’ to ‘Death of a Hero:’ suggested, we might fancy, by the reflection that the act in question *was* the death of *his* hero.

* ‘Music and Friends,’ p. 636.



[Belgrave Square.]

CXXXVIII.—THE SQUARES OF LONDON.

THE English "Square" is peculiar to the country. The Piazza, Place, Platz, of Italy, France, and Germany, have little in common with it. Its elements are simple enough:—An open space, of a square figure (or a figure approximating to the square), houses on each of the four sides, and an enclosed centre, with turf, a few trees, and it may be flowers or a statue—there is a square. Yet the verdant foliage and ever-green turf on earth, and the ever-varying features of our rarely cloudless sky, freely revealed by the opening amid a forest of houses, lend a charm to every square; and simple though these elements be, they are susceptible of an infinite multiplicity of *nuances* of character. No disrespect to the high architectural beauties of many a continental "place," there is a freshness and repose about an English square more charming than them all.

The square, like many other good things in this world—as, for example, roast-pig (*teste* Elia), the lyre (*vide* the legend of Mercury and the tortoise-shell), and the theory of gravitation (Newton's apple, to wit)—appears to have been in a great measure an accidental invention. Seeking to make something else, men stumbled upon the square, as the alchemists, in trying to make gold, stumbled upon truths compared with which the purest gold is valueless. Nor is it very

long since the discovery was made. The oldest squares that we know of are in London; and the oldest of the London squares, so far as our antiquarian researches have enabled us to discover, is Covent Garden. It was begun by Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, in the early part of the reign of Charles I. The earl contemplated a piazza, Italian in fashion as well as in name. Inigo Jones was employed as his architect, and commenced the erection of a piazza, one side of which was to be formed by a church, two more by houses with an open arched pathway in front under their first stories, and the fourth in all probability by the earl's garden wall—if he did not contemplate a stately palace fronting to the piazza. By one of those strange perversions of foreign designations so common in all languages, the name piazza has come to be applied exclusively to the covered pathway; and the open space was called the square, until the superior importance of the market and the desertion of fashionable inhabitants degraded it to Covent Garden Market.

The square of Covent Garden, though commenced so early, was probably not completed till after the Restoration; at least, the names of some of the streets abutting upon it seem to belong to that later era. In 1657, William, fifth Earl of Bedford, and John and Edward Russell, Esqrs., were abated 7000*l.* from the amount of the fines they had incurred under the Act to prevent the increase of buildings in and near London, in consideration of the great expenses which the family had incurred in erecting the chapel and improving the neighbourhood. This looks as if building were still in progress, and had not begun to pay.

The age of Charles II. was one in which the erection of squares took a decided start. Leicester and Lincoln's Inn Fields owe their origin as squares to that period. It was then that Soho Square sprung into existence, and that handsome Harry Jermyn, who, though a coxcomb, and exposed to have his head turned by the love of a queen, appears to have had as steady an eye to the main chance as any Cubitt of his age, laid the foundations of St. James's Square. Panton Square certainly (we have documentary evidence to the fact), and, to judge by their architecture, Bridgewater Square (Barbican) and Queen Square (Westminster), date from this reign. Wren, Evelyn, and other kindred spirits, endeavoured to promote the taste for this innovation. The learned would have given them finer names; but the most sovereign citizens of London were resolved that they should be simple squares, and nothing but squares. Makers of books waged war against the word for a long time, but unavailingly. In 1732, Maitland wrote about "the stately Quadrate, denominated King's Square, but vulgarly Soho Square;" and the phrase is retained in the edition of 1756. This, we think, is the latest struggle against the word square, and the most signal discomfiture of its adversaries; for not only has *square* superseded *quadrate*, but the "vulgar" *Soho* has outlived the *King*. Every extension of the metropolis since the Revolution has brought with it an addition to its squares: it would be alike idle and tedious to attempt to trace the history of their growth further in detail. In 1734 there were only 50 squares in the metropolis—including some in the suburbs both north and south of the Thames, and some of these, though dignified with the name of square, look marvellously like courts: at present there must be upwards of 100 genuine squares.

It was remarked above that there is great diversity in the characters of squares,

simple though the elements be that compose them. It is possible, however, to classify the squares of London into four grand divisions. The first embraces all the squares west of Regent Street: these may be called the fashionable squares. Two other divisions are situated between Regent Street on the west, and Gray's Inn Lane and Chancery Lane on the east. Holborn and Oxford Street form the line of demarcation between them. South of that line are situated the squares which, having once been the seats of fashion, and still bearing on their exterior the traces of faded greatness, have descended to become the haunts of busy trading life. North of it are the squares of which Mr. Croker knew nothing; inhabited by the aristocracy of the law, among whom mingle wealthy citizens and the more solid class of *literati*. Eastward of Gray's Inn and Chancery Lanes are the obsolete, or purely City squares. There are anomalous squares within some of these divisions. For example, but for its locality Finsbury Square might properly be classed among those of the third division; as, for a similar reason, Red Lion Square in the third, and Queen Square in the second division, have most analogy with the squares of the fourth; and Cadogan Square is first cousin to Russell Square. But similar obstinate exceptions from all rule, it is known to philosophers, will always bid defiance to efforts at classification based upon a combination of geographical distribution and characteristic features. In this arrangement, too, we refer only to our immediate subject—the Squares of London. In all the suburbs squares are now springing up like mushrooms: some of them (Hoxton and Kensington, for example) boast of squares of a venerable antiquity.

The Squares of London vary much in regard to the extent of ground they occupy. According to Mr. Britton, Belgrave Square measures 684 feet by 637, but the gardens belonging to the detached villas considerably augment the real and still more the apparent area. Eaton Square, adjoining, occupies an extent of 1637 by 371 feet. Cadogan Square is 1450 by 370 feet; Grosvenor Square measures 654 feet square; Lincoln's Inn Fields, 773 by 624 feet; Portman Square, 500 by 400 feet; Bryanstone Square, 814 by 198 feet; Montague Square, 820 by 156 feet; Russell, Euston, and Park Squares are all of large dimensions. It is not, however, always the largest square that tells the most effectively in relieving the sense of oppression from being long in City pent. The rapid declivity of Berkeley Square, and the gardens of Lansdowne and Devonshire houses at one end of it, by affording a wider range than the mere square to the eye, leave the impression of more open space. In Leicester Square a similar effect is produced by the mere declivity of the ground. The combination of Mecklenburgh Square and Brunswick Square with the Foundling Hospital (into which, a placard tells us, no foundlings are admitted whose mothers do not present themselves to the board in broad daylight) and its cabbage-garden between, produce an impression of extent in a different way—from our feeling that we do not see the whole at once. In most of the finest Squares of London (Belgrave is the only exception we can at this moment call to our recollection) there is a considerable slope of the ground.

Having always had a *penchant* for burying our dead out of our sight as quickly as possible, we begin with the fourth division—the City Squares. They are not numerous, and whatever may have once been the case, the dust of neglect and desertion has filled up the characteristic lines of their features, leaving an in-

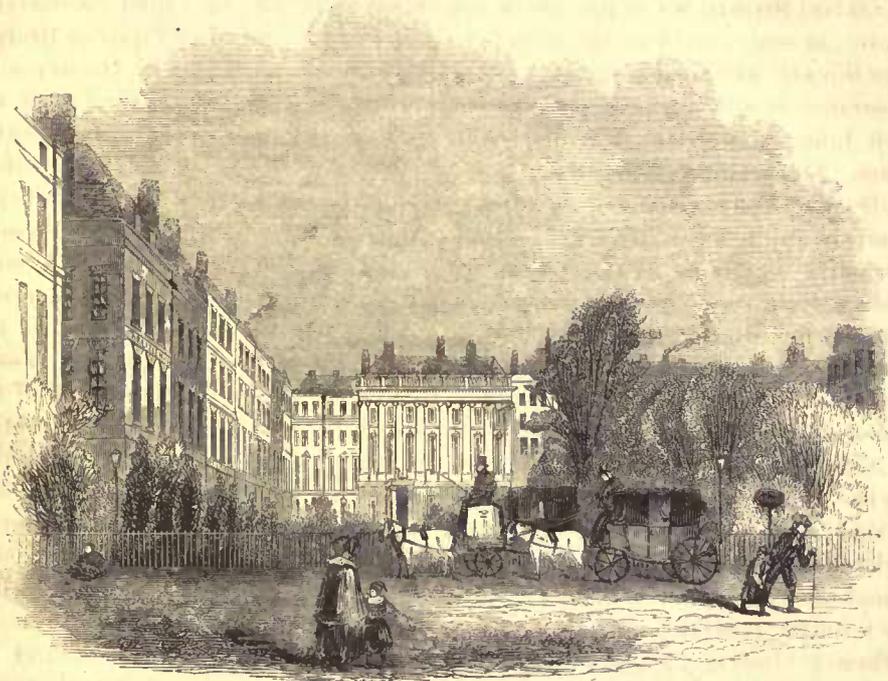
tolerable sameness about them. Finsbury Square must be excepted from this remark: it is one of the third class which has by accident strayed into the City—"a sunbeam that hath lost its way." The rest—Charterhouse Square, Bridgewater Square (Barbican), Devonshire Square (Bishopsgate), Wellclose Square, Warwick Square, and even the little Squares of Gough and Salisbury, have a strong clannish likeness. In Maitland's day they were inhabited by "people of fashion," "people of distinction," "the better class of merchants," and so forth. Wellclose was originally called Marine Square, from being a favourite residence of naval officers. "How altered now!" Enter Bridgewater Square, and its ornamented edifices, with rubbed brick quoins and facings—its Brobdignaggian scallop-shells over some of the doors, remind one of its former state. But, like Wordsworth's 'Hart-leap Well,' "something ails it now," the place is—no, not quite so bad as the poet makes it, though grim and gloomy enough it looks. The elevation of the turf in the central enclosure reminds one of those minikin open spaces with green turf on them, which one so often stumbles upon in the City, and which might delude a stranger with the notion that they were the first attempts at squares—something between the court and the square—child-squares, in short, but which are in reality the fallow churchyards of churches not rebuilt since the great fire. In accordance with this gloomy view, we find on the windows of every alternate house a bill, "To let, unfurnished;" and see, staring us from a window on the south-side, the terrific inscription, GIBBET, AUCTIONEER (for the most minute inspection can scarcely detect the small pica (.) between the colossal G. and I.), surmounted by two perpendicular coffins, closed, yet reminding us of the "open presses" seen by Tam o' Shanter, in Alloway Kirk. Scarcely less grim, though more spacious, is the Charterhouse Square. The line of dead wall, the antique monastic building, the iron-gates at either entry into the square, and the soot-encumbered semi-vegetation of the trees, produce almost as depressing an effect as the sepulchral habitations of Bridgewater Square. The other City Squares have more of life and humanity in their outward show. This is especially the case with Wellclose Square: probably the elastic spirits of the gallant tars, who were its earliest occupants, lent a light-heartedness to the very atmosphere that has never since deserted it. But however dull and desolate these squares may seem to the casual visitant (no such fancies dim the minds of the residents: there is probably more constant sunshine of the soul there than among more splendid regions of the metropolis), there are associations that tempt us at times to revisit them. In the quiet of Charterhouse Square we are carried back to the times when knightly penitents sought consolation from its cloistered owners; when the neighbouring Smithfield, instead of being a receptacle for live beef and mutton, was the scene of tournaments, and, yet more horribly attractive, of the triumph of those martyrs whose blood was the seed of the Reformed Church. Bridgewater Square occupies the site of the mansion of a family from which sprang the earliest promoter of that chain of inland water communication which has done so much to develop the resources of England. Devonshire Square was the spot in which lingered the last lady of rank, who clung to her ancestral abode in the City. Gough Square is still haunted by the Eidolon of Johnson; and Richardson's ghost, nervous and coy, as in life, revisits the glimpses of the moon in Salisbury Square.

Pass we on to a class of squares of more pretensions in their outer show, and with more robust vitality still animating them—the Squares of Lincoln's Inn Fields, Soho, Covent Garden, Leicester, and Golden. Covent Garden, as we have already noticed, is the oldest of our squares; the story of its origin has been told before, and, ere we close, we must again return to it. So here let it suffice to remind the reader that Sir Peter Lely and Roger North have lived in the Piazzas; that Hogarth's club had its meetings there; that the Old Hummums was long the favourite resort of the subaltern heroes of the Peninsular war; and that the adventures of the neighbourhood have supplied matter for the pens of Congreve and Fielding. The Old Hummums, by the way, was the scene of what Johnson called the best accredited ghost story he ever heard of. The ghost, that of Ford, the parson of Hogarth's 'Midnight modern Conversation,' appeared to the waiter; and as the scene was the cellar, and the ghost said nothing, possibly it had been purloining beer, and was too drunk to speak.

Lincoln's Inn Fields is, in point of antiquity, the next square to Covent Garden. In 1659, James Cooper, Robert Henley, and Francis Finch, Esqrs., and other owners of "certain parcels of ground in the Fields, commonly called Lincoln's Inn Fields, were exempted from all forfeitures and penalties they might incur in regard to any new buildings they might erect 'on three sides of the same fields,' previously to the 1st of October in that year: provided that they paid for the public service one year's full value for every such house, within one month of its erection; and provided that they should convey the 'residue of the said fields' to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, for laying the same into walks, for common use and benefit; whereby the annoyances which formerly have been in the same fields will be taken away, and passengers there for the future better secured." On the west side of the square, sometimes called Arch Row, are the most ancient houses. They have originally been spacious, and are ornamented with Ionic pilasters. At the corner of Great Queen Street is Newcastle House, the residence, in his day, of the Duke of Newcastle (*vide* Horace Walpole and Humphrey Clinker), probably the most eccentric statesman Britain has ever known. The central enclosure is one of the largest and finest of these public gardens in London. Much of the square is now used as chambers by solicitors, who have in some instances adapted noble mansions to their use, by cutting them into more than one, just as in some towns of Scotland the economical Presbyterians have sometimes carved half a dozen kirks out of one cathedral. The Society of Useful Knowledge once had its chambers here, but has left it for Bedford Square. The surgeons, whose hall and theatre are the principal ornament of the south side of the square, still stand their ground. The new law buildings harmonise finely with the associations of the neighbourhood, and promise to be a worthy completion to the square.

Soho Square arose during the reign of Charles II. It was once called Monmouth Square, the Duke of Monmouth inhabiting a house in it on the site of Bateman's Buildings. There is a tradition that, on the death of the duke, his admirers changed the name to Soho—the word at the battle of Sedgmoor. An attempt was made to force the name of King Square upon it, which failed. About the accession of George III., Soho was the gayest square in London. Here were Cornely's masquerades and balls, the suppers at which were alleged to be more

elegant than abundant. The houses, numbered 20 and 21, were originally only one mansion; and it witnessed the confidential orgies of George IV. when Prince of Wales. Graver associations clung to it, we were about to say, as we remembered that it had once contained the residence of Sir Joseph Banks, but the recollection of Peter Pindar, and the 'Emperor of Morocco,' checked the phrase.* The externals of Soho Square have little to recommend them; but most of the houses are spacious, the staircases striking and architecturally disposed, and many of them ornamented with pannel paintings of high merit. Continental literature and geography have here fixed their abode with Dulau and Arrow-smith, and the apartments are much in request with artists.



[Soho Square.]

Leicester House, from which the square derives its name, of which it was indeed the nucleus, was built before the civil war; but the square itself is not older than the beginning of last century. It has had its day of splendour—when Leicester House was the pouting place of the first Princes of Wales of the Hanoverian dynasty—but it is sadly faded now. Hogarth occupied the house afterwards converted into the Sablonnière Hotel, and at a later time Sir Joshua Reynolds a house on the opposite side of the square. John Hunter lived and formed his museum in Leicester Square; and in a house in Lisle Place, immediately adjoining it, Sir Charles Bell made his discoveries respecting the nervous system. Latterly the square has been infested with hotels for the questionable class of foreigners, wine-shades, and the like. But "Leicester's busy square" will be

* It is now the house of the dullest of London Societies—the Linnæan: no, not the dullest; we had forgotten the Statistical.

remembered as the scene of Wordsworth's moon-gazers; and the new streets now opening may, if the plan of offering sites in it to the leading scientific societies be carried out, bring to it a second life of interest and external show, transcending even the first.

The interest of Golden Square—nearly coeval with Soho—is almost entirely domestic. It is the most melancholy of all the squares of this region—the most nearly approaching to those of the City. Queen Square (Westminster) and Panton Square (Piccadilly)—also babes of the tipsy days of Charles II.—are quite City in their characteristics. Trafalgar Square (Charing Cross) will be noticed hereafter.

Remaining westward of Regent Street, but crossing to the north of Holborn and Oxford Streets, we come into a region of what may be called comfortable squares, as contrasted with the *passé* appearance of Lincoln's Inn Fields or Bridge-water Square, and their respective class-fellows on one hand, or with the imposing appearance of the west-end squares on the other. They are linked with the olden time through the instrumentality of Russell Square, once a fashionable region. One side of it was originally occupied by the mansion of the Bedford family; and Horace Walpole mentions having visited there. Lord Mansfield's house was in the adjoining corner to the east; and here occurred one of the most destructive bursts of the ferocious mob of Lord George Gordon. A more pleasing recollection is, that Bloomsbury Square was the widowed residence of Lady Rachel Russell. But the tide of fashion has rolled westward, and left Russell Square to be inhabited by the aristocracy of the City and the Inns of Court. A new element has been added to this society by the foundation of the London University and the vicinity of the British Museum. The scientific section of London literary men has thereby been attracted to this region. The wealthy, who had no particular ambition of belonging to the first fashion, have long been attracted to this quarter by its proximity to the open fields; and the formation of the Regent's Park has proved an additional inducement. A society is here formed which already rivals that of the west end, as the noblesse of robe and the rich fermiers-general rivalled in ante-revolutionary France the high aristocracy.

There is clustering around Bloomsbury Square a whole nucleus of squares, all comely, and some elegant, but all modern and middle-class, and devoid of associations to tempt us to linger in them. North of Bloomsbury is Russell Square, on the site of the former house and grounds of the Dukes of Bedford. West of Russell Square is Bedford Square, which in its architecture reminds one of the older west-end squares; and to the east, passing along Guildford Street, are Queen Square, and (what may be considered as one very striking and interesting square) Brunswick and Mecklenburgh Squares, with the Foundling Hospital and grounds between them. To the north of this range of squares is a group consisting of Torrington, Woburn, Gordon, Tavistock, and Euston Squares, all new, spruce, and uninteresting. Fitzroy Square is the monument of a failure. With great architectural pretensions, it is ponderous, and never took with the public. Its vicinity is much affected by artists, who find it convenient to live between their aristocratic patrons and employers in the west-end squares, and their possibly more lucrative employers in the houses of commons which surround the Bedford Square group.

We cannot quit this region without a word about the most disconsolate square in London—Red Lion Square. It is as deserted as the most deserted of those previously named, but has none of the gloom that wraps them. It is a bare and sterile desert, exposed in the full light of day. It is prosaic in the extreme; while they resemble ruins inspiring moonlight melancholy, it resembles a bare and sterile common thronged with passengers, in the sultry noon of summer. There was once an obelisk in the centre, but now there is nothing but a square edifice of blackened boards, the use of which it is difficult to conjecture.

It is in the west-end squares that the characteristics of this feature of the English metropolis are most perfectly developed; and on this account it may reward the trouble to examine them more in detail. Commencing therefore with the oldest—St. James's Square—we shall request the pleasure of the reader's company in a stroll through them.

St. James's Square is noticed by two of our best domestic historians—Evelyn and Horace Walpole. The former saw it in its infancy, the latter in the vigour of manhood. It may have a little declined into the sere and yellow leaf, be less fresh than it once was; but it is still, in external show, the most truly aristocratic square in London. The houses have a look of old nobility about them. The circular sheet of water in the centre of the enclosure makes little appearance from the *pavé*, but is a beautiful ornament as seen from the first-floor windows. William III. is the tutelary genius of the place, and a fitter could not be found for the favourite haunt of the king whose elevation to the throne transferred the sceptre for a time to the nobility of England. His statue ornaments the centre of the square. The corner house, on the right hand, as you enter from Pall Mall, is Norfolk House, in which George III. was born. Next door lives the Bishop of London; and fronting his Grace, on the opposite side of the square, the Bishop of Winchester. It is fitting that bishops should live under the ægis of him who turned out the king who committed the seven bishops to the Tower. It is also fitting that they should affect the square around which the future champion of high churchism, Samuel Johnson, has walked all night with Savage, when neither could find a lodging. No. 11, in the north-west corner, the mansion of the Wyndham Club, perpetuates the name of one of the most accomplished of English statesmen, whose memory would deserve to be held in honour were it only for his devoted attachment to Burke. There is something beautiful exceedingly in the enduring love of an intelligent for a great man. As becometh a club bearing the name of Wyndham, its library is one of the best in London. The memories of the foes of Warren Hastings haunt St. James's Square. The house between the Earl of Lichfield's and that of the late Marquess of Londonderry (better known by the name of Castlereagh) was the residence of Sir Philip Francis. What an association! The birth-place of George III. in the same square with the house of Junius! The future writer of the history of this, our own age, will also find the local habitation of historical names in this square. Here Byng, for more than ten lustres the Whig champion on the Middlesex hustings, resides close by Lord Stanley, whose power as an orator that party has felt both ways; and not far distant from either is the scene of the Lichfield House compact. The row of houses between St. James's Square and Pall Mall are less stately than those on the other side of the square, and turn

their back-fronts to it, in the same manner, and for the same reason probably, that Mrs. McLartie's servant, in the 'Cottagers of Glenburnie,' is said to have turned her back on the family when supping along with them—as an expression of humility. Some of them, at least, are lodging-houses: we remember a whole detachment of the Irish parliamentary brigade quartered in one. Like these dwellings *in* the square, rather than *of* it, are the Erechtheium and Navy and Army Clubs, entering severally from York and King Streets, and having windows looking into the square. The Colonial Club, like the Wyndham, fairly made a lodgment in it, having occupied for a time the mansion once inhabited by Sir Philip Francis. It has now shifted its place to the corner house, next door to the Bishop of Winchester, and looks as if it meditated slipping out of the square altogether.

We now proceed up York Street, along Piccadilly, and turn through Berkeley Street, into Berkeley Square. This square, as Malcolm has observed before us, is worthy of notice rather on account of the inequality of the ground, so much greater than is easily found in London, than for anything remarkable in its buildings. It was this picturesque character of the district that attracted the Berkeleys, Devonshires, and Clarendons of a former day to plant their mansions near it. The south, or lower side of the square, is occupied by the wall of a garden, in which stands a stone house of rather heavy proportions, built in 1765, by the favourite (or more properly the reputed favourite) Bute, and sold by him incomplete to the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquess of Lansdowne, whose designation it bears. Here were once lodged the Lansdowne MSS., now in the British Museum. The centre of the square is (not) ornamented by a huge statue of George III., on a clumsy pedestal. "The charming Lady Mary Montague" died in this square, and what would have teased her more than dying, an obituary notice was penned by another old woman, as sarcastic as herself—Horace Walpole. Hill Street, issuing from the west side of the square, reminds us of Hay Hill, granted by Queen Anne to the Speaker of the House of Commons, greatly to the horror of the political purists of that immaculate day. Is it this parliamentary association that has induced a Speaker nearer our own times, Lord Canterbury, to take up his residence in this square? There is no other modern notoriety connected with this place, nor many historical associations, except some which relate to the Berkeley family. It was here, however, if we mistake not, that the nobleman resided who was murdered one night by his butler, whose committal to Newgate made George Selwyn exclaim, "Good God, what an idea he'll give the convicts of us!" Berkeley Square, however, owing to its sloping position, and the open wooded space between it and the Green Park, is one of the most airy and picturesque of our squares. Some of the interiors are fine, having halls and staircases from designs by Kent. It is also one of the oldest squares, dating from the reign of Queen Anne.

We pass onwards in a north-west direction till we reach Grosvenor Square. It derives its name (along with Grosvenor Street, and Grosvenor Gate in Hyde Park) from Sir Richard Grosvenor, a mighty builder in his day, who was cupbearer at the coronation of George II., and died in 1732. The centre is a spacious garden, laid out by Kent, and is worthy of his landscape-gardening powers. The houses are diversified in their architectural character; the fronts are some of brick and

stone, some of rubbed bricks, with their quoins, windows, and door-cases of stone. They have all the finest feature of a British nobleman's mansion—spaciousness. We do not meet here with the shabby attempt, so common to other parts of the metropolis, to create a false appearance of greatness, by lending the face of one great building to two, three, or more comparatively small houses. The extent of the square (six acres) requires houses of a large size *to tell*: small ones would be lost around it. Within the enclosure is an equestrian statue of George I., almost hidden in summer by the surrounding foliage. It was made by Van Nost, and erected by Sir Richard Grosvenor in 1726, near the redoubt called Oliver's Mount; for the line of fortifications erected by the Londoners during the civil wars ran across the space now occupied by Grosvenor Square. In March, 1727, the Jacobites one night attached a placard to the statue, noways flattering to the original or his family. This square continues to be a favourite residence of the oldest titled families, notwithstanding the persevering efforts of the Minerva Press novelists and their successors of the silver-fork school, to vulgarise it. The Earl of Grosvenor occupies, we observe, a stately mansion about the centre of the north side: possibly he may have been attracted to it by such a notion as Samuel Johnson once expressed while resident in Johnson's Court—a desire to be “Grosvenor of that ilk.”

A short walk along North Audley Street, across Oxford Street, and up Orchard Street, brings us to Portman Square. The building of this square commenced in 1764, but twenty years elapsed before it was completed. In extent it is equal to Grosvenor Square, the central enclosure is equally well laid out, and the houses are all but equally imposing in appearance. Portman Square appears, however, to be a shade less a favourite with the high nobility—possibly because it is a little further from the Park, and deeper in the mass of houses. The north-west angle of Portman Square is occupied by Montague House, once the residence of the queen of the blues. Here were the feather-hangings sung by Cowper, here Miss Burney was welcomed, and here Sam Johnson for a moment grew tame. It was the custom of Mrs. Montague to invite annually all the little chimney-sweepers in the metropolis to a regale in her house and garden, “that they might enjoy *one* happy day in the year.” These May-day festivals have ceased, as have those of Jem White, celebrated by Elia: but, in recompense, there is reason to hope that the day of the sufferings of little chimney-sweeps also is passing away. The well-wooded garden of Montague House adds to the charm of Portman Square. It was at one time ornamented (?) by a moveable kiosk, erected by a Turkish ambassador who occupied the house, and who used there to smoke his pipe surrounded by his train.

Montague Square and Bryanstone Square are twin deformities, the former of which is placed immediately in the rear of Montague House. They are long narrow strips of ground, fenced in by two monotonous rows of flat houses. In the centre of the green turf which runs up the middle of Bryanstone Square is a dwarf weeping ash, which resembles strikingly a gigantic umbrella or toad-stool; and in the corresponding site in Montague Square is a pump, with a flower-pot shaped like an urn on the top of it. A range of balconies runs along the front of the houses in Bryanstone Square; but the inmates appear to entertain dismal apprehensions of the thievish propensities of their neighbours, for between every

two balconies is introduced a terrible chevaux-de-frise. The mansions in Montague Square are constructed after the most approved Brighton fashion, each with its little bulging protuberance to admit of a peep into the neighbours' parlours. These two oblongs, though dignified with the name of squares, belong rather to the anomalous "places" which economical modern builders contrive to carve out of the corners of mews-lanes behind squares, and dispose with a profit to those who wish to live near the great.

Returning to Portman Square, we bend our course eastward to Manchester Square. Manchester House, which occupies the north side of the square, was commenced in 1776: the square was not completed till 1788. A square, to be called Queen Anne's Square, with a church in the centre, had been contemplated in the reign of that Queen, but the plan was not carried into effect. The ground, lying waste, was purchased by the Duke of Manchester, the house erected upon it, and his title given to the square that grew up in front of it. On the sudden death of the duke in 1788, his mansion was purchased by the King of Spain as a residence for his ambassador. It subsequently came into the possession of the Marquess of Hertford; but has remained in a great measure a diplomatic palace. It is at present occupied by Count St. Aulaire, the French ambassador. It is indeed a princely mansion. The other houses of the square have nothing remarkable about them. Yet will this square live in song, as witness the classical ode of Tom Browne the Younger:—

" Or who will repair
Unto Manchester Square
And see if the lovely Marchesa be there?
Oh bid her come with her hair darkly flowing;
All gentle and juvenile, crispy and gay,
In the manner of Ackermann's dresses for May."

Cavendish Square and Hanover Square, north and south of Oxford Street, have, from their proximity, the appearance of being connected by the ligature of a short street. They were commenced about the same time. Cavendish Square was planned in 1715, and the ground laid out two years afterwards. Hanover Square was not built in 1716: in 1720 it is mentioned in plans of London.

The large gloomy mansion, enclosed by a blank wall, on the west side of Cavendish Square, now occupied by the Duke of Portland, was built by Lord Bingley, the foundation-stone being laid in 1722. The north side consisted originally of four houses, of considerable architectural merit; but some Goth has recently erected a staring yellow structure between two of them. The Duke of Chandos—Pope's contemporary—purchased the whole of this side of the square, intending to erect a magnificent mansion upon it. Only the two wings, however, were erected—the two end houses. The two centre houses, ultimately built instead of a central mansion, are fine buildings of Portland stone. It was not here, but in Chandos House, Chandos Street, that the terrible blow struck the *grand* duke, as he was called, which brought him to his grave. Preparations with which all England had rung were made for the christening of his infant heir; the King and Queen stood sponsors in person; the child was seized with convulsions in the nurse's arms, and died during the ceremony, the presumed cause being the excessive glare of light. The domestic annals of England do not

record such another withering rebuke of vain ostentation. The duke died soon after; and the duchess shut herself up in the house which had witnessed the blasting of her hopes, where she moped till death released her. To return to Cavendish Square—the central statue of the Duke of Cumberland, and the Revolution title of Portland, supply associations that render it an appropriate partner to Hanover Square. It is strange how whiggish most of our Squares of any standing are: the new ones may have more of the other side when they are old enough to have historical associations.

Oxford Square was originally intended to have been the name, but adulation of the new dynasty suggested the change to Hanover. A list of the original occupants has been preserved: they are almost all Generals. This is characteristic of the early period of the revolutionary era, when standing armies grew up in consequence of the country being so much more implicated in Continental brawls; and because they were needed to put down the feudal retainers of the Tory chiefs—a feat beyond the powers of the City “trained bands.” There is another characteristic of the first Georgian era that clung to Hanover Square: its progress was for many years impeded by the bursting of bubbles, from 1718 to 1720. There is something peculiar to this square in the approach from the south. The street joins its centre, and the houses on either side converge as they recede from the square. This gives the ground-plan somewhat the appearance of a gridiron—the church of St. George supplying the nob of the handle. Hanover Square forms, in some sort, a connecting link between the squares immediately west and those immediately east of Regent Street; for though it has not lost all its original brightness, nor had its excess of glory obscured, something of its exclusiveness hath departed from it. An hotel and a concert-room have a gravitating tendency to bring it to the level of middle-class squares; but to compensate for this it has now become the site of the British and Foreign Institute, where, after playing in turn the parts of mariner, editor, statesman, lecturer—after voyaging far beyond the Pyrenean and the river Po—the perturbed spirit of Mr. James Silk Buckingham, who, from the extent of his travels, is, since Ledyard, the person most liable to the suspicion of being an incarnation of the wandering Jew, may rest from his labours, and sing “Home, sweet home.”

Our subject now leads us to a subdivision of the West End squares of very recent growth. The district immemorably known as *The Five Fields*, “where the robbers lie in wait,” was laid out about twenty years ago by the noble proprietor, with a view to its being constructed into streets and squares. The principal part was engaged in 1825 by the Messrs. Cubitt, who immediately began raising the surface, and forming streets and communications. The whole of the district was also intersected by immense sewers, which having a considerable fall to the Thames, through a dry gravelly soil, secure even the lower stories against damp. Such an advantage, together with the vicinity of the Parks and of the new Pimlico Palace, rapidly attracted inhabitants. Tattersall’s sees itself *enlavré* in London with astonishment; and Ranelagh, seeing the tide of fashionable houses rising up towards it, bewails the precipitancy of its owners, in allowing it to be covered by inferior houses, water-works, and factories. The disconsolate scene of gaiety in the olden time feels in the neighbourhood of the world of fashion like *la Goualeuse* of Eugene Sue’s ‘*Mystères de Paris*,’ in the midst of her father’s

court. Its claim to mingle among the gay and noble has been forfeited—by no fault of its own—but still irrecoverably forfeited. It is a strange feeling with which one treads this new region of princely mansions, thinking of the duck-ponds and clay-pits of one's boyhood. And to the old among us it is peopled with still more unequivocally rural associations. A respectable builder, near Sloane Street, has spoken to us of the nightingales which used to serenade him from his own garden; and a venerable septuagenarian remembers the time when, from Norwood, he could see with a spy-glass his children sporting in the garden behind his house in Grosvenor Place. The same venerable ancient has enjoyed "an easy shave" in a one-storied shed occupied by a barber, which blocked up what is now the entry into Hamilton Place, Piccadilly.

Youngest and most gorgeous of our squares is Belgrave Square, the *vera effigies* of which, in our illustration, may spare us the labour of description. The central space is, perhaps, too large to admit even of such large houses as are here telling, *en masse*, as a square. Perhaps, however, this is an advantage, considering the locality. Belgrave Square is situated between town and country. The houses are already becoming sensibly less dense, like a London fog, as one approaches its outskirts. Hyde Park lies behind it; St. James's Park intervenes between it and town; the great thoroughfares in the vicinity have more of the road in them than the street. In such a neighbourhood, a square confined enough to allow of the height of the houses being felt in proportion to the extent of the ground-plan, would convey a sense of confinement—of oppression to the lungs, though in the heart of the town it would feel as a relief. The isolated mansions at the four corners, standing obliquely to the sides of the square, look like a hint taken from the position of Montague House in Portman Square, and in conjunction with so spacious an area have a good effect. It may be prejudice on our part—a *borné* view, the consequence of our aesthetical faculty having been developed among the old squares, and received their impress so deep as to be indelible,—but we should have better liked less uniformity in the architecture. We prefer individual character in the houses: we do not like to see them merely parts of an architectural whole, like soldiers, who are only parts of a rank. But this regimental fashion is now the order of the day, and the young generation growing up among Belgrave Squares, Eaton Squares, and their humbler imitants, may think differently from what we do.

Eaton Square may claim a notice here, and along with it Euston Square, in a less aristocratical region, on account of their peculiar character. Squares proper have various entrances; but in all of them the square is evidently the main thing, and the entrances subordinate to it. But for the names at the corners of Euston Square and Eaton Square, they might be taken for a mere bulging out of the highway which bisects them. They belong still more decidedly than Belgrave Square to what geologists would call the transition formation—the structures intermediate between town and suburbs. The effect of the square, massive, protruding porches of Eaton Square is heavy; but this defect is amply redeemed in the apprehension of any one who wanders through it on a summer evening, by the use to which the ingenious inhabitants turn them. They are made hanging-gardens—may they have a longer lease of existence and a more prosperous end than those of Babylon!—from which the breezes descend redolent

of minionette, "the fragrant weed, the Frenchman's darling." Euston Square is remarkable for the caryatides of St. Pancras Church—would that it had a better steeple, and that the range of ornaments along its eaves did not so strikingly resemble pattipans! At the centre of the north side of the square, a little back from the line of houses, is a massive archway of good solid proportions, the gateway to the terminus of the Birmingham Railway. Of all the exits from or entrances to those great modern vomitories of the metropolis, the railways, this is the most striking. The terminus of the Great Western is in a pit; that of the South Western stands behind backs; that of the Brighton, &c., comes "slantendicular" on to the road. The terminus of the North Eastern may be free from such blemishes, but our travels have not yet extended to that undiscovered bourne in the far East.

Ought we or ought we not to say a word or two by way of appendix concerning the suburban squares? Unluckily, our acquaintance with them is not very extensive. And the most exigent reader, when he considers what a space the suburbs of London spread over, will scarcely think we need be ashamed to make the confession.

Of the squares beyond the river the only one we can charge our memory with a particular recollection of is Kennington Oval, which is not a square any more than Finsbury Circus, and which, moreover, seems to make little haste to completion. Kennington Common and Camberwell Green will, doubtless, be manufactured into squares ere long. Viewed as *matériel* they are not more hopeless than were "the five fields" upon which Belgrave Square has sprung up. Should the park, of which there has been some talk as projected on the banks of the river in Battersea-fields, ever become a reality, there will squares even be constructed around it.

Along the Mile-end Road and towards Stratford-le-Bow, where, unless Chaucer misleads us, was the earliest fashionable boarding-school at which young ladies were "Frenched," there are some pretty enough common-place squares, which have too little of individual character to leave a lasting impression. In Hoxton, as has been already noticed, is Hoxton Square, the oldest of suburban squares. Islington has a square or two, but the square does not appear to have as yet extended towards Highgate. Camden Town and Kentish Town have places, but, so far as we recollect, no squares. Crossing the Regent's Park, however, to the S. W. we come upon Dorset Square—a square of a genteel enough character. In the new town springing up to the north of the "terraces" and "gardens" which line the Oxford Road as it skirts Hyde Park, there are several of colossal and somewhat ponderous squares yet unfinished.

It is, however, in the suburb which extends westward from Belgrave Square that squares are to be found "thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa strewed." Perhaps the reason may be that the example was set by Kensington Square at a very early period. Between 1730 and 1740 we are certain that Kensington Square was in existence, and a place of good fashion, for it was there that the modest and immaculate Letitia Pilkington forced herself upon the Archbishop of York to ask him to subscribe to her book. The appearance of some of the houses bespeaks an antiquity at the least as great as this—the fashion of the doors and windows—the huge scallop-shells over some of the doors. The re-

sidence of the Court at Kensington Palace naturally led some of the dignified clergy and the nobility who held offices in the household to seek residences in the neighbourhood, and hence a more courtly style of building than in other suburban villages.

Next upon Kensington Square (so far as we have been able to learn) followed the squares and places projected by Sir Hans Sloane in the town laid out by him, and called Hans-Town, after himself, between Chelsea and Brompton. There is Hans Place (Hexagonal), of which Mrs. Hall has declared, in her 'Maid Marian,' it is so quiet that the very cats who come to reside there unlearn the art of mewing. There is Cadogan Square, which, from its peculiar relation to Sloane Street, might have been classed along with Euston and Eaton Squares, were it not, as Touchstone has it, "like an ill-roasted egg, all on one side." And there is Sloane Square, as bare and intersected with crossings as Kennington Common, as tiny in its proportions as Red Lion Square, and combining with a rare excess of common-place all that is uninteresting in both.

Thus initiated as a land of squares, the fashion grew in Chelsea, Brompton, and Kensington, and spread westward. Chelsea has its Trafalgar Square, or at least two sides and a half of it; and the houses in front of the College may assume the airs of a square quite as legitimately as the squares of Mecklenburgh and Brunswick already noticed. Brompton has Trevor Square; Montpellier Square (so called probably because it is more shut in from a free current of air than any other); Brompton Square (which excludes the busy traffic of the world by its gates); Alexander Square, which is not a square, nor anything else to which a name can be given, and Thurlow Square, yet unfinished. And, lastly, Kensington has, in addition to Kensington Square proper, Pembroke Square, plain enough in its exterior, and not unaptly characterised by the beer-shop at the corner; and Edward Square, which we are glad to find last on the list of suburban squares, as we would fain part from them with an agreeable impression. Edward Square stands behind backs. It is directly at the back of the range of houses that front to Holland House, and it stands sidling backward from Pembroke Square. The houses are all small, yet the central enclosure is more spacious and more tastefully laid out than in many squares that force themselves ostentatiously upon notice. This delicious square, thus stowed away in a corner, must have been designed by one who wished to carry the finest amenities of Patrician life into the domestic habits of the narrowest incomed families of the middle class. We regret to add that so delightful a plan did not originate with an Englishman: Edward Square was a Frenchman's speculation.

We return to town before we conclude, to notice an innovation: in addition to the novel structure and architecture of these new squares, London is getting *places* as well as squares. By *places* are meant the continental vacuums of that name, not the rows of houses which have hitherto been so designated in England, because nobody could invent another name for them. Waterloo Place, and the adjoining opening from which the Duke of York's pillar arises, is of this class; and a very fine one it is, owing to its connection with St. James's Park by a broad flight of steps. Trafalgar Square, when finished, will be another, though so much can scarcely be said in its praise. What with the effeminate architecture of the National Gallery, the hideous caricature of Nelson's statue, the

portentous tail of the Northumberland lion (like nought earthly but the pigtail of an old sailor, or the caudal appendage of a pointer at a dead-set), the showy vulgarity of the buildings extending from St. Martin's Church to the statue at Charing Cross, one can only compare the collection to a child's attempt to construct a fine group out of Noah's arks and jolter-headed wooden dolls. If the pigtail statue from Pall Mall East is moved hitherward, the resemblance will be complete. It is odds but Charles I., indignant at being surrounded by such a crockery-shop, claps spurs to his horse and rides off. It was a less lacerating injury that set in motion the stone statue of the commandant in 'Don Juan.'

At the Mansion House they are gradually excavating a place, which promises to be fine, though irregular. The Bank, the Exchange, and the Mansion House will make a goodly City place, if they are contented to remain prosaic and modern, as befits the City. The Duke of Wellington, on an oblong pedestal, like good King Charles at Charing Cross, may be tolerated; but let us have no columns, with mast-headed Admirals on them, to render the centre of London's busy commerce and civic authority a parody upon the forum of Rome. It would be expensive to open a place around St. Paul's by the demolition of the houses between the cathedral and Paternoster Row. That a wide terraced opening down to the river should be made is scarcely within the range of probability. But we could scarcely wish to see the approach by Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill altered; for to us there is a charm in the glimpses we catch of Wren's *semi-reducta* Venus (a somewhat colossal one, it must be admitted), which we catch up the winding ascent.

Covent Garden, with its balustraded market, has also more of the place than the square. And here we close our desultory remarks where we began them, having, like the snake, emblem of Eternity, brought our head round to our tail; having, like John Gilpin, neither stinted nor stayed,

“Nor stopped till where we first got up
We have again got down.”



[Bridgewater Square.]



[Hall of the Company.]

CXXXIX.—THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

THE history of the Stationers' Company furnishes probably the most terse and forcible illustration of the progress of literature in England that can well be given. Let us merely glance at three phases of the history. The first takes us back to the days when our chief booksellers and publishers were men who *wrote* what they sold, and with whom, of course, calligraphy was the best stock in trade for a young bookseller to commence business upon; and when the learning and literature of the country demanded, as their chief food, A B C's and Paternosters, Aves and Creeds, Graces and Amens, with portions of the Scriptures for the more ambitious, and occasionally for the very wealthy and very learned a chronicle history, or a copy of the Canterbury Tales. Such were the members of the Stationers' Company, such their avocations, prior to the fifteenth century; and of which the names of Paternoster Row, Amen Corner, and Ave-Maria Lane, are a perpetual testimony.

But as if the Divine voice had said for a second time, Let there be light—printing dawned upon the world, and the effect produced during the first century of its operations is clearly exhibited in what we may call the second phase of the Company's history. Just one hundred and one years after the introduction of the art into this country by Caxton, we find certain parties petitioning the Queen, Elizabeth, for the sole printing of ballads, damask paper, and books in prose or metre, a medley of objects that seems to imply a consciousness of the growing

national literature, with a delightful unconsciousness as to the definite state it might assume, and a tradesman's prudent caution not to risk too much upon such a speculation: poetry, philosophy, and education might do, but the damask-paper would, at all events, be an excellent adjunct. A good idea, no doubt, for the time, but many a publisher of the present day, who can make *his* damask-paper sell *for* the poetry, the philosophy, the—in short, whatever he likes to call it, by virtue of the semblance of rhyme or reason he causes to be impressed upon it, must smile at the inartistical character of those early trade arrangements. To the petitioners in question the Company of Stationers started up in reply, and its statement* furnishes a most interesting and somewhat amusing view of English literature, just before the Shaksperes and Ben Jonsons, the Massingers, and Beaumont and Fletchers arose, to place it at its culminating point of splendour. We learn from it that the proposed privilege would have been the overthrow of a multitude of families, since it was by the printing of such books that the Company was then maintained. We learn also from it that literature was already growing too rich a thing, in a commercial sense, for the Stationers' Company to be left in quiet possession of; that slice after slice was cut off by its own members for their individual enjoyment; that it was, in other words, dividing itself into departments, each of such importance as to be made the object of special privilege from royalty, and therefore, of course, each worth the purchasing by a pretty round sum, the usual mode of obtaining privileges. It is important here to observe that, in exercising its power over the productions of the press, there was a general governmental motive of infinitely higher importance than the particular royal ones we have referred to, both which worked very harmoniously together. "On the first introduction of printing it was considered, as well in England as in other countries, to be a matter of state. The quick and extensive circulation of sentiments and opinions which that invaluable art introduced could not but fall under the gripe of governments, whose principal strength was built upon the ignorance of the people who were to submit to them. The press was therefore wholly under the coercion of the crown, and all printing, not only of public books containing ordinances, religious or civil, but every species of publication whatever, was regulated by the king's proclamations, prohibitions, charters of privilege, and finally by the decrees of the Star Chamber,"† of which the Company of Stationers were said in the last century to be the "literary constables," whose duty it was "to suppress all the science and information to which we owe our freedom." The principal of these constables, during the reign of Elizabeth, were, it appears, John Jugge, the Queen's printer, who possessed the sole right of printing Bibles and Testaments; Richard Totthill that of printing law books; John Day, of A B C's and catechisms, who enjoyed also the sole right of selling those publications by "colour," observes the Company, "of a commission;" James Roberts and Richard Watkins, of almanacs and prognostications; Thomas Marsh, of the Latin books used in the grammar-schools of the country; Thomas Vantroller, a stranger, of other Latin books, including the New Testa-

* As given by Nicholls in his account of the Company; of which he was a highly respected member: see 'Literary Anecdotes,' vol. iii.

† Lord Erskine's speech in the cause of the Stationers' Company against Carman, of which we shall have occasion to speak in another page.

ment in that language; one Byrde, a singing man, of music-books, and who, by that means, claimed the printing of ruled paper; William Seres, of all psalters, "all manner of primers, English and Latin, and all manner of Prayer-books," with the reversion of the same to his son; and Francis Flower, of "grammars and other things." One might do something with even the smallest of these privileges now. Aladdin's lamp pales in splendour, and the fortune of the builder of Fonthill seems to grow insignificant in comparison with the wealth that would pour in from such a source. All, or nearly all, these privileges had been possessed previously by the Company or by its members, that is, the trade generally. It is particularly mentioned that the right of printing Bibles and Testaments and law books had been common to the trade, that the right of printing the grammar-school Latin books belonged to the Company, whilst the A B C's and catechisms, the almanacs and prognostications, had formed the chief relief of the "poorer sort" of the fraternity. One of the special grievances complained of in the reply from which we learn these facts, was that the last-named privilege, Francis Flower's, was possessed by one who did not belong to the Company, but who coolly farmed out his right to one of the Company's members for 100*l.* a year, which, it was carefully stated, was raised by enhancing the original prices. Not the least noticeable feature of this phase is the sudden accession of members to the Company during the reign of Elizabeth; of the whole one hundred and seventy-five of which it consisted in 1575, no less than one hundred and forty had taken up their freedoms subsequent to the Queen's accession.

Above two centuries and a half have since passed, and the end may be said to be reached of which the beginning was foreshadowed in these continual parings down of the privileges of the Stationers' Company, and which parings, like so many parts of polypi cut off from the parent animal, ever in so doing started into a new and independent existence, rivalling the prosperity of the whole from which they had been derived, and themselves ready for a similar process. And what is that end? Let us step into Ludgate Street, and from thence through the narrow court on the northern side, to the Hall shown on our first page. The exterior seems to tell us nothing, to suggest nothing, unless it be that of a very common-place looking erection of the seventeenth century, and therefore built after the fire which destroyed everything in this neighbourhood; so we enter. Ha! here are signs of business. The Stationers' cannot, like so many of its municipal brethren, be called a dozing company; indeed it has a reputation for a quality of a somewhat opposite kind. All over the long tables that extend through the Hall, which is of considerable size, and piled up in tall heaps on the floor, are canvas bales or bags innumerable. This is the 22nd of November. The doors are locked as yet, but will be opened presently for a novel scene. The clock strikes, wide asunder start the gates, and in they come, a whole army of porters; darting hither and thither and seizing the said bags, in many instances as big as themselves. Before we can well understand what is the matter, men and bags have alike vanished—the Hall is clear; another hour or two, and the contents of the latter will be flying along railways east, west, north, and south; yet another day and they will be dispersed through every city, and town, and parish, and hamlet of England; the curate will be glancing over the pages of his little book to see what promotions have taken place in the church, and sigh as

he thinks of rectories, and deaneries, and bishoprics; the sailor will be deep in the mysteries of tides and new moons that are learnedly expatiated upon in the pages of his; the believer in the stars will be finding new draughts made upon that Bank of Faith impossible to be broken or made bankrupt—his superstition, as he turns over the pages of his Moore—but we have let out our secret. Yes, they are all *almanacs*—those bags contained nothing but almanacs: Moore's and Partridge's, and Ladies' and Gentlemen's, and Goldsmiths', and Clerical, and White's celestial, or astronomical, and gardening almanacs—the last, by the way, a new one of considerable promise, and we hardly know how many others. It is even so. The—at one time—printers and publishers of everything, Bibles, Prayer Books, school books, religion, divinity, politics, poetry, philosophy, history, have become at last publishers only of these “almanacs and prognostications,” which once served but to eke out the small means of their poorer members. And even in almanacs they have no longer a monopoly. Hundreds of competitors are in the field. And, notwithstanding, the Stationers are a thriving Company. In the general progress of literature, the smallest and humblest of its departments has become so important as to support in vigorous prosperity, in spite of a most vigorous opposition, the Company in which all literature, in a trading sense, was at one time centered and monopolised!

If the Stationers' Company thus possesses peculiar features of interest in connection with a larger subject, it has independent claims also of an unusually attractive character in connection with its almanac history. The exclusive right in publications of this kind was possessed, as we have seen, during the reign of Elizabeth, by two individuals, who had obtained their right from the poor printers who previously enjoyed it, most probably just as it began to show that it would keep them poor no longer. A similar advance in popularity and sale led no doubt to the next change, which was the conferring the right on the Universities and the Stationers' Company jointly by James I., a junction characteristic of the royal pedant, who may have thought the first would provide the learning whilst the second should undertake the general management. It was a time of glorious promise for the speculation. As astrology had, in all probability, first brought almanacs into existence, by making popular the study of the heavens, on which it was based; so, like a careful parent, to its honour be it said, it continued for centuries to support them when in being. And the Company was duly grateful. Whilst the Universities ingloriously accepted an annuity for their share from their former coadjutor, evidently desiderating no longer the acquaintance of the astrologers, whilst wits laughed at predictions and more serious men grew indignant at the deception practised upon those who believed them, the Company remained firm; nay, to this hour, Francis Moore and Partridge are honoured names in Stationers' Court, the almanac of the former heading the yearly trade list, a precedence that its sale no doubt entitles it to. We have heard it said that something like 400,000 copies were among those bags before mentioned, from which, after making every allowance for the return of those unsold, a very handsome item must still remain. This, it must be confessed, reveals the philosophy of the Company's gratitude to astrology and astrologers. The Stationers' Company appears to have acted from a simple desire to give people that which would sell, whether astrological or not; and not from

any peculiar turn for prophecy inherent in the corporation. Thus even in 1624 they issued at the same time the usual predictions in one almanac, and undisguised contempt of them in another; apparently to suit all tastes. The almanac of Allstree, published in the above-mentioned year, calls the supposed influence of the moon upon different parts of the body "heathenish," and dissuades from astrology in the following lines, which make up in sense for their want of elegance and rhythm:—

"Let every philomathy (*i. e.* mathematician)
Leave lying astrology
And write true Astronomy,
And I'll bear you company.*"

But the men addressed declined doing any such thing, and so a very entertaining and instructive chapter in the annals of human credulity was left for our enjoyment and guidance; and for which we may refer the reader to a former number of our publication.† If, however, the astrologers could not be induced to quit their profitable occupation by this, or by any appeals, they could be made uncomfortable in it, and the eyes of the public to a certain extent opened at the same time as to their true character and value. And this our writers did with considerable alacrity. It must be acknowledged the subject was a tempting one; especially worthy, for instance, the powers of a Butler—hence the following masterly portraiture of Lilly, the greatest of the astrologers of the period, from the reign of Charles I. to that of Charles II.

"He had been long tow'rd's mathematics,
Optics, philosophy, and statics,
Magic, horoscopy, astrology,
And was old dog at physiology.
But, as a dog that turns the spit
Bestirs himself, and plies his feet
To climb the wheel, but all in vain,
His own weight brings him down again,
And still he 's in the self-same place
Where at his setting out he was;
So in the circle of the arts
Did he advance his natural parts,
Till falling back still for retreat
He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat.
For, as those fowls that live in water
Are never wet, he did but smatter.
Whate'er he labour'd to appear
His understanding still was clear.
He 'd read *Dee's* prefaces before,
The devil and Euclid o'er and o'er.
He with the moon was more familiar
Than c'er was almanack well willer;
Her secrets understood so clear
That some believed he had been there:
Knew when she was in fittest mood
For cutting corns and letting blood;
* * * * *
He knew whatever 's to be known,
But much more than he knew would own."

* 'Penny Cyclopædia,' article Almanac.

† 'London Astrologers,' No. LXVI.

That the subject of this eulogy was not unworthy of it, a few notices of his life will show. Lilly seems to have had a good education, having been sent early to a grammar-school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, although his parents were too poor to do anything for him when he reached manhood; accordingly we find him in London filling at first the situation of servant to a mantua-maker. In two or three years he extricated himself from this position, and became a kind of assistant to the Master of the Salters' Company, who, being an illiterate man, employed Lilly to keep his accounts. From that time fortune almost constantly smiled upon him. His employer died in 1627, and Lilly married the widow, receiving at the same time a marriage portion of 1000*l*. The death of this lady in a few years, and a second marriage, brought him 500*l*. more. In 1632 he began the study of astrology under a fitting master, one Evans, a clergyman who had been expelled from the Church for his fraudulent doings, under colour of the science; and of whom Lilly proved a most apt scholar. In a short time the name of the new astrologer was in every one's mouth. A striking evidence of his popularity, and of the state of public feeling, in 1634, is furnished by an incident that then took place. Some wisecracks had got it into their heads that vast treasures were buried beneath the cloisters of Westminster Abbey; so Lilly was applied to in order that, by the use of the mosaical or miner's rods, he might decide the question. Not the least amusing part of the story is the behaviour of the Dean; when his permission was asked, he granted it, but only on the condition of a share in whatever might be discovered. The scene in the cloisters, during the experiment, must have been of an extraordinary character. Lilly was accompanied by thirty gentlemen, each carrying a hazel rod, and the time was night. A few coffins were disinterred, and the rods again and again applied without any satisfactory result, when, suddenly, a violent storm broke out, which so alarmed the whole body of nocturnal explorers that they ran off as fast as their legs could carry them. So popular a man was not likely to remain unconnected with the Stationers' Company. Prophecies had long been in Lilly's way. He had been bold enough in 1633 to publish the horoscope of the monarch himself, when Charles was crowned King of Scotland; and the latter, so far from resenting the boldness, took the prophet into his favour, and was, it is well known, in the frequent habit of consulting him from that time. In 1644 Lilly condescended to prophesy for subjects as well as kings, in public as well as in private. In that year he published his first almanac, under the name of Merlinus Anglicus, junior, and although the licenser took considerable liberties with it prior to publication, the entire edition disappeared in a few days. A curious circumstance followed the promulgation of one of Lilly's prognostications in his treatise, the *Starry Messenger*; the Commissioners of Excise caused him to be arrested on the grounds that they had been personally insulted, "by having their cloaks pulled on Change," and that the Excise Office had been burnt, both, they believed, being in consequence of his predictions. It was proved, however, that the publication had followed the events and not the events the publication. The idea of making astrologers responsible for such of their predictions as tended to fulfil themselves was not a bad one; for it is most likely that, apart from the mischief it was thus in their power to do whensoever they pleased, no inconsiderable portion of the public faith in their skill was obtained by the same proceeding. At

all events it was a decided improvement on the plan of Pope Calixtus III., who caused prayers and anathemas to be offered up against a comet, which had, according to the astrologers, predicted, and thereby, according to the Pope, assisted in, the success of the Turks against the Christians. But we fear the comet treated the matter with entire unconcern, we may say disrespect; not even a quivering of its tail, as it retired in unseemly fashion from the Papal eyes, betokening that it was in the slightest degree touched with fear or remorse. There is no doubt that Lilly, like many other astrologers, owed more to cunning and shrewdness, perhaps even occasionally to really superior knowledge, than to astrology. The powers so ludicrously assigned to astrologers by Butler, in the following lines, had, no doubt, often some foundation, though the influences by which they were obtained were very different from the ostensible ones:—

“They ’ll search a planet’s house to know
 Who broke and robb’d a house below :
 Examine Venus and the Moon
 Who stole a thimble, who a spoon ;
 And though they nothing will confess,
 Yet by their very looks can guess
 And tell what guilty aspect bodes,
 Who stole and who received the goods.
 They ’ll feel the pulses of the stars
 To find out agues, coughs, catarrhs,
 And tell what crisis does divine
 The rot in sheep, and mange in swine.”

But Lilly could do more than all this. He was really a keen reader of the signs of the times, talked so much about in astrological publications, but then it was by carefully looking about him on the earth, and studying the character of men, rather than by poring over the skies, and inquiring into the aspects of gods; we may rest assured that Lilly placed a great deal more reliance on the movements of Pym, and Hampden, and Cromwell in the parliamentary, than Jupiter, Mars, and Venus in the heavenly, houses. Up to 1645 Lilly was a cavalier, from thence up to the Restoration a decided Parliamentarian (he was a member, for instance, of the close commission that sat to consult upon the King’s execution), after the Restoration, most loyal of king’s men once more. But this time the change failed of the usual success; the astrologer’s stars were unpropitious: all his applications for employment were answered by mortifying refusals; so he comforted himself, as well as he could, in his snug retreat at Walton-upon-Thames, where he had adopted a tailor as his son, christened him Merlin Junior, and by will bequeathed him his almanac. Lilly died in 1681. To this picture of him, who, in point of time and skill, is the most important of the old astrologers connected with the Stationers’ Company, we need only add Aubrey’s illustration of the method of almanac-making: “Most of the hieroglyphics contained in this [Lilly’s] work were stolen from old monkish manuscripts. Moore, the almanac-maker, has stolen them from him, and doubtless some future almanac-maker will steal them from Moore.”

After Butler’s, the most formidable attack upon the astrologers was that made upon Partridge and his almanac, by Swift in 1709, which had the rare effect of making the prophet cease to prophesy; though the Company, not the less, issued

at the usual time a Partridge's Almanac, and, though that was discontinued during the three following years, it again rose then, and flourishes to this day. Swift knew well enough that it was the system that supported the men, rather than any particular men the system; so, though he worried poor Partridge almost to death by predicting he was dead, he took care to extend his attacks to the thing which alone made Partridge of importance. To those who may yet believe in Moore and Partridge, the following passage is full of instruction: "Then for their observations and predictions, they are such as will equally suit any age or country in the world. 'This month a certain great person will be threatened with death or sickness.' This the newspaper will tell them; for there we find at the end of the year, that no month passes without the death of some person of note; and it would be hard if it were otherwise, when there are at least two thousand persons of note in this kingdom, many of them old, and the almanac-maker has the liberty of choosing the sickliest season of the year, where he may fix his prediction. Again, 'This month an eminent clergyman will be preferred;' of which there may be many hundreds, half of them with one foot in the grave. Then, 'Such a planet in such a house, shows great machinations, plots, and conspiracies, that may in time be brought to light.' After which if we hear of any discovery, the astrologer gets the honour; if not, his predictions will stand good. And at last, 'God preserve King William from all his open and secret enemies, Amen.' When, if the King should have happened to have died, the astrologer plainly foretold it; otherwise it passes for but the pious ejaculation of a loyal subject: though it unluckily happened in some of their almanacs, that poor King William was prayed for many months after he was dead, because it fell out that he died about the beginning of the year." If dullness, and credulity, and superstition were not wit-proof, such shafts must have penetrated, and the almanac-makers have speedily found that their occupation was gone; but we see little evidence that the Company found any effect produced where they would have felt it, that is in their ledger. But toward the close of the century, a new adversary sprang up, whom they could understand perfectly, as their proceedings against him testify. There was then living in St. Paul's Churchyard, a bookseller of the name of Thomas Carnan, who very unaccountably got a notion in his head that he had as good a right to publish almanacs as the Company; and, worse still, actually published an almanac on the strength of the notion. The Company, however, determined to settle the matter very speedily, and, after a preliminary flourish about counterfeits, threw him into prison. Strange to say, however, Carnan was still not satisfied, and tried again the second year, was again thrown into prison,—a third year, and the like result followed. These issuings forth from St. Paul's Churchyard of the almanacs, and the entrances into gaol of their proprietor became so regular a thing of course, that "there is a tradition in his family that he always kept a clean shirt in his pocket, ready for a decent appearance before the magistrates and the keepers of his Majesty's gaol at Newgate."* All this was very annoying to a respectable company; but Carnan's impertinence rising with every fresh effort to put him down, he at last, in 1775, brought the case legally before the judges of the Common Pleas, when, to the unutterable indignation of the Company, it was decided that in effect

* 'London Magazine.' See an excellent article on Almanacs in the volume for 1825, and to which we must express our obligations.

Carnan was quite right, that the professed patent of monopoly was worthless. The grounds of this decision were of higher importance than the subject that called it forth, and must not therefore be passed without explanation.

We have before seen that the crown exercised despotic power over the press almost from the very period of its introduction into England, and that the Stationers' Company were the instruments. Thus by their charter, received from Philip and Mary, it was declared that no persons, except members of the Company, should print or sell books; and they were at the same time empowered to seize and destroy all books prohibited by acts of parliament or by proclamation. In the reign of Elizabeth we find the Company, while pointing out to her Majesty what a very poor company they were, and begging for the privilege of printing the Latin Accidence and Grammar, enforcing their petition by a vaunt of their deserts in searching for and suppressing popish and seditious books. We need only give one illustration more, and that is from the reign of Charles I. On the 11th of July, 1637, a decree was issued from the Star Chamber, restricting the number of printers to twenty, besides the King's printer and the printer to the universities. When the Star Chamber fell, this jurisdiction fell too; but, unfortunately for the consistency of the men who overthrew both, the same odious restrictions were revived during the Commonwealth. One can hardly lament such an occurrence now, seeing the memorable event that sprang from it—the publication of Milton's 'Areopagitica, a speech for unlicensed printing,' which, if it did not move those to whom it was more especially addressed, did something still more extraordinary, namely, induced the licenser, Mabbott, to resign. At the Restoration similar powers were annexed to the crown, and, in a more solemn manner, by acts of parliament, which only expired in the reign of William and Mary, through the refusal of the legislature to continue them any longer,—a period that, as Erskine observes, "formed the great era of the liberty of the press in this country." The only reservation was that of publishing religious or civil institutions, in other words, the ordinances "by which the subject is to live and to be governed. These always did, and, from the very nature of civil government, always ought to, belong to the sovereign, and hence have gained the title of prerogative copies. When, therefore, the Stationers' Company claimed the exclusive right of printing almanacs under a charter of King James I., and applied to the Court of Exchequer for an injunction against the petitioner at your bar, the question submitted by the barons to the learned judges of the Common Pleas, namely, Whether the crown could grant such exclusive right? was neither more nor less than the question; Whether almanacs were such public ordinances, such matters of state, as belonged to the King by his prerogative, so as to enable him to communicate an exclusive right of printing them to a grantee of the crown? For the press being thrown open by the expiration of the licensing acts, nothing could remain exclusively to such grantees but the printing of such books as, upon solid constitutional grounds, belonged to the superintendence of the crown, as matters of authority and state. The question, thus submitted, was twice solemnly argued in the Court of Common Pleas, when the judges unanimously certified *that the crown had no such power.*" But rich companies never want powerful friends: the minister, Lord North, who, it is said, wished for loyal prophecies to bolster up the American war, now brought a bill into parliament to

give the Stationers that which the judges had decided they had not; and the universities, feeling, no doubt, they should do something for their annuity, if not in gratitude for the past, why then as security for the future, lent all their influence to carry the measure through parliament. But the despised Carnan had also a friend in the House, Erskine, who fought the battle against the monopolists in a spirit and manner worthy of his reputation, and the result was a signal defeat for the minister, the Company, and the universities. We have already transcribed from Erskine's speech an account of the question that had been raised and decided in the courts of law, namely, whether or no the monopoly was legal: it remained now to determine whether such a monopoly was right. Two points in Erskine's speech challenge especial notice: the first is that in which he deals with the mischievous effects of the proposed measure as regarding literature and knowledge generally:—"If almanacs," he observes, "are held to be such matter of public consequence as to be revised by authority, and confined by a monopoly, surely the various departments of science may, on much stronger principles, be parcelled out among the different officers of state, as they were at the first introduction of printing. There is no telling to what such precedents may lead; the public welfare was the burthen of the preambles to the licensing acts; the most tyrannical laws in the most absolute governments speak a kind, parental language to the abject wretches who groan under their crushing and humiliating weight; resisting, therefore, a regulation and supervision of the press, beyond the rules of the common law, I lose sight of my client, and feel that I am speaking for myself, for every man in England. With such a legislature as I have now the honour to address, I confess the evil is imaginary; but who can look into the future? This precedent (trifling as it may seem) may hereafter afford a plausible inlet to much mischief; the protection of the *law* may be a pretence for a monopoly in all books on *legal* subjects; the safety of the *state* may require the suppression of *histories* and political writings. Even Philosophy herself may become once more the slave of the schoolmen, and Religion fall again under the iron fetters of the church." The other point to which we referred bears upon the particular question, whether it was expedient to confer on the Company the sole right of issuing almanacs. To determine this, Erskine inquired into the state of such publications under the Company's supervision, and the result was startling:—"But the correctness and decency of these publications are, it seems, the great objects in reviving and confirming this monopoly, which the preamble asserts to have been hitherto attained by it; since it states, 'that such monopoly has been found to be convenient and expedient.' But, Sir, is it seriously proposed by this bill to attain these moral objects by vesting, or rather legalizing, the usurped monopoly in the Universities, under episcopal revision, as formerly? Is it imagined that our almanacs are to come to us in future, in the classical arrangement of Oxford, fraught with the mathematics and astronomy of Cambridge, printed with the correct type of the Stationers' Company, and sanctified by the blessings of the bishops? I beg pardon, Sir, but the idea is perfectly ludicrous; it is notorious that the Universities sell their right to the Stationers' Company for a fixed annual sum, and that this act is to enable them to continue to do so. And it is equally notorious that the Stationers' Company make a scandalous job of the bargain; and, to increase the sale of almanacs among the vulgar,

publish, under the auspices of religion and learning, the most senseless absurdities. I should really have been glad to have cited some sentences from the one hundred and thirteenth edition of 'Poor Robin's Almanac,' published under the revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; but I am prevented from doing it by a just respect for the House. Indeed, I know no house, but a brothel, that could suffer the quotation. The worst part of Rochester is ladies' reading when compared with them."

The utility of the almanacs in other respects, it seems, had been on a par with their decency and sense. The House of Commons must have enjoyed amazingly Erskine's quiet wit in reviewing their claims to correctness and scientific learning:—"They are equally indebted," he says, "to the calculations of their astronomer, which seem, however, to be made for a more *western* meridian than London.—Plow Monday falls out on a Saturday, and Hilary term ends on Septuagesima Sunday. In short, Sir, these almanacs have been, as everything else that is monopolised must be, uniform and obstinate in mistake and error, for want of the necessary rivalry. It is not worth their while to unset the press to correct mistakes, however gross and palpable, because they cannot affect the sale. If the moon is made to rise in the west, she may continue to rise there for ever." After such an exposure of what the Company's almanacs had been, it was idle to talk of what they yet would be, on the same system. The House decided against the monopoly by a majority of 45. The Company was, however, relieved from the payment of their annuity, and the Universities received parliamentary compensation. And thus, as every one concluded, was the monopoly of the Company destroyed for ever. It was a great mistake. Almanacs from different quarters, of a better kind, came forth as expected, but some magic seemed at work with them; they disappeared in such unaccountable fashion. Even Carnan's did not last many years. The fact was, the Company was now buying up all such publications as fast as they appeared, or as fast as it could convince the proprietors of the prudence of selling them, which, with the Company's influence over the entire machinery of book-selling, was by no means difficult. The consequence was, that Poor Robin still revelled in the obscenity which he had learned in the days of Charles II.; Moore, and Partridge, and Wing, became as reckless as ever in their insults upon the common sense of the nation in their astrological predictions; and, during the French Revolution, a new coadjutor was brought into the field, who surpassed all his rivals and predecessors in the mystical wonder of hieroglyphics, and the almost sublime daring with which he settled beforehand the events of that most eventful time. One would have thought that the men of that age had supped full of natural horrors; but when Francis gave them his supernatural wonders into the bargain, they found their error. The sale of his publication was, of course, enormous—unparalleled.

The course of this history, it must be acknowledged, is not flattering to the Company; but in looking at its conduct we must not overlook the extenuating circumstances in its favour. Baily has told us that the members did once make an endeavour to reform their publications—and commenced by omitting from Moore the column showing the moon's influence on the parts of the human body; the consequence of that single omission was the return of the greater part of the

copies. The question, therefore, of improvement or no improvement did, certainly resolve itself into that of little or no revenue, or a large one. And although there can be no doubt as to what a spirited and honourable corporation should have done in such a position, there is something to be pleaded for the Stationers' Company in not so doing. The evils that existed they found, and did not create; and the time was not so very remote since they had been esteemed anything but evils. We must not forget that some of our most eminent philosophers have been astrologers; and that the belief in astrology is not even yet entirely extinct. Within the last twenty-six years a book on astrology, in two volumes, quarto, and with elaborate tables, bearing unequivocal marks of genuine faith on the part of the author, has been published. But how was such a state of things to be terminated, the Company not having the least taste for self-sacrifice—no ambition higher than the breeches' pocket? In 1828, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge stepped quietly forward, and answered the question by the publication of the British Almanac; and the result showed, as history had a thousand times shown before, that the error of under-rating the public taste and knowledge is at least as frequent as that of over-rating, and infinitely more mischievous. And here, again, a certain amount of credit belongs to the Company. It did not disdain to learn, though a rival offered the lesson. It made honourable its next year's history by a two-fold movement: in one direction it banished a great deal of their astrology, and the whole of their indecency, from the almanacs;—Poor Robin was extinguished altogether—your very aged libertine is always irreclaimable; in another it published a new almanac of a very superior character in all respects, namely, the Englishman's. In the preface to the last the writers stated that "their own older and established publications they modify from time to time, as the diffusion of taste and knowledge may require;" and we believe there is nothing in the present management of the Company's business to contradict the principle thus publicly promulgated.

Some idea of the extent of the business now done, and of those who enjoy its profits, may be here usefully given. The Company, be it known to all who are not familiar with the subject, is a kind of Janus corporation—one head being ever busily occupied in eating municipal dinners and transacting municipal business, the other in making almanacs to sell, and in disposing of the proceeds when sold. And if you believe what each of the heads will not hesitate to tell you, when a corporation commissioner, for instance, is standing by, the common street announcement would be very applicable—no connection with the head next door; but then it is evident to all that the same body supports both:—it is truly a perplexing matter. It seems, however, to be thus explained. The Master and Keepers (or Wardens) of the mystery or art of a Stationer, as, to observe civic etiquette, the title must be given, were, of course, from the time of Henry IV., the farthest period to which their knowledge of themselves extends, all members of the same, or closely connected trades, in this agreeing with municipal fraternities generally; but whilst the last gradually ceased to have any important duties connected with, or control over, their respective occupations, and therefore grew careless as to what trade their new member might be—since all of every trade could certainly eat a good dinner, the most important part of

metropolitan municipal constitutions in modern times; the first, on the contrary, through the operation of the influences already pointed out, remained, and remains, a prosperous and thriving trade corporation, and is exceedingly careful as to the matter of admission. Their principle is very simple, and perfectly just. Whoever has a right to be a member of the Company through patrimony or servitude is admitted, whatever his business, but those alone can purchase admittance, or have it conferred on them by gift, who are members of the bookselling, stationery, printing, bookbinding, printselling, or engraving trades or professions; and then with regard to the election of the former class to the livery, such freemen must disclaim any participation in the Company's business as stationers. The effect, therefore, is, that the Company at this moment retains more completely than almost any other London corporation the features of its original character. The number of freemen is between 1000 and 1100, of the livery of about 450. As the business of the Company is managed by its regularly paid servants, those who form the proprietary body have little else to do than to invest their money when permitted, and receive the very handsome per centage it returns—12½ per cent. some years ago, and now, we believe, considerably more. The entire capital invested is upwards of 40,000*l.*, under the denomination of English Stock, a title derived from the time when the Company had a very respectable Latin stock also, now dwindled away to the trifling sum invested in the publication of a Latin Gradus, the only work at present published by the Company in addition to their almanacs. This 40,000*l.* is divided into between three or four hundred shares, varying in value, through a regularly increasing double sequence, from 40*l.* and 50*l.* to 320*l.* and 400*l.* each. The mode of distribution is, we believe, perfectly fair, and so arranged that the oldest members receive the greatest benefit. The shares being fewer in number than the Livery, there are, of course, always vacancies, which are filled up nominally by election, but virtually by order of seniority. A share may be bequeathed to a widow, but no farther. In the municipal character of the Company there is nothing worthy of particular notice. The receipts and expenditure are given in the Corporation Commissioners' Report for the years 1832-3 at the respective sums of 2542*l.* 2*s.* 3½*d.* and 1951*l.*; items which, it is almost unnecessary to state, have nothing to do with the trading business of the Company.

The Hall is chiefly noticeable for its pictures, since it has no architectural pretensions, and exhibits little of that sumptuous magnificence which glows and sparkles in the apartments of Goldsmiths' Hall. The Court Room is handsome, certainly, and delightfully comfortable when its lustres are lighted up, a cheerful fire blazing in the grate, the screen placed against the door, and the inmates sitting down on their well-stuffed chairs to hear the amount of the last year's dividend on their stock. At such times the arched and stuccoed ceiling seems to expand and grow more elaborately rich; no one then doubts that the extraordinary carvings of fruit and flowers over the chimney-piece are by Gibbons's own hands; West's picture, facing us in the little boudoir-like place at the extremity of the room, and of which we get some such glimpse of the two principal figures as is here shown, through the pair of stately columns that divide the two apartments, surpasses a Titian in colouring—a Michael Angelo in grandeur; nay, we question even whether the story in all its marvellous features, which gave rise to the picture,



[Alfred and the Pilgrim.]

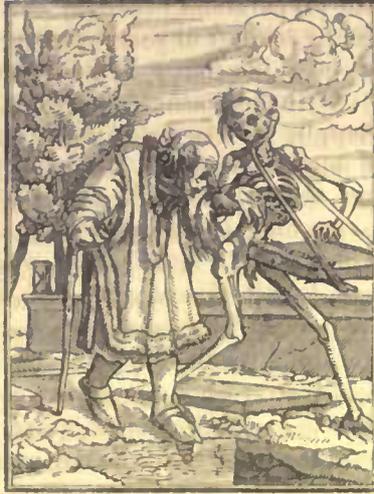
would not be received implicitly, as the old chroniclers related it; one of whom says of Alfred, "Upon a time, when his company had departed from him in search of victuals to eat, and for pastime was reading in a book, a poor pilgrim came to him, and asked him alms in God's name. The King lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, 'I thank God of his grace that he visiteth his poor man this day by another poor man, and vouchsafeth to ask of me that which he hath given me.' Then the King arose, and called his servant, that had but one loaf and a very little wine, and bade him give the half thereof unto the poor man, who received it thankfully, and suddenly vanished from his sight, so that no step of him was seen on the fen or moor he passed over; and also, what was given to him by the King, was left there, even as it had been given unto him. Shortly after the company returned to their master, and brought with them great plenty of fish that they had then taken. The night following, when the King was at his rest, there appeared to him one in a bishop's weed, and charged him that he should love God, and keep justice, and be merciful to the poor men, and reverence priests; and said, moreover, 'Alfred! Christ knoweth thy will and conscience, and now will make an end of thy sorrow and care; for to-morrow strong helpers shall come to thee, by whose help thou shalt subdue thine enemies.' 'Who art thou?' said the King. 'I am Saint Cuthbert,' said he, 'the poor pilgrim that yesterday was here with thee, to whom thou gavest both bread and wine. I am busy for thee and thine; where-

fore have thou mind hereof when it is well with thee.' Then Alfred after this vision was well comforted, and shewed himself more at large." West's picture of this touching incident, divested of its supernal accompaniments, forms the most important of the pictorial treasures of the Stationers' Company. It was given by the excellent Boydell, who was Master of the Company, and of whom there is here a portrait, in his robes as Lord Mayor, which is amusing for its allegorical absurdities. The artist, Graham, wanted to say that Boydell was just and intelligent in his office, that he promoted Industry and Commerce as a tradesman, and that he did good service to the memory of Shakspeare, by his famous gallery and the publication to which it led. So we have Boydell in the city chair, with figures of Justice holding the balance and the city sword on his right; Prudence, with her looking-glass and the emblem of penetrating wisdom, on his left; Industry, with a sun-burnt complexion and a bee-hive on his head, behind; and lastly, Commerce, in front, reclining on a cornucopia, with the compass in one hand, whilst with the other she points to the outpouring contents of her horn, and touchingly appeals to the Lord Mayor to know whether he won't taste of the good things he has done so much to create. No wonder, after all this, the artist's invention slackened its pace a little, and so told the remainder of the story, by putting the bust of Shakspeare on a table with—the city mace. The other noticeable pictures, mostly portraits, are in the stock-room, where we have Tycho Wing, the astrologer, with his right hand on a celestial sphere; Prior, the poet, with animated features, habited in a cap and crimson gown, a capital portrait; Steele, with his handsome dark speaking eyes, and corpulent-looking body;—both these last pictures given by Mr. Nicholls;—Bunyan, a recent acquisition, and looking like a genuine portrait of the author of the "Pilgrim's Progress," the gift of Mr. Hobbs, whose vocal powers have so often solaced the fraternity; Bishop Hoadley, a half-length, in his robes of the Order of the Garter; and Bowyer, a bust, with a brass-plate and inscription written by himself, and too honourable to the memory of the writer and to the Company to be passed without special notice. In it he returns his "gratitude to the Company of Stationers and other numerous benefactors, who, when a calamitous fire, June 30th, 1712-13, had in one night destroyed the effects of William Bowyer, printer, repaired the loss with unparalleled humanity." And such a fact is the best possible testimony to the character and public services of the "last of the learned printers."

The charities of the Company are numerous, consisting chiefly of pensions varying in value from 30*l.* per annum downwards. Among the benefactors Guy stands conspicuous. He took up his freedom as a member of the Company in 1688, and commenced business as a printer in the house that, till of late years, formed the angle between Cornhill and Lombard Street. There he laid the foundation of his mighty fortune, by contracting with the universities for the printing of Bibles. Honours in Stationers' Court kept pace with the guineas in Cornhill; he became a liveryman, and member of the Court of Assistants. The buying up of seamen's tickets during Anne's wars, and the South Sea Stock, now presented opportunities for the investment of money, which Guy turned to extraordinary account. From the last, with characteristic tact, he drew off in time with his gains, and was one of the few whom that gigantic fraud and folly bene-

fited. It was time now to make himself comfortable, to grow domestic, have little ones playing about the knee, to whom those almost inexhaustible stores should descend. He determined to marry his servant-maid. On such an occasion Guy thought some little preparations necessary in a household characterised by economy much more than by comfort or completeness. They were set about. Guy would be lavish once in a life-time; he would even have the pavement before his door mended. With his own hands he marked out how far the masons were to go. Unhappily for the bride there was a little spot beyond, which she thought the men might as well do. But they answered that Mr. Guy had directed them not to go so far. "Well," says the maiden innocently, and little dreaming what thousands hung upon every word—"Tell him I bade you, and I know he will not be angry." The mending of that stone broke the marriage. Guy built hospitals with the main body of his fortune; from the remainder the Stationers' Company to this day derive some 50*l.* yearly for its poor.

The entering of the titles of all new publications on the books of the Stationers' Company is a custom of considerable antiquity, and we owe to it many important facts, illustrative of the order and the date of the writings of our great poets, more particularly Shakspeare's. The recent Copyright Act has subjected the Company to the additional duty of registering all assignments of copyrights; so that it is still destined, in all probability, to a long career of public usefulness, a difference between itself and its less fortunate municipal brethren, of which it may be reasonably proud.



[Death and the Old Man. From Holbein's Dance of Death.]

CXL.—BILLS OF MORTALITY.

IN the week ending the 18th of November, 1843, the number of deaths in the metropolis exceeded the average mortality by upwards of three hundred. There was once a time when a fact like this would have produced a panic among the citizens, and have arrested the gaieties of the West End; for an increase in the fatality of ordinary diseases was generally regarded as a precursor of the Plague: but, excepting members of the medical profession, undertakers, and sextons (whom it must not be considered ungracious thus to link together), this increase of one-fourth in the number of deaths is unknown to nearly all the world besides—a sure sign of the little interest which it excites, when scarcely common gossip adopts it as a “topic of the day.” It was with the view of communicating to the inhabitants of London, to the Court, and the constituted authorities of the City accurate information respecting the increase or decrease in the number of deaths, and the casualties of mortality occurring amongst them, that the Bills of Mortality were first commenced. London was then seldom entirely free from the Plague, and the publication of the Bills was calculated to calm exaggerated rumours; and to warn those who could do so conveniently to leave London whenever the pestilence became more fatal than usual. The Bills were first commenced in 1592, during a time when the Plague was busy with its ravages, but they were not continued uninterruptedly until the occurrence of another Plague, in 1603, from which period up to the present time they have been continued from week to week, excepting during the Great Fire, when the deaths of two or three weeks were given in one Bill.

In 1662, Captain John Graunt, a citizen of London, who appears to have lived in Birchin Lane, published a work entitled ‘Natural and Political Observations

on the Bills of Mortality,' in which he gives an account of the manner in which they were prepared. "When any one dies, then, either by tolling or ringing of a bell, or by bespeaking of a grave of the sexton, the same is known to the searchers corresponding with the said sexton. The searchers hereupon (who are ancient matrons sworn to their office) repair to the place where the dead corpse lies, and by view of the same, and by other inquiries, they examine by what disease or casualty the corpse died. Hereupon they make their report to the parish clerk, and he, every Tuesday night, carries in an account of all the burials and christenings happening that week to the clerk at the Parish Clerks' Hall. On Wednesday the general account is made up and printed, and on Thursdays published and disposed to the several families who will pay four shillings per annum for them." Maitland, in his 'History of London,' says that the Company of Parish Clerks was strictly enjoined by its charter to make report of all the weekly christenings and burials in their respective parishes, by six o'clock on Tuesdays in the afternoon; but a bye-law was passed, changing the hour to two o'clock, on the same day, in order, says Maitland, "that the King and the Lord Mayor may have an account thereof the day before publication." About 1625, the utility of the Bills having been generally recognised, the Company of Parish Clerks obtained a licence from the Star Chamber for keeping a printing-press in their Hall, for printing the Bills; and it was ordered that the two masters and the warden of the Company should each of them have the keeping of a key of the press-room door. In 1629 there were two editions of the Weekly Bills printed, one with the casualties and diseases, and the other without. The former was a foreshadow of the newspaper of later times, which devotes a column instead of a line, to "dreadful accidents" and other casualties. Graunt says, "Having always been born and bred in the City of London, and having always observed that most of those who constantly took in the Bills of Mortality made little other use of them than to look, at the foot, how the burials increased or decreased; and among the casualties, what had happened rare and extraordinary in the week current, so as they might take the same as a text to talk upon in the next company, and withal, in the Plague time, how the sickness increased or decreased, that so the rich might judge of the necessity of their removal, and tradesmen might conjecture what doings they were likely to have in their respective dealings"—he conceived that the wisdom of the City had designed them for other uses, and began to examine them; and the result was the work already mentioned, which is curious, and not without value as a step towards just conclusions. He had to combat some singular notions, first, that the population of London was to be reckoned by millions; "which most men do believe, as they do that there be three women to one man." He speaks of "men of great experience in this City who talk seldom under millions of people to be in London;" and all this he was himself apt enough at one time to believe, "until on a certain day one of eminent reputation was upon occasion asserting that there was, in the year 1661, two millions more than in *Anno* 1625, before the Great Plague"—a notion about as reasonable as the idea which prevailed amongst intelligent persons fifty years ago concerning the population of Nankin and some of the other cities of China. Turning to the Bills, he showed that if there were *only* six millions of inhabitants of London, the deaths being about 15,000, the proportion was only 1 in 400, which common

experience at once disproved; and as to the proportion of men and women, there were, he says, fourteen men to thirteen women; in which he was wrong on the other side, the number of females being always in the larger proportion; at the present time, for example, being about nine to eight. The population of London he reduced from millions, according to the popular notion, to 384,000, or 199,112 males and 184,886 females. The deaths were about 1 in 24. In 1605 the parishes comprised within the Bills of Mortality included the ninety-seven parishes within the walls, sixteen parishes without the walls, and six contiguous out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey. In 1626 the city of Westminster was included in the Bills; in 1636 the parishes of Islington, Lambeth, Stepney, Newington, Hackney, and Redriff. Other additions were made from time to time. At present the weekly Bills of Mortality include the ninety-seven parishes within the walls, seventeen parishes without the walls, twenty-four out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey, including the district churches, and ten parishes in the city and liberties of Westminster. The parishes of Marylebone and St. Pancras, with some others, which at the beginning of last century had only a population of 9150 persons, but now contain 360,113, were never included in the Bills.

The nosology of the old Bills of Mortality is not without interest as an index of the state of medical knowledge at the time when they were commenced. Some of the obsolete heads would puzzle a medical practitioner of the present day. In 1657 we have "chrisomes and infants," 1162 deaths; in this instance the age of the deceased being substituted for the disease. By "chrisome" was meant merely a child not yet a month old, the appellation being derived from the chrisom, or cloth anointed with holy unguent, which infants wore till they were christened. In 1699 the number entered under this head was only 70; but as they decreased the number set down to convulsions increased, the name of the disease which carries off so many infants being at length substituted for the term indicative merely of age. In 1726 there were but three "chrisomes," being the last time this entry appears; and "infants" occurred for the last time in 1722. "Blasted and planet" is another curious entry, under which we find five deaths in 1657, five in 1658, three in 1659, and eight in 1660, after which it does not reappear, and soon afterwards "blasted" no longer occurs. "Planet-struck," however (of which "planet" was an abbreviation), occurs during the casualties for several years afterwards; and it is most likely that these appellations were bestowed on persons who wasted away without any very obvious cause. Dysentery, the disease of camps, and of those who live as if in camps, carried off its thousands annually in the crowded and dirty parts of old London; though it did not appear in the Bills under this name, but in one more homely and expressive than delicate. Scarlet fever, the deaths in which amount at present to about two thousand a-year, is not found in the old Bills till 1703, when the number of deaths from it is stated to be only seven, and the next year only eight, the fact being that it was long confounded with measles, even by physicians. The old synonymes for water in the head (hydrocephalus) were "headmouldshot" and "horseshothead," and both referred to changes produced by this disease in the shape of the head. In 1726 they very properly began to be classed together. The head "rising of the lights," which was never omitted in the old Bills, has puzzled the medical historian; since the choking sensation in the throat (globus

hystericus), to which it seems to bear the nearest affinity, is by no means a fatal or even dangerous disease. "Tissick" is used for phthisis or consumption. Graunt has some curious speculations on the introduction of the "rickets" for the first time in 1634. Some of the casualties recorded are not likely to recur amongst us. In 1724 there was one "died from want in Newgate;" in 1732 one "murdered in the pillory;" in 1756 one "killed in the pillory." Graunt congratulates his fellow-citizens that "few are starved," the number of entries which occur under the head "starved" in the course of twenty years being fifty-one; but then he seems to have exempted "helpless infants at nurse, which being caused rather by carelessness, ignorance, and infirmity of the milch-women, is not properly an effect, or sign of want of food in the country, or of means to get it." Then again he observes that "but few are murdered; not above eighty-six of the 229,250 [the deaths in twenty years] which have died of other diseases and casualties; whereas in Paris few nights escape without their tragedy."

The chief value of the Bills of Mortality for upwards of a century after their first institution consisted, in the public estimation, of the warning which they afforded as to the existence or progress of the Plague, which during the Middle Ages and to the end of the seventeenth century was at all times either an active agent in the work of destruction or apparently suspending its ravages only to recommence them with greater fury. Sir William Petty, in his 'Essay on Political Arithmetic' concerning the Growth of the City of London, published in 1682, says: "It is to be remembered that, one time with another, a Plague happeneth in London once in twenty years, or thereabouts; and it is also to be remembered that the Plagues of London do commonly kill one-fifth of the inhabitants." Again he remarks: "The Plague of London is the chief impediment and objection against the growth of the City." Within the hundred years preceding the period when he wrote there had been five great Plagues, namely, in 1592, 1603, 1625, 1636, and 1665. In the four last years the total number of deaths in London, from all diseases and from the Plague, was as follows:—

	Total Deaths.	Died of the Plague.		Total Deaths.	Died of the Plague.
1603	37,294	30,561	1636	23,357	10,400
1625	51,758	35,417	1665	97,306	68,596

The above are the figures given in another work of Graunt's relating to the mortality of the Plague. In 1603 the deaths from the Plague were three out of every 3·7 deaths from all diseases, which was a higher proportion than in 1665. In 1625 there were eight times as many deaths as there were christenings in the previous year. If such a proportion were to occur now, the number of deaths in the metropolis would be raised from about 46,000 to nearly 400,000. But even in the intermediate years, between the occurrence of Great Plagues, the mortality was frequently reckoned by hundreds and thousands. In the five years from 1606 to 1610 the deaths from the Plague exceeded 2000 in three separate years, 4000 in one year, and in 1610 they amounted to 1803. This Plague, says Graunt, lasted twelve years. The number diminished until 1624, when not one death from the Plague was recorded; but in the following year the deaths rose to 35,417. Between 1625 and 1636 there occurred three years, at intervals, in which there were no victims to the destructive pestilence, one of these years being 1635; but in 1636 the deaths amounted to 10,400, and in 1639 to 3082; in the two following

years they were under 400; in 1641 they rose to 3067; in 1642 they amounted to 1824; in 1644 to 1492; in 1645 to 1871; in 1646 to 2436; in 1647 to 3597, diminishing after 1648 from 611 to 67 in the following year, and then only twice rising above twenty in the interval between 1650 and 1664. In 1663 there were nine deaths from the Plague, and in the following year only six. Immediately followed the Great Plague, with its 68,596 victims. With the exception of 1670 there were a few deaths from the disease in each year until 1679. After this the heading "Plague" in the Bills up to 1703 inclusive was filled up by 0 marked opposite. "So long had this desolating malady been a denizen that the terrified Londoners could not believe in its permanent absence: for more than twenty years they retained a place for its shadow—its name—like the chair at Macbeth's banquet, filled by a spectre guest!"*

The excessive mortality occasioned by the Plague must naturally have affected many interests, and have had a general influence on the ordinary course of life in those times. The supply and demand of labour, for instance, experienced its operation; but the equilibrium was soon restored. Graunt notices how quickly the greatest plagues of the City are repaired from the country. He estimated the yearly supply of strangers to London at six thousand, and shows how speedily the births rose to more than their ordinary height after the Plague. The years 1603 and 1625, it will be recollected, were plague years; and it will be seen that two years afterwards the christenings each time rose higher than the number in the year preceding the Plague.

	Christenings.		Christenings.
1602 . . .	6000	1624 . . .	8299
1603 . . .	4789	1625 . . .	5247
1604 . . .	5458	1626 . . .	6701
1605 . . .	6504	1628 . . .	8408

The accounts of the havoc made by the spasmodic cholera in London in the year 1348 appear scarcely credible, although, according to the late Mr. Rickman ('Statement of Progress under the Population Act of 1830'), they are supported by circumstantial evidence which appears to be conclusive. The disease began its ravages in London early in November, and "Death was so outrageously cruel" that it soon became necessary to set apart fields for additional places of burial. The Lord Walter Manny at this time purchased thirteen acres and a rod of land, in which one place, says the historian (Barnes's 'History of Edward III.,' printed in 1688), there were buried within one year more than fifty thousand persons, besides those interred in churchyards, churches, and monasteries. Stow says that he had seen and read an inscription fixed on a stone-cross which attested that the number of burials was as above-mentioned.

We pass over the plagues of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and those of 1603, 1625, and 1636, already mentioned, until we come to the Great Plague of 1665, the history of which has been made familiar to us by the vigorous and graphic pen of De Foe.† Notices of the approaching pestilence occur in Pepys's 'Diary.' Under the date of October 19, 1663, he says:—"To the Coffee-house in

* 'Companion to the British Almanac for 1835,' p. 28, on the Bills of Mortality.

† In most modern editions of De Foe's work it is called the 'History of the Great Plague;' in Mr. Brayley's excellent edition the title is properly given, 'A Journal of the Plague Year.'

Cornhill, where much talk about the Turks' proceedings, and that the Plague is got to Amsterdam." October 30th:—"The Plague is much in Amsterdam, and we in fear of it here, which God defend." Ships from Holland were enjoined, by an Order in Council issued in June, 1664, to perform a quarantine of thirty days in Holehaven. Between the 20th and 27th of December, 1664, the Weekly Bill of Mortality gave intimation that one person had died of the Plague in London. No other death from the same disease occurring until the second week in February, not much alarm was excited. In the last week in April two deaths from the Plague were reported in the Bills, but in the following week there were none. In the second week in May the return was nine deaths and four parishes infected, but in the following week only three persons died. The next three weeks, from May 16th to June 6th, the numbers were fourteen, seventeen, and forty-three. At "the Coffee-house" Pepys found (May 24th) all the news is "of the Plague growing upon us in this town, and of remedies against it, some saying one thing and some another." Early in June the weather was remarkably hot; the 7th "the hottest day," says Pepys, "that ever I felt in my life;" and he adds:—"This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there." Under the influence of a hot and stagnant atmosphere the pestilence rapidly extended in the month of June, the number of deaths rising from 112 to 168, and in the last week to 267. A general panic seized the inhabitants, especially those at the West End, the infection having spread from its centre in St. Giles's over the adjacent parishes. The nobility and gentry began to leave town, and the Court soon followed. The following entries are from Pepys: June 20th.—"This day I informed myself that there died four or five at Westminster of the Plague, in several houses, upon Sunday last, in Bell Alley, over against the Palace-gate." June 21st.—"I find all the town going out of town, the coaches and carriages being all full of people going into the country." June 25th.—"The Plague increases mightily; I this day seeing a house, at a bitt-maker's, over against St. Clement's Church, in the open street, shut up, which is a sad sight." June 28th.—"In my way to Westminster Hall, I observed several plague-houses in King's Street and the Palace." June 29th.—"To Whitehall, where the court was full of waggons and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the Plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267, which is about ninety more than the last. Home, calling at Somerset House, where all were packing up too." Lingard says, "For some weeks the tide of emigration flowed from every outlet towards the country: it was checked at last by the refusal of the Lord Mayor to grant certificates of health, and by the opposition of the neighbouring townships, which rose in their own defence, and formed a barrier round the devoted city."

The mortality was for some time confined chiefly to the poorer classes, the greater proportion of victims being children and females. On the 13th of May a Court of Privy Council had been held at Whitehall, when a Committee of the Lords was formed for "prevention of the spreading of the infection;" and, under their orders, directions drawn up by the College of Physicians were issued, which contained instructions for the treatment of the Plague, and for preventing infection, one of which was as follows:—"Pull off the feather from the tails of

living cocks, hens, pigeons, or chickens; and holding their bills, hold them hard to the botch or swelling, and so they keep them at that part till they die, and by this means draw out the poison. It is good to apply a cupping-glass, or embers in a dish, with a handful of sorrel upon the embers." "High-Dutch physicians," "famous physicians," and quacks of all kinds, were busy at work distributing their invitations for people to come to them for "infallible preventive pills against the Plague," "never-failing preservatives," "sovereign cordials against the corruption of the air," "universal remedies," the "only true plague-water." "Constantine Rhodocanaceis, a Grecian," advertised that he "hath at a small price that admirable preservative against the Plague, wherewith Hippocrates, the Prince of all Physicians, preserved the whole land of Greece." Pepys tells us that "My Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water homie with me." Many persons wore amulets; and others produced inflammation of the tonsils by keeping myrrh, angelica, ginger, and other hot spices in their mouths. By the end of July, however, so destructive had the ravages of the disease become, that the faith in quacks was pretty nigh extinguished. In the first week the deaths were 470, and in the last they had risen to 1843. The disease was at its height in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement's Danes, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and in Westminster, in July. Then decreasing in these parishes, and travelling eastward, it raged in Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's, St. James's Clerkenwell, and St. Bride's, and Aldersgate; while the City, Southwark, Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Wapping, and Ratcliffe remained comparatively free. Early in July the City authorities, availing themselves of an Act of James I., "for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the Plague," established the following regulations. They divided the City into districts, and appointed surgeons, examiners, searchers, nurses, watchmen, and buryers in each, who were required to hold a red rod or wand of three feet in length, open and evident to be seen, as they passed through the streets. They ordered that every house which the disease might enter should be marked by a red cross, a foot in length, painted on the door, with the words "Lord have mercy upon us" placed above it. The house was then to be closed, and all egress prevented for the space of one month. The order directed, "That the constables see every house shut up, and to be attended with watchmen, which may keep them in, and minister necessaries unto them at their own charges (if they be able), or at the common charge, if they be unable." Many who were thus shut up, communicating infection one to another, eluded the vigilance of the watchmen, or bribed them, and by their escape disseminated the contagion. Regulations were also issued for the speedy burial of the dead. In the daytime officers were appointed to remove the bodies of persons who died in the public streets. The dead-cart went its rounds during the night only, and the tinkling of a bell, and the cry of "Bring out your dead!" intimated to the living the necessity of performing the last offices for their friends. At the end of alleys which the dead-cart could not enter, it remained, while the buryers, with links in their hands, carried forth the victims of the preceding twenty-four hours. Uncoffined, unaccompanied by mourners, the corpses in the dead-cart were carried to a common grave capable of holding a large number of persons, and dug in the churchyard, or, when that was already full, a pit was dug in the outskirts of the parish. In the 'Newes' of August 29th a complaint is made that

in some of these burial-places "the bodies are piled even to the level of the ground, and thereby poison the whole neighbourhood." None but the refuse of society could be procured to bury the dead. Besides the two principal pest-houses, one in the fields beyond Old Street, removed in 1737 (the site of which was long afterwards indicated by a small street called Pest-house Row), and one at Tothill Fields in Westminster, there were other temporary ones in different parts of London; but they were not general receptacles for infected persons, but only for those who could pay for being allowed to remain.



[Pest House in Tothill Fields, Westminster. From a Print by Hollar.]

Early in August the Plague began to make its way more rapidly in the City. In the same space of ground which now contains a population of 54,000, there were at this period nearly three times that number crowded in narrow and badly ventilated streets. The general condition of the City, except in one or two great thoroughfares, resembled the worst-conditioned "rookeries" of the present day. Less attention was paid to personal cleanliness, and refuse accumulated in the streets, and both the sewerage and the supply of water was defective. The poorer population might not be scantily fed, but their diet was less favourable to health and of a less wholesome variety than the same classes can now obtain. These were predisposing causes of the Plague. From the 25th of July to the 1st of August the deaths in the ninety-seven parishes, of all diseases, were only 228, but by the end of the month and the beginning of September the pestilence swept over the City with a fury which had not marked its visitations in the out-parishes. The general return of deaths in the weekly Bills rose from 2010, for the week ending August 1st, to 7165, in the week ending Sept. 19th. From August 22nd to September 26th the number of deaths from all causes was 38,195. The Rev. Thomas Vincent, in his tract entitled 'God's Terrible Voice in the City,' gives a fearful picture of the rapid progress of the Plague in August and September.

“ In August,” he says, “ how dreadful is the increase! Now the cloud is very black, and the storm comes down upon us very sharp. Now death rides triumphantly on his pale horse through our streets, and breaks into every house almost where any inhabitants are to be found. Now people fall as thick as the leaves in autumn when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets; every day looks with the face of a Sabbath-day, observed with a greater solemnity than it used to be in the City. Now shops are shut in, people rare and very few that walk about, insomuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places, and a deep silence in every place, especially within the walls. No prancing horses, no rattling coaches, no calling in customers nor offering wares, no London Cries sounding in the cars. If any voice be heard it is the groans of dying persons breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves. Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled among the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now, in some places, where the people did generally stay, not one house in a hundred but what is affected; and in many houses half the family is swept away; in some, from the eldest to the youngest: few escape but with the death of one or two. Never did so many husbands and wives die together; never did so many parents carry their children with them to the grave, and go together into the same house under earth who had lived together in the same house upon it. Now the nights are too short to bury the dead: the whole day, though at so great a length, is hardly sufficient to light the dead that fall thereon into their graves.” Speaking of the month of September, Mr. Vincent says:—“ Now the grave doth open its mouth without measure. Multitudes! multitudes, in the valley of the shadow of death, thronging daily into eternity. The churchyards now are stuffed so full with dead corpses, that they are in many places swelled two or three feet higher than they were before, and new ground is broken up to bury the dead.” Strong-minded men were bewildered amidst the harrowing scenes which surrounded them. Awful predictions and tales of supernatural calamities increased the horrors of the time. A sword of flame, stretching in the heavens from Westminster to the Tower, was seen by crowds; for disorders of the mind and morbid fancies follow in the train of a great pestilence. Fanatics walked through the streets denouncing the judgments of heaven on the inhabitants; one bearing on his head a pan of burning coals; another proclaiming—“ Yet forty days and London shall be destroyed;” a third constantly going about uttering as he past, in deep and solemn tones, “ Oh the great and dreadful God!” The ravings of the delirious, the paroxysms of persons struck with the Plague, the wailings of those who had lost all their relatives and friends, were common sights and sounds in the public streets.

On the 2nd of September the Lord Mayor issued a proclamation by the advice of the Duke of Albemarle and of the Aldermen, enjoining fires to be kindled in every street, court, and alley of London and Westminster, to purify the pestilential air; “ every six houses on each side of the way, which will be twelve houses, are to join together to provide firing for three whole nights and three whole days, to be made in one great fire before the door of the middlemost inhabitant; and one or more persons to be appointed to keep the fire constantly burning, without suffering the same to be extinguished or go out all the time aforesaid.” These injunc-

tions were followed, and the fires were lighted on the 6th of September and kept burning until a heavy and continuous rain extinguished them. In the week ending September 12th there was a slight decrease in the number of deaths, but in the following week they were higher than they had yet been. Dr. Hodges, a physician practising at the time in London, who wrote a history of the Plague, entitled 'Loimologia,' states that on one night of this week more than four thousand deaths occurred. The disease had now reached its point of culmination; and in the week following the deaths (from the Plague) diminished 1632, or from 7165 to 5533; and for the remainder of the year they were, for each week, as follows:—Weeks ending 3rd October, 4929; 10th, 4327; 17th, 2665; 24th, 1421; 31st, 1031; in the week ending November 7th, they rose again to 1414, as many persons who had removed now returned, and there was less caution used in avoiding the contagion. In the following week the number declined to 1050; in the week ending 21st, to 652; 28th, to 333; and in the first week of December they were only 210; but in the weeks ending 12th and 19th they again rose to 243 and 281. But the citizens had now become reassured, and returned to their homes or resumed their wonted employments. The total deaths of the year were 97,306, of which 68,596 were of the Plague; but most writers assert that the number was greater, as in the confusion and consternation which prevailed, and the frequent deaths of clerks and sextons by whom the returns were made, an exact account could not be kept. Evelyn, Pepys, and a few other writers give us a picture of the external appearance of London during this period of desolation. Several thousand houses were shut up, the inhabitants of which had either died or fled into the country. Many thousand servants were left homeless, and artisans and labourers were deprived of employment. Some found employment as nurses, watchmen, and in the performance of other duties created by the necessities of the time. Charity was dispensed with a free hand, the King giving 1000*l.* a-week; the City 600*l.*; and the Archbishop of Canterbury and others were free with their bounty. The markets, throughout all the time of the Plague, were supplied, through the exertions of the City authorities, much better than could have been expected. The west-end of the town was the first to be deserted, and, July 22nd, Pepys, returning from St. James's Park, which was "quite locked up," met but "two coaches and two carts, from Whitehall to my own house, that I could observe, and the streets mighty thin of people." St. Bartholomew's fair was forbidden in August. The Courts of Law were adjourned to Oxford in October; and the Exchequer Court was removed to Nonsuch, in Surrey, about the middle of August. September 7th, when the Plague was at its height in the City, Evelyn says, "I went all along the City and suburbs, from Kent Street to St. James's, a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, now thin of people; the shops shut up and all in mournful silence, as not knowing whose turn it might be next." September 14th Pepys visited the Exchange, which he wondered to see so full, "about two hundred people, but plain men all. . . . And Lord! to see how I did endeavour, all I could, to talk with as few as I could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the Plague upon them." September 20th, Pepys has an entry as follows:—"To Lambeth:—but Lord! what a sad time it is, to see no boats upon the river, and grass grows all up and down Whitehall Court,

and nobody but wretches in the street!" Many of the churches were forsaken by the parochial clergy, and their pulpits were frequently occupied by those ejected by the Act of Uniformity. February 4th, Pepys and his wife went, for the first time after the Plague, to their church in St. Olave, Hart Street, where the clergyman, who had been the first to leave and the last to return to the parish, "made a very poor and short excuse and a bad sermon." The Archbishop of Canterbury remained at his post. By the end of November, according to Pepys, the York waggon recommenced its journeys to London, after having discontinued travelling for several months. Early in December the town began to fill, so much so that Pepys feared it would cause the Plague to increase again. On the 31st of December he writes that the shops begin to be open. The West End still continued comparatively empty; and on the 19th of January Pepys observes—"It is a remarkable thing how infinitely naked all that end of the town, Covent Garden is, at this day, of people; while the City is almost as full of people as ever it was." Again we quote Pepys, who, under date January 31st, writes—"To Whitehall, and to my great joy, people begin to bustle up and down there." Early in February the Court returned to Whitehall, which tended greatly to the revival of confidence, and "the town every day filled marvellously," according to Clarendon, who adds, that "before the end of March, the streets were as full, the Exchange as much crowded, and the people in all places as numerous as they had ever been seen."

It is evident that the apprehension or existence of the Plague conferred upon the Bills of Mortality their chief value and interest. The Lord Mayor every week transmitted a copy to the Court; and on one of his visits to Whitehall Pepys says, the Duke of Albemarle "showed us the number of the Plague this week, brought in last night from the Lord Mayor." The reports are still professed to be made weekly "to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty and the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor." They profess, moreover, to report the christenings and burials at the parish churches within the City of London and Bills of Mortality; that is, to have any utility at all, they should give the weekly and annual number of births and deaths (marriages they have never pretended to give) in a population of about 1,350,313, a contribution to statistical knowledge much to be valued. Not less important is it to ascertain the "diseases and casualties" in the population of the metropolis, and the ages "of the number buried." In the year 1842, then, it would appear at the first glance that, in a population of 1,350,313, there occurred 15,245 births, and the average duration of life for each person should be above 80 years to keep the population at its present height; but as we find in the Bills, that of those born nearly one-third are cut off before they attain the age of five, what must be the average age necessary to keep a population of 1,350,313 from declining, making ample allowance for immigration? Once upon a time the deaths in the City population were about 1 in 20, but now, apparently at least, they are not 1 in 100, a great extension of human life from an average duration of twenty years to above a century! Nosology is a branch of medical knowledge which has been greatly improved within the last few years; but out of 13,142 deaths, only 850 $\frac{1}{2}$ are assigned to the fifty-five heads of disease which have a place in the Bills, and 538 are attributed to the vague term "inflammation." We have stated that the deaths in the week ending the 18th November amounted to upwards of 300 above the

average mortality ; but the 'Weekly Bill of Mortality,' issued by the printer "to the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks," and applying to a population of 1,350,313, instead of 1,870,727, gives us the comfortable assurance that "the decrease in the burials reported this week is 149;" and this is the report made to the Queen's Majesty and the Lord Mayor. Now, without being unduly censorious, we may be allowed to express regret that an institution which once justly claimed respect and gratitude should not at once have been put an end to when its functions ceased to be useful and its authority was no longer entitled to respect. The Bills of Mortality are now utterly valueless. In 1832 they reported 28,606 deaths, and in 1842 only 13,142, while the population had been constantly increasing at a rapid rate. In 1833, out of 26,577 deaths, the causes of decease were returned as unknown in 887 cases, or 1 in 30 ; and in 1842, out of 13,142 deaths, 4638 are returned in which the cause of decease was unknown, or less than 1 in 3. The Company of Parish Clerks might at least have expected to have been supplied with the returns of mortality from the clerks of the metropolitan churches ; but this is not the case. The parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, ceased to make returns in 1823 ; and in 1832 the parishes of All Saints, Poplar, and St. John's, Wapping, followed its example ; and in 1834 the clerks of St. Bartholomew the Less and St. George's, Queen Square, became defaulters. The fact is, that instead of 13,142 deaths being reported annually, there should be about 33,000. Besides the contumacious parishes which refuse to contribute to the formation of correct Bills of Mortality for the metropolis, there are no means by which the Parish Clerks' Company can procure returns of the burials in cemeteries and in the places of interment belonging to dissenters ; and the defects from this cause, in Maitland's time, now above a century since, exceeded 3000 a-year.

As we would speak with real respect of the past exertions of those who for above two centuries have had the preparation of the Bills of Mortality, so we may be allowed to compare the 'Table of Mortality in the Metropolis' issued weekly from the office of the Registrar-General at Somerset House with the old 'Weekly Bill' still issued by the parish clerks. The new system of registration commenced July 1st, 1837, and under the Act for establishing it the registration of all births, marriages, and deaths became compulsory. In the case of deaths the funeral ceremony cannot be performed unless the clergyman or minister has received a certificate from the district registrar stating that proper information has been given respecting the person who has died, the age, and the cause of decease. Thus the 'Table' cannot be rendered defective by contumacious parish clerks, nor by the interment of dissenters in burial-grounds attached to their meeting-houses : the inference is, that it is as perfectly accurate as it is possible to be—a reality and not a sham. The Registration Act has necessarily put to the rout those ancient matrons called "searchers," who until within the last half-dozen years were accustomed to go, as in Graunt's time, to inspect the bodies of deceased persons for the purpose of enabling the Parish Clerks' Company to compile their weekly and annual medical statistics. At the foot of the Bill of Mortality for 1837 there was a notice to the following effect :—"By the operation of the new Registration Act much difficulty has occurred in obtaining the reports of christenings and burials ; in consequence of which, in some parishes, the reports have been wholly withheld ; and in those of several other parishes where

the office of searcher has been discontinued, the diseases of which deaths have taken place have been necessarily omitted:” they were added to the “unknown causes.” In the Bill for 1842, as already noticed, the difficulty here spoken of has increased. The only “true Bill” therefore is that prepared at the Registrar-General’s office. The first of these Weekly Bills was commenced January 11th, 1840, and the series has been continued from that time without interruption. The total number of deaths in the week, in a population of 1,880,727, ranges from 734 to upwards of 1300. The registrars who officiate within the districts which comprise this population amount altogether to 124. They are supplied with blank forms, in which they are required at the termination of the week to copy from the register-books the age and cause of death in every entry which has been made during the week. The forms are then immediately forwarded to the office of the Registrar-General. Notes are here taken of any extraordinary forms of disease, and of all cases in which the circumstances attending death appear to be of a remarkable character. The department of Vital Statistics is superintended by Mr. Farr, whose valuable reports are well known. The deaths are next carefully counted, noticing the distinction of sex, and the numbers are then entered in a book opposite the several districts in which they occurred. The ages and diseases are now transferred by means of *marks* to a printed and ruled sheet prepared for the purpose, and which contains entries of ninety-four distinct diseases and casualties. The very valuable articles on ‘Nosology’ in the First Annual Report of the Registrar-General, and the ‘Statistical Nosology’ in the Fourth Report, have been printed separately, and copies sent to all the registrars in England and Wales. They show the principle on which the innumerable varieties of disease are classified, and are calculated to render the returns more accurate. The weekly ‘Table’ shows the number of deaths under each of ninety-four heads, and to a certain extent distinguishes the ages by a comprehensive classification, as “under 15,” “60 and upwards,” &c., the minuter specification of ages being given in the ‘Annual Report,’ which instead of being a demy half-sheet is a tolerably sized volume. We annex an *abstract* of the ‘Table of the Mortality in the Metropolis, showing the Number of Deaths from all Causes registered in the week ending Saturday the 18th November, 1843;’ to which we have added an additional column showing the number of deaths in one year:—

	Week ending 18th Nov.	Weekly Average During		Total Deaths in 1840.
		5 Autumns.	5 Years.	
Epidemic, Endemic, and Contagious Diseases	227	183	182	8,361
Diseases of the Brain, Nerves, and Senses	170	140	148	7,907
Diseases of the Lungs, and other Organs of Respiration	459	278	268	13,985
Diseases of the Heart and Blood-vessels	30	20	18	997
Diseases of the Stomach, Liver, and other Organs of Digestion	75	59	62	3,405
Diseases of the Kidneys, &c.	9	5	5	244
Childbed, Diseases of the Uterus, &c.	9	10	9	473
Diseases of the Joints, Bones, and Muscles	11	6	6	312
Diseases of the Skin, &c.	3	1	1	63
Dropsy, Cancer, and other Diseases of Uncertain Seat	107	106	105	5,612
Old Age, or Natural Decay	100	69	68	3,471
Deaths by Violence	26	23	24	1,253
Privation, or Intemperance	2	11	11	43
Causes not specified	2	8	5	155
Deaths from all causes	1230	908	903	46,281

The second and third columns present the weekly average for five *seasons* and for five *years*, namely, 1838-39-40-1-2, comprising, with the exception of the present year, and the latter half of 1837, the whole period during which the Registration Act has been in operation. We are thus furnished with a standard by which the rise or fall of mortality from any disease (it must be recollected that we only present an *abstract* of ninety-four different heads) may be detected at a glance.

In fixing the limits of the metropolitan registration district the Registrar-General determined to apply the term metropolis in the most extensive sense of which it was susceptible, including every Superintendent-Registrar's district into which the suburbs extended continuously, and which, with the exception of considerable portions, assumed throughout the character of town. At the office there is a map of the metropolis, in which the boundaries of the thirty-three Superintendent-Registrars' districts and those of the Registrars' districts, into which the former are subdivided, are accurately traced. We are informed that Wandsworth and Clapham will next year be added, as a thirty-fourth district. The following is a rough classification of the metropolitan district into five great divisions, with the population and number of deaths in each, for the week ending 18th November.

	Population Enumerated, 1841.	Average Weekly Deaths, 1838-39-40-1-2.		Deaths in the Week ending 18th Nov.	No. of Inhabitants out of which one Death happened in 1840.
		5 Years.	5 Autumns.		
WEST DISTRICTS.					
Kensington; Chelsea; St. George, Hanover Square; Westminster; St. Martin in the Fields; St. James	300,705	135	130	183	44.6
NORTH DISTRICTS.					
St. Mary-le-bone; St. Pancras; Islington; Hackney	365,660	162	162	230	43.3
CENTRAL DISTRICTS.					
St. Giles and St. George; Strand; Holborn; Clerkenwell; St. Luke; East London; West London; City of London	373,806	184	183	224	39.2
EAST DISTRICTS.					
Shoreditch; Bethnal Green; Whitechapel; St. George in the East; Stepney; Poplar	392,496	203	206	285	38.5
SOUTH DISTRICTS.					
St. Saviour; St. Olave; Bermondsey; St. George, Southwark; Newington; Lambeth; Camberwell; Rotherhithe; Greenwich	438,060	219	227	308	38.6
Total for the Week ending 18th November: Males, 615; Females, 615. (Weekly average 1838-39-40-1-2, Males, 461; Females, 442.)	1,870,727	903	908	1230	40.4

This is scarcely the place even to glance at the advantages of an accurate registration of the most important events of existence,—birth, marriage, and death. If it shows that in such a district as Whitechapel the deaths of females are annually 1 in 28, and in other districts of the metropolis 1 in 57, or not one-half so many; if it points out that the average age at which the largest class of persons die is in one district 16 years only, while the whole of another class in the same district attain the average age of forty-five, surely it will cause a mighty effort to be made to elevate those who are depressed by moral and physical evils, the causes of which are to a considerable extent remediable.

The remarkable accuracy of the Mortality Tables of the Registration Office is shown by the fact that in the one we have abstracted only two cases occur in which the causes of deaths are not specified, that is 1 in 615. In the old Bill for the same week the number of unspecified cases is 51 out of 210, or more than 1 in 4. In compiling the New Table, it is in some instances found impossible, in consequence of the death or dismissal of a registrar, to obtain a return from the district in which he served until his successor has been appointed. In this event, which is of rare occurrence, it is usual to substitute an average (say 6 or 10) calculated on a few weeks preceding, and to explain the circumstance in a marginal note. Or it happens that the coroner, who is required by a provision of the Act to give information in all cases in which inquests have been held, fails to transmit his returns to the registrars within his bounds until the end of the quarter. But these are the only irregularities which are incidental to the preparation of these Bills; and fortunately they are inconsiderable in extent, unimportant as affecting the weekly results, and, moreover, are of such a nature as to admit of correction in the general summary of the Bills drawn up at the end of the year.

The engravings used as the head and tail pieces in the present number are taken from that fine series of compositions, improperly attributed to Holbein, called 'Imagines Mortis,' and also the 'Dance of Death,' &c. Of this 'Dance' there were many representations, as Douce tells us, in his work on this subject, "not only on the walls, but on the windows of many churches, in the cloisters of monasteries, and even on bridges, especially in Germany and Switzerland. It was sometimes painted on church screens, and occasionally sculptured on them, as well as upon the fronts of domestic dwellings. It occurs in many of the manuscript and illuminated service-books of the Middle Ages. Most of the representations of the Dance of Death were accompanied by descriptive or moral verses in different languages." Paintings of the 'Dance of Death,' or Dance of Machabree, as it was sometimes called, constituted a popular picture gallery of the Middle Ages. There was one in the cloisters of St. Paul's, which is said by Stow to have been executed at the cost of one Jenkin Carpenter, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. It was commonly called the 'Dance of Paul's,' and was destroyed by the Protector Somerset, who took down the cloisters as described in vol. iv. p. 276. Dugdale says that the painting at St. Paul's was in imitation of that in the cloisters of the Church of the Innocents at Paris. A painting of a Death's Dance, in the church of Stratford-on-Avon, probably suggested more than one passage in Shakspeare. The poem on this subject by Lydgate, the monk of St. Edmund's Bury, who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, was doubtless a welcome addition to the popular literature of England. It was entitled 'The Daunce of Machabrec, wherein is lively expressed and showed the state of Man, and how he is called at uncertain times by Death, and when he thinketh least thereon;' and at the end it is said to be translated from the French,—

"Not word by word, but following in substance."

From the number of characters introduced and the dialogues between each of them and Death, the poem has all the interest of a drama: "Death fyrst speaketh to the Pope, and after to every degree." The characters introduced are the

Pope, Emperor, Cardinal, King, Patriarch, Constable, Archbishop, Baron, Princess, Bishop, Squire, Abbot, Abbess, Bayly, Astronomer, Burgess, Councillor, Merchant, Chartreux, Sergeant, Monk, Usurer, Physician, Amorous Squire, Gentlewoman, Man of Law, Parson, Juror, Minstrel, Labourer, Friar, Child, Young Clerk, Hermit. The head "Death speaketh to the King," or other character, is repeated throughout, and also the words—"The King (or other person) maketh aunswer." The verses are simple, and not without touches of natural feeling coupled with impressive truths delivered in homely but striking language. They could not fail, as well as the paintings to which they referred, to make a deep impression on the popular imagination. We give one verse of Lydgate's, in which, after Death has spoken to the Child, bidding it join the solemn dance—"The young Childe maketh aunswer :"—

"A—a—a—[erying]—a worde I cannot speake,
I am so yonge, I was borne yesterday ;
Death is so hasty on me to be wreak,
And list no longer to make no delay.
I am but now born, and now I go my way,
Of me no more to tell shall be told ;
The will of God no man withstande may,
As soon dyeth a yong as on old."



[Death and the King.]



[The Soane Museum.]

CXLI.—THE NATIONAL GALLERY AND SOANE MUSEUM.

ONE cannot but wish that the National Gallery had either a less ambitious title, or that those who have influence over its destinies would hasten to make the collection worthy of such a designation. There is something to our minds painful in contemplating the conduct of those who may be said to have represented the nation in this matter. From the time, 1823, that the ministry was induced, with some difficulty, to purchase the Angerstein pictures, thirty-eight in number, private benefactors have continually stepped forth, sometimes even giving their entire collections, the fruits of long years of research and industry, and involving the expenditure of immense sums of money, to promote the formation of an institution they deemed so desirable: thus, in 1825, Sir George Beaumont, who had half bribed the ministry into the former purchase by a promise of his collection, gave 15 pictures; in 1831, the Rev. Holwell Carr bequeathed 34; in 1837, Lieut.-Colonel Olney bequeathed 18; in 1838, Lord Farnborough bequeathed 16; and at various periods numerous other benefactors have presented or bequeathed some 50 more,—a total of above 130 pictures, for which we are indebted to private munificence. And while all this has been doing for the people, what has the people done for itself? Tremble, public economists, as we announce the

profligate system of expenditure which must have been carried on! Great Britain, in the first twenty years of its labours in the formation of a Gallery, has actually purchased on the average above two pictures a-year—we fear, almost three. It is a fact that, in this year of grace 1843, we possess not less than 188 pictures, filling very nearly three moderate-sized apartments, and two small ones! No wonder that Mr. Wilkins and his supporters built an insufficient Gallery: who could have anticipated such headlong work as this?

But, seriously, if we really do believe in the value of such exhibitions, how are we to account for our faith being so very unproductive of tangible results? There is a collection at Frankfort of recent date, and owing its existence to an individual, which already nearly doubles our collection in the National Gallery; at Berlin a gallery was commenced about the same period as the latter, and it has already about 900 pictures; the Dresden Gallery contains about 1200; the Louvre, 1350; the Florentine, 1500; whilst Louis of Bavaria and his people possess, in the magnificent Pinacothek at Munich, a gallery numbering no less than 1600 pictures. Is it that the people of England have no taste for these things? The late Cartoon exhibition has set at rest that notion for ever. But the National Gallery itself, destitute as we shall by and by show it is of any kindly assistance to the poor, humble, and necessarily artistically ignorant class of visitors, whom it is most desirable to see there, yet presents in its own records decisive testimony that it is not the people who are indifferent. Let us but think for a moment of the average daily number of visitors, nearly 3000, or of the extent to which a holiday opportunity is used—by 14,000 persons, for instance, on a Whit Monday—or of the growing increase, almost as striking here as at the Museum, from 130,000 visitors in the year 1835, to 768,244 in the year October, 1839, to October, 1840, and we must be still more surprised at the pitiful spirit in which the National Gallery has been treated.

But, of course, what pictures we have are arranged to the best advantage. There must be keepers and attendants, and we have a right to presume competent ones; men who understand that “a Gallery like this—a National Gallery—is not merely for the pleasure and civilization of our people, but also for their instruction in the value and significance of art;” who know how the “history of the progress of painting is connected with the history of manners, morals, and government, and, above all, with the history of our religion,” and are able to develop their understanding and knowledge in practice by a consummate arrangement of the works under their charge. Let us see. As we ascend the staircase, two cartoons, in the darker part of the passage at the top, first catch the eye—evidently fine ones, though we can with difficulty make out the outlines; the subjects are Cephalus and Aurora, and Galatea, by Agostino Caracci, forming the painter’s studies for the two chief lateral compartments in the fresco ceiling of the Farnese Gallery at Rome. No doubt there must be some fine object in view in placing them here, isolated from and advanced before all the other works of art, and in a situation so disadvantageous to themselves as regards light, though we own we do not perceive what that object is; and whilst we don’t choose to believe that it is *because* it is a cartoon particularly requiring light and careful choice of place that it is put here, as a bystander informs us, we are unable to answer the calumny; so we step into the little room on the right, hoping to find

there the commencement (or perhaps the termination) of the pictorial history so well described by the lady (Mrs. Jameson) whose sentences we have before transcribed. Hogarth's portrait, and his series of pictures, 'Marriage à la Mode'—Gainsborough, Wilson, Wilkie—yes, this room must be devoted to the English school—ay, West, Reynolds, here they are. But what is this? Canaletti; surely he was not an Englishman: Lancret, too, the French scholar and imitator of Watteau. We are puzzled. Let us try the other little room on the opposite side of the passage. English again: Sir Thomas Lawrence's beautiful picture of John Kemble as Hamlet, West, Hoppner; but here, too, is Canaletti, again representing his school, the Venetian—nor he alone, some of the Dutch painters' works keep his and the Englishmen's company. What can all this mean? Surely the pictures are not hung up in disregard of any order whatever, whether of school or time? Suppose we step forward into the suite of three apartments beyond us. Well, in the first of them, here is English Reynolds, in his picture of the three Graces around the altar of Hymen; Italian Domenichino, with his 'Stoning of Stephen;' French Nicholas Poussin, with his Phineas and his followers turned to stone at the sight of the Gorgon's head; Neapolitan Salvator Rosa, Spanish Velasquez, Dutch John Both, Flemish—no, we do not see any Flemish picture, so we must give up the idea of the representation of all the schools, that we began to fancy was aimed at. It is hardly necessary after this to go into the two other rooms to perceive that the fact is that our National Gallery, while miserably small in its extent for such a nation as England, is positively disgraceful in its arrangements; that so far from teaching its humble visitors any portion of the history of art, it perplexes and confounds whatever little knowledge of it they may possess, by the inextricable jumble presented of works of different countries, different periods of time, and essentially different schools or classes of painting. The authoritative explanation of such a state of things is not the least curious part of the business. The late keeper, Mr. Segquier, was examined on the subject by a parliamentary committee; and here is a specimen of the evidence. He is asked, "Has there been no provision in the plan of the National Gallery for the historical arrangement of pictures according to schools, and for making a distinction between the great schools of Italy, and the different national schools?" to which he answers, "I should *doubt* whether there is room for that." When further asked if he has ever turned his attention to such "arrangement in schools, and their division so as to make them as much historical as possible; connecting the masters with the pupils, and giving an instructive as well as an interesting view to the public of the pictures before them?" the reply is, "I think that would be exceedingly desirable; but that, *perhaps*, can only be done in a very large collection." And why? It is true that if we had a building worthy to contain a National Gallery of pictures, much more room would be occupied by them, under an excellent system of arrangement, than now; because the absent individual pictorial facts required to complete the general pictorial history would be marked by bare spaces, at once telling what would be very desirable to be known, that there were such deficiencies, and ready for the accommodation of the pictures that properly belonged to them, whenever these might be attained. But what has this to do with the essential question of arrangement or no arrangement in the existing building? The

pictures might certainly be grouped together into schools, and with a due observance of the more important epochs as to the matter of time, without taking up an inch of extra room; and we are happy to see that even in Mr. Segurier's case there were only a "a doubt" and a "perhaps" between his opinions and our own. With Mr. Segurier's successor, just appointed, there can be little fear, we imagine, that such innocent words will be any longer allowed to do so much mischief. That appointment seems to us full of promise for the future prosperity of the National Gallery; and makes the present a peculiarly fitting time for the introduction of the topics on which we have taken the liberty to say a few words—progress—improvement. As regards the general management of the institution, it is most liberal and judicious; the public are admitted the first four days in the week, without fees or invidious distinctions; the other two days are appropriated to the use of students. The entire annual expense of the Gallery is somewhat short of 1000*l.* a-year.

We propose now to look at the contents of the Gallery in something like the order we may suppose would be observed under a better system. Unfortunately, we seek in vain in Trafalgar Square any "collection of specimens in painting from the earliest times of its revival, tracing the pictorial representations of sacred subjects from the ancient Byzantine types of the heads of Madonnas and Apostles, through the gradual development of taste in design and sensibility to colour, aided by the progress in science, which at length burst out in fullest splendour when Lionardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Correggio, and Titian were living at the same time." But commencing with these men, the grand masters of the schools of modern painting, the chief features of European artistical history may be traced downwards to the present time, with sufficient precision for ordinary purposes, by means of these 188 pictures. Of the works of that universal and precocious genius, Lionardo da Vinci (1452-1519),* who made his own master give up painting altogether in despair in consequence of the superiority of a single figure painted by the pupil in a picture the master had in hand of the 'Baptism of Christ,' we have but one example, 'Christ disputing with the Doctors,' which has become so completely a matter of doubt, that its subject and painter have been both questioned. It is said really to represent Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's Dream, which agrees better certainly with the age, and expression of the principal figure, and the work has been ascribed to Bernardino Luini by Waagen, and to Andrea Solario by a well-informed writer in the 'British and Foreign Review.' Mrs. Jameson considers the design to bear too much evidence of the master's style to be for a moment doubted, whilst inclining apparently to the general belief that it was executed by one of Lionardo's best scholars. Passing from the founder of the Milan school to the still greater founder of the Florentine, Michael Angelo (1474-1563), we are again reminded of the defects of the Gallery. Of all the works of that mighty master-spirit, we have here no originals direct from his hand; the extraordinary little picture entitled 'Michael Angelo's Dream' being but a fine copy, and the painter's share in the 'Raising of Lazarus,' one of the most important works in the Gallery, is confined to the composition and drawing, the picture itself being painted by Sebastian del Piombo, a glorious portrait-painter and colourist, but unequal to the sublimities

* Dates of birth and death.

of such a work. Michael Angelo is known to have frequently assisted Sebastian, who was one of the few that supported his cause in the contest then going on between his partisans and those of Raphael; but the general history of the 'Raising of Lazarus' furnishes more direct evidence of the connection; notwithstanding the circumstance that the exact facts are in dispute. Mrs. Jameson believes them to have been these:—Michael Angelo, with characteristic haughtiness, disdained to enter into any acknowledged rivalry with Raphael, and put forward Sebastian del Piombo as no unworthy competitor of the great Roman painter. Raphael bowed before Michael Angelo, but he felt too strongly his superiority to Sebastian to yield the palm to him. To determine this point, the Cardinal Giulio de Medici, afterward Clement VII., commanded this picture of the 'Raising of Lazarus' from Sebastian, and at the same time commissioned Raphael to paint the 'Transfiguration;' both were intended by the Cardinal as altar-pieces for his cathedral of Narbonne, he having lately been created Archbishop of Narbonne by Francis I. On this occasion, Michael Angelo, well aware of the deficiencies of his friend Sebastian, furnished him with the design, and, as it is supposed, drew some of the figures himself on the canvas;* but he was so far from doing this secretly, that Raphael heard of it, and is said to have exclaimed, "Michael Angelo has graciously favoured me, in that he has deemed me worthy to compete with himself, and not with Sebastian." The two pictures were exhibited together at Rome in 1520, the year of Raphael's death; when, according to Vasari, both were infinitely admired, though the supereminent grace and beauty of Raphael gained the general suffrage of victory. From Narbonne the 'Raising of Lazarus' passed into the famous Orleans collection, and thence at the sale in England in 1798 to Mr. Angerstein for 3500 guineas, who it is said was afterwards offered 15,000*l.* by Mr. Beekford, but broke the negociation by insisting on guineas; and again 10,000*l.* by the French government, in order that they might place it by the side of its original rival then in the Louvre, which was also refused. The surface was seriously injured until West retouched it—and it is said, we know not with what truth, that he so largely worked upon it as to leave scarcely any portion of the picture untouched. Two other specimens of the Florentine school are in the Gallery; the first a 'Holy Family,' said to be by Andrea del Sarto, who, after Michael Angelo and Fra Bartolomeo, ranks third in the school, but which is either not by him, or very unworthy of him, though unfortunately our only presumed specimen of the master; the second, a 'Portrait,' by Bronzino.

The four only pictures here that enable us to judge of the state of painting prior to the period of the appearance of the constellation before just enumerated, are one by Van Eyck, of which we shall hereafter speak, two by Francia, and one by Pietro Perugino, Raphael's master. Francia (1450-1517) belonged to what may be termed the early Bolognese school, but the principles on which he painted are so evidently like those of Perugino, that we may safely look on the three works as most interesting and valuable examples of the materials that existed for the erection of that mighty school which was to call Raphael architect. Francia's pictures consist of the two portions of an altar-piece, namely, a 'Virgin and Child

* Several of the original drawings by the hand of Michael Angelo, and in particular the first sketches for the figure of Lazarus, were in the possession of Sir Thomas Lawrence.

with Saints,' and on a lunette or arch, a 'Dead Christ,' the head supported by the Virgin Mother on her lap, and with angels at the head and feet; both so pure, so simple, and so divinely holy in character and expression, that the sight of them, amidst the miscellaneous assemblage of pictures around, seems like a sudden light from above. And these are by a goldsmith of Bologna, a man who never touched pencil or palette till he was forty! The 'Virgin and Child, with St. John,' by Perugino (1446-1524), has much of the same simplicity, purity, and elevation, and shows that Raphael's master deserves infinitely more attention and honour, for his own sake, and for what he must have taught his "divine" pupil than for the mere accidental fact of his having been Raphael's master, which has hitherto chiefly made him known in this country. Perhaps, indeed, we have hardly an instance of one man of such thoroughly original and independent powers as the painter of the 'Cartoons,' deriving so much from another, as did the painter of the exquisite 'Madonnas,' that have filled the civilized world in one form and another with the sense of divinest loveliness, many of which are known to have been borrowed from Perugino, though enhanced in the borrowing. We are certainly richer in our specimens of Raphael (1483-1520) than of the other great men we have mentioned. We have the 'St. Catherine,' so noble in conception and so splendid in execution; the Cartoon of the 'Murder of the Innocents,' belonging to the same original series of twelve as the seven at Hampton Court, and deposited here by the Governors of the Foundling Hospital, a work which one cannot help fancying must have been traced by the hand as well as the energy of a giant; and, lastly, the portrait of 'Pope Julius,' almost unequalled in all the essentials of a grand portrait-painting; all important works, though still too few in number to do justice to this wonderful painter, who, like Shakspeare, seemed the product of the mingled greatness of his time. Vasari says of the portrait of the Pope, now in the Gallery, that it was so like as to inspire fear as if it were alive; a remark that gives us as fine a glimpse of the character of the great patron of Raphael and Michael Angelo, as the story of the statue made by the latter, who, having exhibited his clay model, the Pope was so struck with the terrible expression that he asked, "Am I uttering a blessing or a curse?" Michael replied that his object was to represent him admonishing the people of Bologna, and asked him if he should place a book in one of the hands. "Give me a sword!" was the warlike pontiff's impetuous exclamation; "I know nothing of books." Of the pupils of Raphael, we have a single specimen, a 'Charity,' of his chief favourite, Giulio Romano (1492-1546), who assisted him in many of his works, was made by him his chief heir when he died, and what was still more remarkable, commissioned by Raphael's express direction to complete the works he should leave unfinished: No fear that the reputation of Romano would fall into oblivion, even if every one of his productions were to perish; we should always feel he must indeed have been a rare painter, to whom Raphael would have confided such an executorship. The 'Charity' is a small picture, and therefore not exactly of the class to illustrate Romano's excellence; it is in grand mythological subjects on a scale of proportionate grandeur that his soul found room to develop itself worthily. Garofalo (1481-1599), so called from his device, the clove-pink, was another pupil of Raphael's; two of his works adorn the Gallery. Of the remaining painters of the Roman school, Baroccio (1528-1612) contributes one picture, a

'Holy Family,' reminding us of the saying applied to him as to Parrhasius, that his personages looked as though they fed on roses; Caravaggio (1569-1609) one, 'Christ and his Disciples at Emmaus,' vulgar enough in conception, but rich and true in tone,—it was said of him by one of the Caracci, that he "ground flesh" rather than colour;—Guercino (1590-1666) one, a 'Dead Christ with two Angels,' in which we may trace Caravaggio's influence over his friend in the striking effects of the light and shade, with an elegance and dignity that Caravaggio had no conception of; Mola (1612-1668) three, among them a very beautiful 'Holy Family reposing;' Carlo Maratti (1625-1713) one; and Pannini (1691-1764) one.

The remarkable and most harmonious variety of excellencies of the great leaders in the modern artistical movement is very striking; it seems almost like a new version of the story of Minerva and the head of Jupiter—painting at once appeared to spring upon the world so fully armed and appointed. Whilst Raphael gave us new conceptions of loveliness in feature and form, of composition, and of character, and Michael Angelo drew gods and men like gods, investing them with an almost supernatural grandeur, Titian (1477-1576) and his followers, dipping their pencils in the rainbow, witch'd the world with their colouring, leaving to Correggio the perfecting the knowledge of all the subtle mysteries of light and shade. And now our Gallery begins to look rich. One, two, three, four, five—Titians, and three of them, at least, glorious examples of the master. Look at that great black eagle with outstretched wings soaring away with the beautiful boy, Ganymede, the future cup-bearer of the gods. What fine contrasts of colour! what delicious effects of tone in the rosy limbs! or this 'Venus and Adonis,' which, in the words of Ludovico Dolce, in a letter to a friend written on seeing a duplicate, "no one, however chilled by age or hard of heart, can behold without feeling all the blood in his veins warmed into tenderness:" or, greatest of all this 'Bacchus and Ariadne,' taken altogether, one of the finest things in existence, and which may be described in the lines that Titian evidently had in view when he painted it "line for line:"—

—————"Young Bacchus, flush'd
 With bloom of youth, came flying from above
 With choirs of Satyrs and Sileni born
 In Indian Nyse. Seeking thee he came,
 O Ariadne! with thy love inflamed.
 They blithe from every side came revelling on
 Distracted with jocund madness, with a burst
 Of Bacchic outcries, and with tossing hands.
 Some shook their ivy-shrouded spears, and some
 From hand to hand, in wild and fitful feast,
 Snatch'd a torn heifer's limbs; some girt themselves
 With twisted serpents," &c.

Catullus.

They meet—Bacchus and Ariadne—on the sea-shore, the god leaping impatiently from his chariot, the distressed maiden startled for a moment out of her accustomed thoughts of the flown Theseus, but passing hurriedly on. We must not dwell on the remaining pictures by Titian, 'The Concert,' and 'The Holy Family with the Shepherds adoring.' Of the other illustrious of the school of the city of the waters, Giorgione (1477-1511) is said to have painted the 'Death of

Peter the Martyr' that is in the Gallery; but the work suggests little of the merits of him who was no unworthy rival of Titian, and, according to Waagen, it is ascribed to him on insufficient grounds. We have already mentioned the share that Sebastian del Piombo (1485-1547) had in the great picture of the 'Raising of Lazarus.' Of his own works there are two; a portrait of Giulia Gonzaga, and a picture with portraits of himself (a magnificent-looking fellow, certainly, with a beard that would do honour to an Eastern emperor) and Cardinal Hippolito, the Mæcenas of his time, who, without territories or subjects, lived at Bologna in a state that surpassed any Italian potentate's; and when the Pope caused some representation to be made to him as to the propriety of dismissing some of his retainers, as unnecessary to him, replied, "I do not retain them in my court because I have occasion for their services, but because they have occasion for mine." The "fiery Tintoretto" is represented in the Gallery by a 'St. George and the Dragon.' This is the painter of whom the curious story is told:—He was sent as a scholar to Titian whilst young, and a few days after Titian happened to find some very spirited drawings lying about his studio, and inquired as to the author. Tintoretto stepped forward, no doubt proud enough; when Titian ordered another scholar to—conduct him home. Tintoretto then purchased casts, chiefly from Michael Angelo's statues, inscribed his artistical faith on the walls of his apartment—Michael Angelo's design and Titian's colour—and set to work: the result was that, without particularly imitating either, he became what he desired, and in a high sense of the term—a painter. The other productions of the Venetian school are a portrait by Bassano (1510-1592), the Italian Rembrandt, as he has been called; a curious picture representing the building of the Tower of Babel, where the mode of building so important a work seems as primitive as the time, by Bassano's son, Leandro (1558-1623); a 'Consecration of St. Nicholas,' and a 'Rape of Europa,' by Paul Veronese (1530-1588), the first a very fine work, but still giving us inadequate notions of the gorgeous style of the artist; a 'Cornelia and her Children,' by Padovanino (1552-1617); a 'Cupid and Psyche,' by Alessandro Veronese (1582-1648), called also L'Orbetto, from a noticeable event in the painter's history, his having when a boy led about an old blind beggar, said to have been his own father; and Canaletti (1697-1768), from whom we have three pictures, views in and round Venice, the subjects that of all others his fancy best loved to luxuriate in.

"If I were not Titian, I would be Correggio," said the great Venetian, on seeing one of the works of the latter; and we can feel the full force of the eloquent and most significant exclamation, as we look upon these treasures of art, the 'Mercury and Venus teaching Cupid to read,' the 'Ecce Homo' (who that has once seen can ever forget the face of the Virgin Mary in that picture, which is finer even than that of Christ), and 'The Holy Family' (La Vierge au Panier), three of the great artist's greatest works: nor are these all our possessions; there are two different pictures of studies of heads, angels and seraphim, and the 'Christ on the Mount of Olives;' though this last is either a copy or a duplicate of the original in the possession of the Duke of Wellington. Of the 'Mercury and Venus,' by Correggio (1494-1534), it has been said, that "all that is necessary to enable the student in art to comprehend his (Correggio's) excellences may be found in this lovely picture. There is first that peculiar grace to which

the Italians have given the name of *Corregiesque*, very properly, for it was the complexion of the individual mind and temperament of the artist stamped upon the work of his hand. Though so often imitated, it remains, in fact, inimitable, every attempt degenerating into an affectation of the most intolerable kind. It consists in the blending of sentiment in expression with a flowing grace of form, an exquisite fulness and softness in the tone and colour, an almost illusive *chiaroscuro*; sensation, soul, and form melted together; conveying to the mind of the spectator the most delicious impression of harmony, spiritual and sensual. Lord Byron speaks of 'music breathing' from the face of a beautiful woman: music breathes from the pictures of Correggio. He is the painter of beauty, *par excellence*; he is to us what Apelles was to the ancients, the "standard of the amiable and graceful!"* Will it be believed that all this perfection of hand, heart, and soul was achieved in ignorance of the great works of his contemporaries, consequently, was an altogether unaided advance upon the state of art that prevailed when he began his career in his own native Lombardy? Yet so it was; and when at last a production of Raphael's met his eye—a 'St. Cecilia'—we can imagine and sympathise with the varied feelings and emotions that it called forth. "Well, I am a painter too," were his first words, after a long examination. Though not a pupil, Parmegiano (1503-1540) was evidently an imitator of Correggio; he is the painter of this tall picture, the 'Vision of St. Jerome,' where St. John, in the foreground, is pointing to the Virgin and youthful Christ in the clouds, while St. Jerome is asleep in the background. A great compliment to art was paid through the medium of this work, if Waagen's supposition be correct, that it was this on which Parmegiano was engaged during the assault upon Rome by the troops of the Constable Bourbon; an event of which the painter was so delightfully unconscious that the first news he received of it came in the shape of the hostile German soldiers looking to see what plunder might be obtained. What followed was enough to make one wish to blot all remembrances of former misdeeds of the Goths and Vandals of the north. The soldiers stopped to gaze on the work before them, became entranced by its beauty, and quitted the place, as one that should be sacred from all tumults, even the very unscrupulous and unrespecting ones of war. Unfortunately, another party afterwards seized the painter, and exacted ransom, in consequence of which he left Rome in poverty, and went to Bologna, where and at Parma he grew again wealthy and famous—then left the real art of alchymy he possessed for the nominal one, and died poor. Though executed at the early age of twenty-four, this 'Vision of St. Jerome' is esteemed, in spite of its exaggerations and other defects, one of Parmegiano's finest productions.

Of the Paduan school and its chief, Andrea Martegna, we have nothing; but of the Ferrara school, a kind of branch of the Paduan, there are three pictures, two by Mazzolino da Ferrara (1489-1530), and one by Ercole Grandi da Ferrara, 1491-1531; all religious subjects, and all interesting as showing the state of art in that part of Italy before Garuolo returned from Raphael's studio, and informed his works with much of his master's grace and grandeur.

* Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and near London, with Catalogues of the Pictures, &c. by Mrs. Jameson; a book so admirably fitted for its purpose, that we can only wish every one of our readers may have the benefit of it as an instructive and delightful companion on their artistical visits.

By the time of the Reformation the followers of the great men who had shed such splendour over the commencement of the century had ceased to deserve that name, and might, in some cases at least, be rather called their caricaturists: such, for instance, in their more important works, were the professed disciples of the great Florentine, Vasari, the historian of painting, and Bronzino, whom we have before mentioned. Signs of decay were everywhere visible. It was as if the grandeur and beauty that the small, but most memorable band of men, the Da Vincis and Raphaels, the Michael Angelos, Titians, and Correggios, had suddenly introduced into the world, had been too great an advance for the taste and knowledge of men generally, who, after a brief fit of overwrought admiration and excitement, fell back, through the natural effects of re-action, into a worse than their former state. But the progress of the new faith infused new vigour and energy into the old one; and where the contest did not end in establishing the Protestant, it undoubtedly helped to refix more firmly in its foundation the Roman Catholic religion. Such was the case in Italy; and the arts soon felt the impulse. Towards the latter part of the sixteenth century there were living at Bologna two brothers and their cousin, bent on no less a task than the establishment of a grand school of painting of a somewhat different class than any that had gone before. To the results of a close study of nature and of the antique they desired to add the results of an equally attentive examination of every great master's peculiar qualities; and thus produce, in theory at least, works of still loftier excellence. These men, having made themselves worthy of such a position, opened a studio in the house of the cousin, Ludovico, to prepare others, who might also carry on the good work. This was the foundation of the famous eclectic school of Bologna by the Carracci; one of whom, Agostino (1588-1601), drew the Cartoons in the vestibule or passage before mentioned; another, Ludovico (1555-1619), who first planned the school and chiefly guided its operations, is the painter of the 'Susannah and the Elders,' the 'Entombment of Christ,' and of the copy of Correggio's 'Ecce Homo;' whilst the third and greatest, Annibale (1560-1609), enriches the Gallery with a noble series of works, no less than seven in number, among which two are indeed gems, the 'Silenus gathering grapes' and the 'Pan (or Silenus?) teaching Apollo to play on the reed;' both are painted in distemper, and originally, it is supposed, decorated the same harpsichord. It is not unworthy of remark, as showing how greatly application may develop excellence, that of the three Carracci, whilst Agostino, who was of a light gay disposition, worked at the easel but by fits and starts,—whilst Ludovico, whose phlegmatic temperament and lofty mind naturally inclined him to study and work, laboured steadily in his vocation,—it is Annibale, the often rude and impatient, but always generous and enthusiastic, who surpassed both in the incessant character of his application and in its results. With two delightful traits of Annibale, we must conclude our brief notice of this noble trio to whom modern art owes so much: he is said to have kept his colours and his money in the same box, both equally at the disposal of his scholars; when he died, he was buried, according to his own desire, by the side of Raphael. Among these scholars two stand out conspicuous, Guido (1575-1642) and Domenichino (1581-1641). The talents of Guido were so early and conspicuously shown that the Carracci grew jealous, and Guercino (before mentioned) and Domenichino were pushed forward by them in consequence. We have four pictures by Guido

in the Gallery, one of which, the 'Andromeda,' is in the artist's best manner, warm, harmonious and delicate; and the same number by Domenichino, who has been ranked among the first of painters, and whose progress upwards was still more remarkable than his master's, Annibale Carracci. He was called the 'ox' by his fellow students; upon which Annibale one day remarked that the nickname was only applicable to Domenichino's patient and fruitful industry. It was a maxim of the latter that not a single line ought to be traced by the hand which was not already fully conceived in the mind. That all this implied anything but the want of energy and enthusiasm Annibale had one day an interesting proof: he found Domenichino acting in person the scene which he had to paint.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Gallery is one by John Van Eyck (1370-1441), which seems to show that the discoverer or restorer of oil painting had leapt at once to perfection, in the preparation of the vehicles of his colours, and kept the knowledge thus acquired to himself, for there is nothing in modern pictures to be compared with Van Eyck's for mingled delicacy and effect, and we fear for permanence. Above four centuries have passed over this little quaint piece of brilliancy, without a trace of their existence. The subject is unknown: it consists of two figures, a male and a female, holding each other's hands. The picture belongs to a very interesting period, when John Van Eyck and his brother had raised the school of Flanders to the highest pitch of eminence among the earlier schools of European art. They were men, as we may almost perceive in this interesting picture, who added to the most exquisite technical skill, profound feeling, and powerful perception and delineation of character. Before and after them there is a melancholy waste, not in northern art itself, but in our Gallery of its specimens. The fine old romantic school of painting might never have existed for aught we here perceive to the contrary. When we next arrive at works of the Flemish school, it is after a period of decline and degradation; from which a new artist at once, by his single strength, raised it; namely, Rubens (1577-1640), who, by the variety and value of the stores of a mind to which Nature had been most unusually bountiful of her richest gifts, informed it with a glowing life, an energy of character and passion, mingled with almost unequalled harmony of gorgeous colouring and picturesque composition, that placed both the school and the founder of it at the very highest point of reputation,—we perceive in this Gallery how deservedly. Rubens was equally great in history, landscape, and portraiture: of the last we possess, as yet, no examples; of the second we have a 'Sunset,' and a 'Landscape,' representing Rubens' own château near Malines, with the country around it, a wonderfully beautiful work; and of the first, among six pictures of different sizes and value, the well known 'Brazen Serpent,' the 'St. Bavon,' one of the most harmonious and picturesque of compositions; and, above all, the glorious 'Peace and War,' painted by Rubens in this country whilst ambassador to the Court of Charles I., to whom he presented it. Rubens had of course numerous pupils and followers, one of them scarcely less great than himself. Rubens' first intimation of something of this kind was owing to an interesting incident whilst he was painting his grand work, 'The Descent from the Cross': one of the pupils pushed another against it, the part touched was wet, and, consequently, considerable damage done. To allay probably the alarm of

his companions, another pupil, Vandyck, stepped forth and did his best to set all to rights unknown to the master. When Rubens next looked at the picture, he was more than usually pleased with a certain portion—Vandyck's. It is said by some that Rubens' jealousy was so excited on his discovering the truth that he repainted the part; others, that it increased his esteem for his scholar; a supposition more in accordance with the princely generosity of Rubens's character, and supported by the strongest facts, namely, that they parted friends, and remained friends after parting, Rubens at one time even offering him his daughter in marriage. The pictures in the Gallery from the hands of Vandyck (1599-1641) are four in number, among which may be particularly mentioned the magnificent historical picture of 'St. Ambrosius and the Emperor Theodosius,' and the portrait generally esteemed without equal in the world—that of 'Gevartius,' as it is incorrectly called, or 'Vander Geest,' as no doubt it should be designated. Of Jordaens (1594-1678), the most important of Rubens's pupils next to Vandyck, the Gallery possesses a 'Holy Family;' and of other Flemish masters four works, two of them by Teniers (1610-1694), whose productions have been justly likened to reflections from a convex mirror, such is their minute truth and nature.

From the Flemish the transition is easy to the Dutch school, and a very fair sprinkling of the works, some twenty in number, of its most eminent men, may be found in the Gallery. Rembrandt (1606-1674), great King of Shadows, is here nobly represented. One of the finest productions in his early careful style, the 'Woman taken in Adultery,' enriches the Gallery; also his 'Christ taken down from the Cross,' his 'Adoration of the Infant Jesus by the Shepherds,' with the 'Woman Bathing' (or washing), a landscape, and two of his marvellous portraits. Nothing can exceed the poetical grandeur of the style of these works, in spite of their roughness of execution (people with too curious eyes should remember Rembrandt's caution, that paint was unwholesome); or in spite of an infinitely more important defect, the inherent rudeness, it may almost be called vulgarity, of the figures. When Vandyck was once admiring a work of Rembrandt's in the painter's presence, the latter exultingly remarked, "Yet I have never been in Italy." "That is very evident," was the quiet and not undeserved reply. A landscape by John Both (1610-1645), a 'Calm' and a 'Storm at Sea' by the half amphibious Vandervelde (1633-1707), and a landscape by Cuyp, the Claude Lorraine of the Low Countries, are the only other Dutch works our space will permit us to particularise. But we have incidentally recalled a name which, in itself almost a strain of music, opens a vista of the most charming productions that any age or time has given to us. Our National Gallery is here again worthy of its name: no less than ten works by Claude Lorraine (1660-1682) are in it. It were useless here to enumerate them, by whatever name called, in order to account for the figures put into them, and which are so bad that Claude used to say he gave them away, and sold only the landscape: landscapes essentially they are; and he must be difficult to please who would desire to see them any thing else. We can well understand the feeling which made Sir George Beaumont, himself a landscape-painter of the finest taste, after he had given his pictures to the Gallery, beg for one of them, his especial darling, back again during his lifetime, when we know that it was a Claude ('Hagar in the Desert') that he so desiderated. Claude, with Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665), and Gaspar Poussin (1613-1675),

may almost be said to form a school of their own, though Lanzi places them in the Roman, and other writers in the French school. France was their country either by birth or immediate descent, but from Italy they derived their nurture. Nicholas led the way in that kind of landscape which has grandeur for its object, and was followed by Gaspar, the mightiest master in the style we have yet had, and Bourdon (1616-1671), a scarcely less eminent French painter, of whom we have but a single specimen, the 'Return of the Ark:' this is the painter, by the way, who copied from recollection a picture of Claude's so perfectly, as to astonish that great painter no less than it astonished the public generally. The Gallery is rich in the works of both the Poussins, there being eight by Nicholas (or seven, if the 'Phineas and his Followers' be, as alleged, by Romanelli), and six by Gaspar: among these, if we must make any special mention, we may particularise Gaspar's 'Landscape, with Abraham and Isaac,' as the truly grandest, perhaps, that ever was painted, and Nicholas' 'Plague of Ashdod' (where the very tints and tones seem smitten with the disease they illustrate) in one style, and the two Bacchanalian pictures in another, as works of the very highest kind. The mechanical perfection attained by some of our painters is very extraordinary; Gaspar could paint a landscape in a day. The four pictures by Lancret (1690-1743), pupil and imitator of Watteau, demand but a passing mention, and complete our collection of the works of the French school. And we may here, immediately after the great landscape-painters above named, not unfitly find a niche for a man who was a school almost in himself, Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), poet, musician, actor, architect, improvisatore, and painter, of whom we have a single work, 'Mercury, and the Woodman:' why we have nothing more important, we leave those to tell who, when two of the greatest of Salvator's productions, 'Diogenes casting away his Cup,' and 'Heraclitus sitting among the Remnants of Mortality,' were offered to the Gallery, refused them; the individual who had a chief voice in their refusal afterwards purchasing them for the Grosvenor Gallery.

There remains but two schools more to be noticed—the Spanish and the English. As to the Spanish, four pictures alone represent it; three by Murillo, the most distinguished of Spanish colourists, which consist of a Holy Family, St. John with the Lamb, and a Spanish Peasant Boy, the last belonging to a class with which our countrymen have been made familiar, through the medium of engravings; whilst the fourth picture is by Murillo's master, Velasquez (1599-1660), a portrait, and therefore giving us some opportunity of judging of the truth of the skill attributed to him in that branch of art. When his patron, Philip IV., came one day into his room, he saw, as he thought, Admiral Pareja, in a dark corner, whom he had ordered to sea; "What! still here!" said he; of course, the admiral's portrait remained silent, and the king discovered his error. But neither the portrait nor the anecdote give us any adequate idea of the mighty talent of the greatest of Spanish painters, of whom it has been said, in "things mortal, and touching man, Velasquez was more than mortal: he is perfect throughout, whether painting high or low, rich or poor, young or old, human, animal, or natural objects. His dogs are equal to Snyders; his chargers to Rubens—they know their rider. When Velasquez descended from heroes, his beggars and urchins rivalled Murillo: no Teniers or Hogarth ever came up to the waggish wassail of his drunkards. He is by far the first landscape-painter of Spain: his

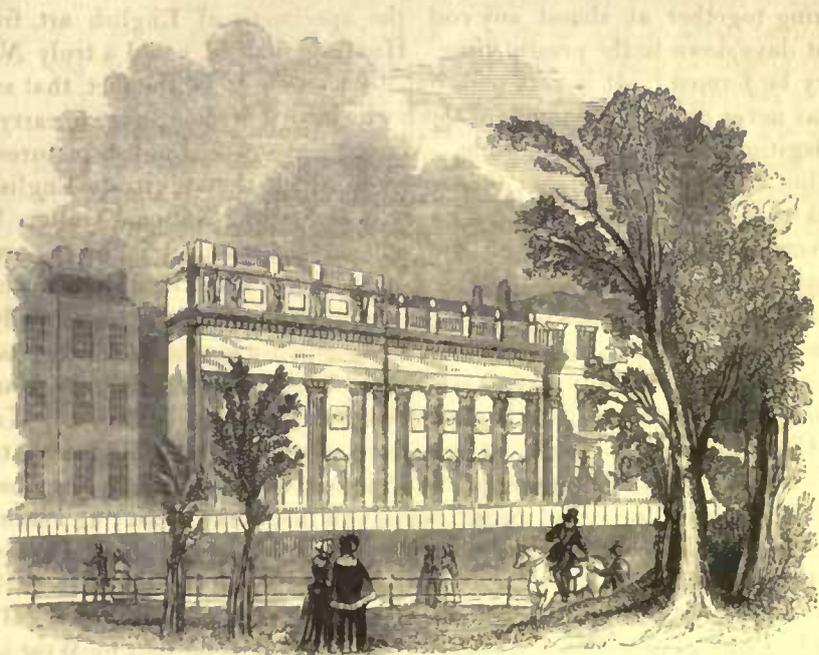
scenes are full of local colour, freshness and daylight, whether verdurous court-like avenues, or wild rocky solitudes: his historical pictures are pearls of great price: never were knights and soldiers so painted as in his *Surrender of Breda*.*

Referring once more to the title 'National Gallery,' it seems natural to conclude that one of the most important objects aimed at in its formation would be the gathering together, at almost any cost, the specimens of English art, from its earliest days down to the present time. How else, indeed, could a truly *National Gallery* be formed? It is very odd, but it does seem to be the fact, that such an idea has never entered the minds of those who have it in their power to carry it out to its legitimate practical conclusion. We have about 38 English pictures, it is true; but as to their quality, or the extent to which they illustrate English art, it is all matter of accident. They are very liberal at the National Gallery! they take every thing that is offered, if it be not very bad, and by no means exclude the works of Englishmen: but purchasing is a different matter: we believe not a single native picture has been obtained in that way. We may then really consider ourselves fortunate that our English school has any worthy representatives. There are one of Hogarth's (1697-1764) inestimable moral series, the *Marriage à la Mode*, in six pictures, and his own portrait with the dog; two of Wilson's (1714-1782) glorious landscapes, the *Niobe* and the *Villa of Mæcenas*; two of Gainsborough's (1727-1788), less grand, perhaps, but richer in colour and still more freshly beautiful—these are the *Market Cart* and the *Watering Place*; ten pictures by Reynolds (1723-1792), including his *Infant Samuel*, *Holy Family*, and two of his finest portraits—the *Banished Lord*, and *Lord Heathfield*, the brave defender of Gibraltar—with a study of *Angels' heads*, exquisitely beautiful; one picture by Copley (1738-1815), the *Death of Lord Chatham*; four by West (1738-1820), of which the least ambitious is by far the best, namely, the *Orestes and Pylades*; five by Lawrence (1769-1830), including the famous *Kemble portrait*, to which a corresponding picture of *Mrs. Siddons* has lately been added by a friend; two by Wilkie (1785-1841)—the *Blind Fiddler* and *Village Festival*—works whose merits are as rare as their reputation is universal; with others by Constable, Hoppner, Beechey, Jackson, Beaumont, Phillips, and Hilton (died 1839)—the last a truly noble work, representing, from the *Fairy Queen*, *Sir Calepine rescuing Serena*—a work which, in rich, art-loving, somewhat self-glorifying England, the painter was unable to sell, and kept therefore till the day of his death. It was purchased a short time back by some public-spirited gentlemen, Hilton's admirers, and presented to the nation, which will yet be proud of it.

Among the other Galleries of London, there are several which we should have been glad to have noticed had our space permitted us to do so: and we can but regret that it does not. Such are—the collection in *Devonshire House*, rich in Italian pictures, and more particularly of the Venetian school; *Sir Robert Peel's*, of which *Waagen* speaks so highly as "a series of faultless pearls of the Flemish and Dutch schools," a monument of the artistical taste and knowledge of their owner and collector; the *Bridgwater*, formerly the *Stafford Gallery*, to which a great work in four folio volumes has been specially dedicated, and which holds the first rank among English collections, being rich in all schools—pre-eminently so in the highest, and containing above 300 pictures; the collection in

* 'Penny Cyclopædia'—Velasquez.

Stafford House, belonging to the Duke of Sutherland; Lord Ashburton's; the Duke of Wellington's; Mr. Hope's; and the Marquis of Westminster's, better known as the Grosvenor Gallery, one of the wealthiest in the country in the works of Rembrandt, and the Dutch and Flemish painters, and containing many and valuable works in all the other chief schools.



[The Picture Gallery, Grosvenor House.]

We conclude then with a notice of a building which has no doubt often attracted the eye of the reader as he passed through Lincoln's Inn Fields, by the peculiarity of its general appearance—by the Gothic-looking corbels attached to the front without any apparent object, and by the figures on the upper part of the building, which to some may be familiar as copies of the Caryatides attached to the Temple of Pandroseus at Athens. That is the Museum of Sir John Soane, the eminent architect, presented by him to the public, and secured for ever to its use by a parliamentary enactment. And one of the most munificent gifts ever made to a nation, was made also in the most munificent manner: Sir John provided an endowment for the maintenance of the Museum, as well as the Museum itself, leaving us nothing to do but to enjoy, and be grateful.* The

* As the regulations concerning admission are, from the confined character of the place, and the great and peculiar value of the objects contained in it, necessarily framed and observed with great care, we subjoin from the Description what we may call the official announcement:—The Museum is “open to general visitors on Thursdays and Fridays during the months of April, May, and June, in each year; and likewise on Tuesdays from the first week in February to the last in August, for the accommodation of foreigners, persons making but a short stay in London, artists, and those who, from particular circumstances, may be prevented from visiting the Museum in the months first specified, and to whom it may be considered proper such favour should be conceded: persons desirous of obtaining admission to the Museum can apply either to a trustee, by letter to the Curator (George Bailey, Esq.), or personally at the Museum a day or two before they desire to visit it; in the latter case, the applicant is expected to leave a card, containing the name and address of the party desiring admission, and the number of persons proposed to be introduced, or the same can be entered in a book kept for the purpose in the hall, when, unless there appears to the Curator any satisfactory reason to the contrary, a card of admission for the next open day is forwarded by post to the given address.”

interior is probably the most extraordinary succession of little halls, little corridors, little dining, breakfast, and drawing-rooms, little studios and parlours, or, what comes to the same thing, appears so from the multitude of objects crowded into them, that ever awaited the eyes of a curious visitor; and the names are no less fantastic: Monk's Parlour—Catacombs—Sepulchral Chamber—Crypt—Shakspeare Recess—Tivoli Recess—Monument Court—such are the appellations of different parts of the building. As to the contents, they are at once so multifarious, and so different, that to describe them satisfactorily in any other way than by reprinting the description sold at the Museum is all but impossible. There are Egyptian antiquities, Greek and Roman antiquities, modern sculptures, gems, rare books and manuscripts, pictures, architectural models (an extensive collection, illustrating chiefly Sir John's own public works); in short, we should hesitate before we ventured to name anything positively as not being there. Walls, cabinets, recesses, ceilings, are everywhere covered—not an inch of spare room is to be found—the walls, indeed, doing double duty, by means of an ingenious contrivance—moveable planes with sufficient space between for the pictures; by which means a room of about 12 feet by 20 can accommodate as many pictures as an ordinary gallery 45 feet long by 20 feet broad. The value of the countless articles here so ingeniously arranged varies of course; many of them are of incalculable price. A foreigner, mentioned by Mrs. Jameson, compared its labyrinthine passages and tiny recesses to a mine branching out into many veins, where, instead of metallic ores, you find works of art; and the remark does no more than justice to the Soane Museum. Its formation was the work of the chief portion of a life-time, and involved an expenditure that has been estimated at upwards of 50,000*l*. To this general idea of the contents of the Museum we can but add a rapid glance over some of the more interesting among the articles that belong to our general subject, the Pictures. Among these are the portrait of Soane, by Lawrence; Reynolds's famous 'Snake in the Grass;' the 'Study of a Head,' from one of Raphael's Cartoons, a relic saved from the wreck of the lost cartoons, which remained in the possession of the family of the weaver who originally worked them in tapestry; copies of two other heads from the same, by Flaxman; another of Hogarth's moral series,—the eight paintings of the 'Rake's Progress,' with several others of the painter's original works; also paintings by Canaletti, one of them esteemed his finest work, Watteau, Fuseli, Turner, Calcott, Eastlake, Hilton. Yes, we must notice one thing beside, the truly magnificent 'Egyptian Sarcophagus,' found by Belzoni in a tomb, and which is of the finest Oriental alabaster, transparent when a light is placed in it, and most elaborately sculptured all over. It measures 9 feet 4 inches in length, 3 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 2 feet 8 inches in depth at the highest part. It is, in all probability, the most beautiful relic of Egyptian art existing. The learned are sadly at issue as to whom it belonged; Sir Gardner Wilkinson considers it was the 'Cenotaph' of the father of Rameses the Great, whose conquests are represented on the walls of the great Temple of Ammon at Thebes.



[Marylebone, 1720. From the basin in Marylebone Park, near Regent's Park.]

CXLII.—THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHES.

THE rapid growth of large towns has almost ceased to excite astonishment in our days. As to those who regarded with fear and apprehension the rate at which London was increasing at the close of the seventeenth century, what would they now say, if they could rise from their graves, and see the bulk which the monster of their imaginations had attained? Still, wonderfully as London has increased in magnitude, its population has not yet reached the point at which, according to the speculations of a clever and acute man a century and a half ago, it must necessarily come to a full stop. In 1682 Sir William Petty conjectured that, as London doubled its population in forty years, and the rest of the country in three hundred and sixty years, the number of inhabitants in London in 1840 would be 10,718,880, and in the rest of the country 10,917,389; "wherefore," he remarks, "it is certain and necessary that the growth of the city must stop before the said year 1840; and will be at its utmost height in the next preceding period [of forty years], anno 1800, when the number of the city will be eight times its present number, namely, 5,359,000; and when (besides the said number) there will be 4,466,000 to perform the tillage, pasturage, and other such works necessary to be done without the said city." Then he adds: "Now when the people of London shall come to be so near the people of all England, then it follows that the growth of London must stop before the said year 1840." The whole population of the cities and towns of England in Sir William Petty's time was comparatively insignificant.

nificant, and he doubtless considered that if it became much greater than one-half it would be unable to obtain food : at present, out of fifteen millions, nearly nine live in the towns of considerable size.

The attempt to check the increase of new buildings in London by statutory enactments began in 1592, when an act was passed prohibiting their erection either in London or Westminster, or within three miles, unless they were fit for inhabitants of the better sort; neither were single houses to be converted into several dwellings for "under-sitters." James I., in his proclamations, was no less anxious than his predecessor to repress the growth of his metropolis. He exhorted the Star Chamber to regulate "the exorbitancy of the new buildings about the city, which were but a shelter for those who, when they had spent their estates in coaches, lacqueys, and fine clothes, like Frenchmen, lived miserably in their houses, like Italians." Notwithstanding, the evil made head against their most strenuous efforts. In 1630, we find Charles I. also issuing his proclamations to check the further increase of London, under the fear that the inhabitants "would multiply to such an excessive number that they could neither be governed nor fed." Another measure adopted, both by Charles and his father, was to order all mere visitors to the capital to leave it and go back to their homes in the country. What would our West-end tradesmen say to a proclamation of King James in 1617, which strictly commanded all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who had mansion-houses in the country, to depart within twenty days, with their wives and families, out of the city and suburbs of London, and to return to their several habitations in the country, there to continue and abide until the end of the summer vacation, "to perform the duties and charge of their several places and service; and likewise, by house-keeping, to be a comfort unto their neighbours, in order to renew and revive the laudable custom of hospitality in their respective counties." None were to be allowed to remain, except those having urgent business, to be signified to and approved of by the Privy Council. Again, in 1622, in one proclamation, he commanded all noblemen and gentlemen, having seats in the country, forthwith to go home to celebrate the feast of Christmas, and to keep hospitality in their several counties, "which," said he, "is now the more needful, as this is a time of scarcity and dearth." Christmas a time of scarcity in London! a period at which it now literally overflows with the comforts and good things of life, which are to be obtained, too, at a cheaper rate than in any town of considerable size in the kingdom. In a second proclamation, referring to the former one, he enjoined the persons thus hurried off into the country to remain there till his further pleasure should be known; adding, that the order should be held to include widows of distinction; and that all such lords and gentlemen as had law business to bring them up to London should leave their wives and children in the country. Another proclamation, in 1632, alludes to their drawing from the counties their substance and money, which was "spent in the city on excess of apparel, provided from foreign parts, to the enriching of other nations, and the unnecessary consumption of a great part of the treasure of this realm, and in their vain delights and expenses, even to the wasting of their estates." The practice, it is added, also drew great numbers of loose and idle people to London and Westminster, which thereby were not so easily governed as formerly; besides that the poor-rates were increased and the price of provisions enhanced. "In regard to the point last touched upon, it is but fair to

remember," says the 'Pictorial History of England,' "that, from the difficulties of conveyance between one part of the country and another, any extraordinary accumulation of people upon one spot was in those days reasonably regarded with more alarm, for the pressure it would occasion upon the local provision market, than it would be now, when the whole kingdom is in a manner but one market." After all, therefore, these enactments and proclamations derive their appearance of absurdity from London not having experienced for so long a period the evils of scarcity, and from the increasing improbability, under all ordinary circumstances, of its again suffering so severe an affliction. Its two millions of inhabitants are better and more cheaply supplied than the half of this number forty years ago, and with the present facilities of distributing the necessaries of life, it would continue to be as well supplied though another million were added to the population. It would, in fact, be difficult to say where the check to population, from insufficient supplies of food and other necessaries, would come into operation, provided that the varied industry of the metropolis continued prosperous.

Besides the official authority adduced as proving that the increase of London was regarded as a veritable bugbear, various writers might be quoted to the same effect. Graunt, in his work on the 'Bills of Mortality,' published in 1662, speaks of London as "perhaps a head too big for the body, and possibly too strong;" and he complains that many parishes had grown "madly disproportion-able." Rapin, who wrote his 'History of England' above a quarter of a century later, regrets that the enactments and proclamations against the increase of London had not been attended to, and repeats the old story of the capital being a monstrous head to a body of moderate size.

The City of London Within the Walls contains no more than three hundred and seventy statute acres, or about the one hundred and fortieth part of the space covered by the metropolis; but it is the parent of a mass of united and contiguous dependencies, stretching from Holloway and Kentish Town to Camberwell and Brixton, and from Hammersmith to Greenwich and Blackwall. Graunt complained in 1662 that "the walled city is but a fifth of the whole pile." As before stated, in extent it is the one hundred and fortieth part of the whole metropolitan area, and in population one thirty-sixth of the whole mass. We may soon make the circuit of Old London. From its eastern ascent at Tower Hill to its western descent at Ludgate Hill the distance is but a mile and a quarter. In tracing the limits of the ancient city we proceed from the Tower, behind the Minories, to Aldgate; behind Hounds-ditch (the city moat) to Bishops-gate; and along London Wall to Cripple-gate, the greatest distance from the Thames; thence to Alders-gate, New-gate, Lud-gate, and Blackfriars' Bridge. When it became no longer necessary to crowd within the walls for the sake of protection, the population spread itself in the limits known as London Without the Walls, a space still smaller than that part of the city within the walls, and comprising only two hundred and thirty acres. The authority of the city over this portion of the metropolis was acquired by successive grants of jurisdiction. The greater portion of the City Without the Walls extends from the bottom of Ludgate Hill and Newgate to Temple Bar and Holborn Bars, opposite the end of Gray's Inn Lane; and on the north it runs with tolerable regularity parallel to the line of the city wall, occupying the

site of the city moat, and of the wall itself, until it reaches the Liberty of the Tower. Mr. Rickman estimated the population of the City Within the Walls, at the beginning of the last century, at not much less than 140,000: and of the City Without the Walls at 69,000: the former had in 1841 a population of 54,626 and the latter of 70,382. The Borough of Southwark, which doubtless owes its origin to the ferry, or possibly bridge, which in the Anglo-Roman period connected London with the military road to Dover, comprises just ten statute acres less than the City of London Within and Without the Walls. These were the ancient limits to which the population of the metropolis was at one time confined.

The first movement of the population beyond the above boundaries was in a western direction, between Temple Bar and Westminster, where a church, dedicated to St. Peter, had been erected, in the early part of the seventh century, by Sebert, King of the East Saxons. Edward the Confessor refounded the church, and built a palace on the site of the present House of Lords, and William Rufus added to it Westminster Hall. The Exchequer of Receipt (the ancient Crown Revenue Office) was removed from Winchester to Westminster, probably in the reign of Stephen. "From the time of Edward I.," says Mr. Rickman, "Westminster, from Parliament being usually summoned to meet there, may be deemed the seat of government also." Its situation was on an island, called Thorney Island, about one mile and a half long, formed by an arm of the Thames, called Long Ditch, and which afforded solid ground in the neighbourhood of the abbey. The court of the Tudors was removed from the New Palace, adjoining Westminster Hall, to Whitehall, and the Strand in consequence became a favourite site for the residences of the nobility.

According to a map published early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about 1560, Westminster was then united by an unbroken line of buildings, extending from the Palace at Whitehall by Charing Cross and along the Strand; those on the south side consisting chiefly of the mansions of the nobility, with gardens reaching down to the river; and those on the north side, between Drury Lane and St. Martin's Lane, being also mansions, having gardens behind them; then a park or garden, apparently part of the former Convent (or Abbey) Garden, which has given name to the neighbourhood; then open fields, extending to Holborn and to the hamlet or village of St. Giles's. In the neighbourhood of Westminster Abbey or Hall, which formed the nucleus of the city, the buildings were thick, and formed a town of several streets. About Charing Cross there were houses, extending along what is now called Cockspur Street to the end of Pall Mall; but the Haymarket was a country road, separated from the fields by a hedge on each side. The Mews at Charing Cross existed, and their eastern wall, with that of St. Martin's Churchyard, and of the park or garden noticed as extending at the back of the houses on the north side of the Strand, lined St. Martin's Lane on each side for some distance; but the greater part of that lane was bounded by hedges, and had fields on each side, which were used for feeding cattle or drying clothes. In the neighbourhood of the church of St. Clement Danes, and at the Strand end of Drury Lane, about Clement's Inn, the houses were more thickly grouped, but the greater part of Drury Lane was skirted by fields, occupying, on the one hand, the space now occupied by Lincoln's Inn Fields and the neighbourhood, and on the other, the site of the present Covent Garden Market, Long

Acre, and Castle Street. Speed's plan, published in 1610, seventy years later, gives this part of the metropolis but little more extension than the plan of 1560.

Howel, in his 'Londinopolis,' published in 1657, observes that the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland, by the accession of James in 1603, conduced not a little to unite also the two cities of London and Westminster; "for," says he, "the Scots, greatly multiplying here, nestled themselves about the court, so that the Strand, from the mud walls and thatched cottages, acquired that perfection of buildings it now possesses." Graunt, in his work on the 'Bills of Mortality,' says, "The general observation is that the city of London gradually removes westward; and did not the Royal Exchange and London Bridge stay the trade, it would remove much faster, for Leadenhall Street, Bishopsgate, and part of Fenchurch Street have lost their ancient trade; Gracechurch Street indeed keeping itself yet entire, by reason of its conjunction with and relation to London Bridge. Again, Canning Street [Cannon Street] and Watling Street have lost the trade of woollen drapery, to Paul's Churchyard, Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street; the mercery is gone from out of Lombard Street and Cheapside into Paternoster Row and Fleet Street. The reasons whereof are, that the King's court (in old time frequently kept in the city) is now always at Westminster; secondly, the use of coaches, whereunto the narrow streets of the old city are unfit, hath caused the building of those broader streets in Covent Garden." Howell compares London to a Jesuit's hat, the brims of which are larger than the block, as the suburbs of London had become larger than the body of the city, which he says "made Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, to say, as the Queen of Spain was conversing with him, on his return from England, of the city of London, 'Madam, I believe there will be no city left shortly, for all will run out of the gates to the suburbs.'" But at the same time, as Graunt shows, the number of buildings in the city itself was increasing, and buildings were erected on the site of great houses belonging to noblemen who had removed westward, and he notices that, "Allhallows on the Wall is increased by the conversion of the Marquis of Winchester's house, lately the Spanish Ambassador's, into a new street; the like of Alderman Freeman's, and La Motte's, near the Exchange; the like of the Earl of Arundel's in Lothbury; the like of the Bishop of London's Palace; the Dean of [St.] Paul's; and the Lord Rivers's house, now in hand; as also of the Duke's Place, and others heretofore." This increase of building on the sites of the great houses and the gardens attached to them, rendered the city less pleasant. But both within and without the city the stream of population was flowing thicker and faster. Graunt remarks that "When Ludgate was the only western gate of the city, little building was westward thereof, but when Holborn began to increase Newgate was made.* Now both these gates are not sufficient for the communication between the walled city and its enlarged western suburbs, as daily appears by the intolerable stops and embarrassments of coaches near both these gates, especially Ludgate." And in another place he observes, that "the passage of Ludgate is a throat too strait for the body." Sir William Petty, in 1682, points out some of the causes which in his opinion had contributed to swell the popula-

* Newgate was called New, after being rebuilt in the reign of Henry V., before which time it was called Chamberlain's Gate. "This gate," says Mr. Rickman, "cannot but have been one of the ancient gates of the City, the Roman Watling Street passing along Newgate Street, Holborn, and Oxford Street to Tyburn, where it turned off to St. Albans."

tion of London between 1640 and 1680. From 1642 to 1650, "men arrived out of the country to London to shelter themselves from the outrages of the civil wars. From 1650 to 1660 the royal party came to London for their more private and inexpensive living. From 1660 to 1670 the King's friends and party came to receive his favours after his happy Restoration. From 1670 to 1680 the frequency of plots and parliaments might bring extraordinary numbers to the city." Be this as it may, there is no doubt there was a great increase of the population after the Restoration.

Some years after the accession of James I., St. Giles's-in-the-Fields was still spoken of, in an act for paving it, as a town separate from the capital; but it had become united to it by a continuous range of buildings before the Civil War. Anderson, in his 'History of Commerce,' identifies, from their names, the period when most of the streets about Covent Garden were erected. "The very names of the older streets about Covent Garden are taken from the royal family at this time (some, indeed, in the reign of King Charles II., as Catherine Street, Duke Street, York Street, &c.), such as James Street, King Street, Charles Street, Henrietta Street, &c., all laid out by the great architect, Inigo Jones, as was also the fine piazza there. Bloomsbury and the streets at the Seven Dials were built up somewhat later, as also Leicester Fields, namely, since the restoration of King Charles II., as were also almost all St. James's and St. Anne's parishes, and a great part of St. Martin's and St. Giles's." Anderson, who wrote about the middle of the last century, says: "I have met with several old persons in my younger days who remembered when there was but one single house (a cake-house) between the Mews Gate at Charing Cross and St. James's Palace Gate, where now stand the stately piles of St. James's Square, Pall Mall, and other fine streets." To return, however, to the increase of the metropolis in this direction about the close of Charles II.'s reign. By this time the limits of the city of Westminster, east of St. Martin's Lane, had been covered with streets; and westward from St. Martin's Lane the buildings had extended to the irregular line formed by Wardour Street, Pulteney Street, Warwick Street, and Piccadilly, nearly to the Green Park, at that time still united to St. James's Park. Leicester Fields, now Leicester Square, Soho Square, then frequently called King Square, had been laid out and built. Buildings had also extended westward along the south side of St. James's Park, and southward along Millbank to the Horse Ferry opposite Lambeth Palace. Before 1707, according to a map of that date, Golden Square, which, as well as Leicester Square, continued to be inhabited by the aristocracy up to the middle of last century, had been built; and also, between 1707 and 1720, Old Bond Street and New Bond Street; and about the latter year Albemarle Street, Dover Street, and the adjacent streets, had been laid out; also Hanover Square, so called in honour of George I. When Strype published his edition of Stow's 'London' in 1720, some of the houses in Hanover Square were finished, and some erecting, "one whereof," he tells us, "is taken by my Lord Cowper;" and he adds, "it is reported that the common place of execution of malefactors at Tyburn will be appointed elsewhere, as somewhere near Kingsland." Oxford Street, previously called Oxford Road, was the old "Tyburn Road." Towards the Piccadilly end of Old Bond Street the houses had extended, before 1720, to about Clarges and Half-Moon streets, and along Piccadilly to Hyde Park.

Corner. The whole south side of Oxford Street, and the north side from Vere Street to Oxford Street, were built about 1729, and a number of streets north of this line about the same time. By 1738 nearly the whole space between Piccadilly and Oxford Street was covered with buildings as far as Tyburn Lane, now Park Lane, except in the south-western corner about Berkeley Square and Mayfair, which were not fully covered until 1760, in which year Berkeley Square was laid out.

Turning to the north-western portion of the metropolis, we have the parishes of Paddington and St. Mary-le-bone. In introducing his account of the latter parish, Malcolm quotes the following paragraph from the 'Evening Post' of March 16, 1715:—"On Wednesday last four gentlemen were robbed and stripped in the fields between London and Mary-le-bon." In 1707, the maps of London show that there were not any streets west of Tottenham Court Road, and a plan of 1742 shows the church of St. Mary-le-bone detached from London. In 1707 rows of houses, with their backs to the fields, extended from St. Giles's to Oxford Market; and Tottenham Court Road had only one cluster on the west side. Newman Street and Berners Street were built about 1750; and Upper Harley Street and Portland Place some twenty years later. The village of Tyburn was in the parish of Mary-le-bone; and Tyburn-tree, as the gallows was called, was situated at the end of Park Lane. The village became decayed in the fourteenth century, and the church was robbed of its images and ornaments. In 1400 the parishioners built a new church where they for some time had a chapel; and the edifice being dedicated to the Virgin, received the additional name of "bourn," from the neighbouring stream. This rivulet supplied the citizens with water, nine conduits having been erected for the purpose about 1238. At the east end of the bridge which crossed the Ty-bourn at the end of Oxford Street stood the Lord Mayor's banqueting-house; and it was the custom for his Lordship, with the Aldermen, on horseback, accompanied by their ladies in waggons, to ride to this spot occasionally to view the conduits, after which they were entertained at the banqueting-house. In the first volume (p. 235), we have given from Stow an account of hare-hunting and fox-hunting which took place on the occasion of one of these visits. After the city was supplied with water from the New River the conduits at Tyburn were neglected; and in 1737 the banqueting-house was pulled down. From about the middle of the twelfth century Tyburn was the place of execution for malefactors, and here Earl Ferrars was executed in 1760. A sense of the impropriety of dragging a criminal a distance of two miles through the streets, and, it must also be confessed, a desire to improve the neighbourhood of Oxford Street, induced the authorities to transfer the execution of capital sentences to the Old Bailey, where the first execution took place in 1783. There was a royal park in the parish of Mary-le-bone; and it is recorded that, in 1760, "the ambassador from the Emperor of Russia, and other Muscovites, rode through the city of London to Marybone Park, and there hunted at their pleasure." In the same parish, on the site of Manchester Square, were the once-famous Mary-le-bone Gardens. This is the place probably alluded to by Lady Mary Wortley Montague in the line—

"Some dukes at Marybone bowl time away."

The Duke of Buckingham was the person meant. Pennant speaks of the Duke's

constant visits to the noted gaming-house at Marybone, the resort of infamous sharpers. "His grace," he says, "always gave them a dinner at the conclusion of the season, and his parting toast was, 'May as many of us as remain unchanged next spring meet here again.'" Prior to 1737 the proprietor had kept the Gardens open gratuitously; after which period he was accustomed to charge a shilling for the admission of each person, who received a ticket which entitled him to refreshment to the full amount of the entrance-money. Here Charles Dibdin and Bannister made their debüt. The amusements consisted of vocal and instrumental music, frequently terminating with a display of fire-works, and at one period a representation of Mount Etna. As the population of the neighbourhood increased, the fear of accidents led the magistrates to suppress these amusements, and the Gardens ceased to exist as a place of recreation about 1773.

The increase of Marylebone began between 1716 and 1720 by the erection of Cavendish Square, at first called Oxford Square. Maitland, in his 'History of London,' published in 1739, states the number of houses in the parish to be 577, and the number of persons who kept coaches 35. In 1811 the number of houses was 8076; 11,608 in 1831; and 14,169 in 1841. The adjoining parish of Paddington is now rapidly being covered with buildings. Here are the station of the Great Western Railway, and the basin and wharfs of the Paddington Canal. The number of houses in Paddington in 1811 was 879, and 3479 in 1841. The parish of St. Pancras, east of Marylebone, contains the hamlets of Somers Town, Kentish Town, Camden Town, and Pentonville, now nearly united in one contiguous mass of buildings. It stretches from the south-end of Gray's Inn Lane nearly to the south-end of Tottenham Court Road, and northward to Highgate. Its rustic ancient parish church is strikingly disproportioned to its population, which amounted, in 1841, to 129,763 persons: the number of houses in 1811 was 5826, and 14,766 in 1841. St. Pancras New Church, erected in 1822, at a cost of 75,000*l.*, is one of the modern ecclesiastical edifices in the metropolis which would appear to indicate that England has had no church-architecture of its own. The streets near Percy Chapel, Tottenham Court Road, were built about 1765; Gower Street about 1784; Fitzroy Square was commenced in 1793; Somers Town was begun about 1786; and in 1792 was approached by a pleasant path, through a white turnstile, where Judd Place now stands; and Camden Town was commenced in 1791.

Pursuing our course eastward from Tottenham Court Road, we come to the parish of St. George's, Bloomsbury, originally a hamlet or village, called Lomsbury. Rather more than a century ago Great Russell Street was a fashionable part of the town, inhabited by the aristocracy; "especially," says Strype, "the north-side, as having gardens behind the houses, and the prospect of the pleasant fields up to Highgate and Hampstead, insomuch that this place by physicians is esteemed the most healthful of any in London." This street, he adds, "saluteth Southampton House, Montague House (now the British Museum), and Thanet House." At the east-end of Great Russell Street was Bloomsbury, formerly Southampton Square, the whole of the north side of which was occupied by Bedford House, a magnificent mansion, built by Inigo Jones, and taken down about the commencement of the present century. Southampton Row, Bedford Row, and Montague Street, were built on the site of the gardens of Bedford

ouse; and on some fields to the north of them, called the Long Fields, Russell Square; Tavistock Square, north of Russell Square, was begun at the commencement of the present century. Queen Square, says a writer in 1734, was open on the north side "for the sake of the beautiful landscape which is formed by the hills of Highgate and Hampstead, together with the adjacent fields." The same writer remarks that "Ormond Street is another place of pleasure, and that side of it next to the fields is, beyond question, one of the most charming situations about town." The appearance of the houses in Ormond Street evidently marks a distinct period in the progress of buildings in this direction. The site of Guildford Street was formerly a path, which led from the Earl of Rosslyn's house, at the south-east corner of Russell Square, and the gardens of Ormond Street, round the front of the Foundling Hospital to Gray's Inn Lane, and was, says Malcolm, "generally bounded by stagnant water twelve feet lower than the square."

One of the most interesting circumstances connected with the growth of the metropolis in one direction has reference to a conquest of industry over natural obstacles, which it is always gratifying to notice. The boundaries of the Fen, or Great Moor, appear to have been the City Wall on the south, and on the north the high grounds near Islington. Malcolm supposes that part of the site of the City within the walls was recovered from it; and he suggests that probably it extended westward to Smithfield, for that place is spoken of as a marsh in an ancient history of the Priory of St. Bartholomew; but it is supposed not to have extended eastward much beyond Bishopsgate Street. Fitz-Stephen alludes to the young men of the City playing upon the ice "when the Great Fen or Moor which watereth the walls of the City on the north side is frozen." The whole tract was let at four marks a-year in the reign of Edward II. In 1415 Stow says the Lord Mayor "caused the wall of the City to be broken toward the said Moor, and built the postern called Moorgate, for the ease of the citizens to walk that way upon causeys towards Iseldon (Islington) and Hoxton." Rubbish brought from the City through the nearest gates and posterns by degrees elevated the surface, at all events in the parts next the City. One of the hills on which a windmill was first erected is said to have arisen from the deposit of bones brought from St. Paul's in 1549. Stow says, "In the year 1498, all the gardens which had continued time out of mind without Moorgate, to wit, about and beyond the Lordship of Finsbury, were destroyed; and of them was made a plain field for archers to shoot. From this period, until the reign of Charles II., Finsbury Fields, as they were called, were reserved as the grand arena for displaying the skill of the London archers. Malcolm's work on 'London' contains a curious print taken from a drawing copied above thirty years ago by Sir Henry Ellis, from an old print in the Bodleian Library, which was inserted in a work on archery. The fields appear to have been divided into about thirty sections, in each of which there were butts set up for the archers. In the old print alluded to there are names or devices against each of the butts, as 'Hearty Goodwill,' 'Hodget's Hart Holydaye,' 'Mercer's Maid,' 'Beehive,' 'Cornish Chough,' 'Parkes his Pleasure,' &c. &c. In 1512, Roger Archley, Mayor, made attempts to drain the fen; and, in 1527, another Mayor exerted himself to effect the same object, by conveying the waters over the City moat, into the channel of the Wal-

brook, and so into the Thames; "and by these degrees," says Stow, "was this Fen or Moor at length made main and hard ground, which before being overgrown with flags, sedges, and rushes, served to no use; since the which time also the further grounds beyond Fensbury Court have been so over-heightened with laystalls of dung, that now three windmills are thereon set; the ditches be filled up, and the bridges overwhelmed." The population crept along slowly in this direction. The Manor of Finsbury was given to a prebend of St. Paul's in 1104; and, in 1215, it was granted to the Mayor and Citizens of London at a yearly rent of 20s., but no term was specified. By a survey of the Manor, in 1582, it appears that at that time it consisted chiefly of gardens, orchards, tenter-grounds, and fields. The Manor House stood near Chiswell Street. Only the west side of Finsbury Square, and the street between Moorfields and the City Road, were begun in 1778; and it was not until 1789 the north side was let upon building leases. About the commencement of the present century Malcolm vaunts of Finsbury Square as "a modern concentration of City opulence, and quite equal to the West End of the town in the splendour of the houses and the furniture." In the last century that part of Moorfields which fronted Bethlehem Hospital (since removed) was so much frequented by fashionable citizens as to obtain the appellation of the City Mall. The space was divided by gravel walks, into four quadrangles, and was planted with elm-trees.

Stow quotes Hall on a subject which has some reference to our present subject, as showing the limits of the metropolis. Alluding to the 5th or 6th of Henry VIII. Hall says: "Before this time the inhabitants of the towns about London, as Iseldon, Hoxton, Shoreditch, and others, had so enclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that neither the young men of the city might shoot, nor the ancient persons walk for their pleasures, in those fields, but that either their bows and arrows were taken away or broken, or the honest persons arrested or indicted; saying that 'no Londoner ought to go out of the city, but in the highways.' This saying so grieved the Londoners, that suddenly this year a great number of the city assembled themselves in a morning, and a turner, in a fool's coat, came crying through the city 'Shovels and spades! shovels and spades!' so many of the people followed that it was a wonder to behold; and within a short space all the hedges about the city were cast down, and the ditches filled up, such was the diligence of these workmen." The King's council connived at the matter, and so the fields remained open; but Stow complains that in his time the case had much altered for the worse, "by means," he says, "of inclosure for gardens, wherein are built many fair summer-houses; and, as in other places of the suburbs, some of them like Midsummer pageants, with towers, turrets, and chimney-pots, not so much for use or profit as for show and pleasure, betraying the vanity of men's minds much," and as he feelingly laments, "unlike to the disposition of the ancient citizens, who delighted in the building of hospitals and almshouses for the poor, and therein both employed their wits and spent their wealths in preferment of the common commodity of this our city."

Turning to some modern instances of rapid growth in the metropolitan suburbs, we find examples on every side of London. Islington, including the hamlet of Holloway, is one of them. In 1811 the parish contained 2399 houses, which had increased to 5797 in 1831, and in 1841 to 8508. The number of houses in Hack-

ney, and its dependent hamlets, increased from 2699 in 1811 to 6476 in 1841; Bethnal Green from 5715 to 11,782; Stepney, including its hamlets, has more than doubled, as, for example, Mile End Old Town from 2598 to 7705. Crossing the river to the Kent and Surrey side of the metropolis we have, in the parish of Lambeth, an increase in the thirty years of from 7201 houses to 17,791; in Newington the increase has been from 4574 houses to 9370; in Camberwell from 1849 to 4570; and taking the hundred of Brixton, which includes nearly all the metropolitan suburbs on the south, and does not comprise the borough of Southwark, we find that in 1811 the number of houses was 24,050, and in 1841 there were 50,550. Every year it is necessary to provide additional house-room for above twenty thousand persons, and London thus increases its size by the yearly addition of a town of considerable size. There are at all times about 4000 houses in the course of erection, and in 1841 the number of uninhabited houses was between six and seven thousand less than in 1831, when there were 16,408 unoccupied, and in 1841 only 9731. A recent return, prepared by direction of the Commissioners of Police, shows that, besides the building of so many houses, there have been erected, since 1830, in the various divisions in which the force acts, 604 churches, chapels, schools, and other public buildings. The information is not very specific, but it is not without value.

Gradually, therefore, has London overspread the surface over which it now extends. "This ancient city," said Maitland, about a century ago, "has engulfed one city, one borough and forty-three villages, namely, the city of Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and the villages of Mora, Finsbury, Wenlaxbarn, Clerkenwell, Islington, Hoxton, Shoreditch, Homerton, Norton Folgate, the Spital, Whitechapel, Mile End New Town, Mile End Old Town, Stepney, Poplar, Limehouse, Ratcliff, Shadwell, Wapping, Wapping Stepney, East Smithfield, the Hermitage, St. Catherine's, the Minorities, St. Clement Danes, the Strand, Charing, St. James's, Knightsbridge, Soho, St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, Bloomsbury, Portpool, Saffron Hill, Holborn, Vauxhall, Lambeth, Lambeth Marsh, Kensington, Newington Butts, Bermondsey, the Grange, Horsleydown, and Rotherhithe." Additions might be made to this list, but the names of other places "engulfed" will occur to most readers.

The time at length arrived when these numerous portions of the metropolis, once separated from each other, but in time united in one mighty mass, were to be associated as several distinct members, with independent life and power, but enjoying still a common organization. Up to the year 1832, the City of London, the Borough of Southwark, and the City of Westminster, had alone a distinct political existence, and enjoyed the privilege of electing representatives in Parliament. The City of London has exercised this right for six centuries, and for about five centuries it has always returned four members. Before 1832 the members were chosen by the freemen (being liverymen), and a poll, if demanded, might continue open seven days. Southwark has sent two members to Parliament since 1295; and up to 1832 the right of voting was in householders paying scot and lot. The electoral privilege has been enjoyed for a much shorter time by Westminster, the first return being made in the first year of Edward VI.; but that is now nearly three centuries ago. The right of voting, up to the period when great alterations were made in the representative system, was exercised by

all voters paying scot and lot. The Westminster elections will be for ever famous in the annals of electioneering; and we cannot well omit a brief allusion to these peculiar features of a bygone day.

As Westminster formerly stood alone as a great popular constituency, its elections were watched with peculiar interest, as indicative of the opinions of the people generally on the topics of the time. Westminster also being the seat of the court and of the government, a contested election was usually a more direct struggle between the governors and the governed, between the opinions or prejudices of the people and the policy of the government. The Westminster electors conceived that on them more peculiarly devolved the duty of placing in Parliament the "Man of the People," for such was the title given to many of their favourite candidates. Fox, Sheridan, Burdett, and Romilly were at different times elected as their representatives. Two great contests for Westminster are more particularly distinguished for the vigour with which they were maintained. The first was in 1741, when Lord Trentham, the court candidate, who was at the head of the poll, obtained 4811 votes. The "squibs" which flew about during the struggle are to be found in a collected form, and are interesting as illustrating, though in an exaggerated form, the popular spirit and prejudices. One of the most constant points of attack by the party opposed to Lord Trentham was his lordship's patronage of the Opera—that is, he encouraged foreigners. The election of 1784 is still more memorable. Fox was the "Man of the People" on this occasion, and the candidates supported by the government were Sir Samuel Hood and Sir Cecil Wray. Mr. Pitt says, in a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, of the 8th of April: "Westminster goes on well, in spite of the Duchess of Devonshire and the other women of the people; but when the poll will close is uncertain." Horace Walpole, whose delicate health at this time confined him almost entirely to his house, went in a sedan-chair to give his vote for Mr. Fox. "Apropos of election," writes Hannah More to her sister, "I had like to have got into a fine scrape the other night. I was going to pass the evening at Mrs. Cole's, in Lincoln's Inn Fields. I went in a chair; they carried me through Covent Garden: a number of people, as I went along, desired the men not to go through the Garden, as there were a hundred armed men, who, suspecting every chairman belonged to Brookes's, would fall upon us. In spite of my entreaties the men would have persisted, but a stranger, out of humanity, made them set me down; and the shrieks of the wounded—for there was a terrible battle—intimidated the chairmen, who at last were prevailed upon to carry me another way. A vast number of people followed me, crying out, 'It is Mrs. Fox: none but Mr. Fox's wife would dare to come into Covent Garden in a chair: she is going to canvass in the dark!' Though not a little frightened, I laughed heartily at this; but shall stir no more in a chair for some time." *

Every paragraph which appeared in the daily newspapers relating to the election, and every hand-bill and advertisement issued during its progress, were collected and published in a thick quarto volume soon after it closed, and now forms a picture of manners not a little curious. The beautiful Duchess of Devonshire and many other ladies of rank and distinction were, as every one knows, active canvassers for Mr. Fox, and from a house in Henrietta Street "the bevy

* Note in Walpole's Letters.

of Devonshire beauties" were accustomed to watch the humours of the election during the polling. We read also in one of the daily papers that "The Duchess of Devonshire attended the hustings yesterday in an elegant equipage. Her Grace wore a favour in her hat and another on her breast inscribed with 'Fox.' The servants and horses were also decorated with these testimonies of approbation. Another carriage of the house of Cavendish made a like display in compliment to Mr. Fox." The manner in which others of the Whig aristocracy evinced their personal interest in the proceedings would now be deemed 'strange,' and indeed the improved machinery of the representative system does not afford an opportunity for the 'humours' which once characterized Covent Garden. But the case was then very different, as the election of which we are now speaking lasted nearly *seven weeks*, from the 1st of April to the 17th of May, whereas the polling is now begun and finished in eight hours. The choice of the electors fell upon Sir Samuel Hood, who obtained 6694 votes, and Mr. Fox, who had 6243, and a majority of 236 over Sir Cecil Wray. The chairing of Mr. Fox and the triumphant procession which accompanied him is described as "a spectacle brilliant beyond imagination." The state carriages of the Duchesses of Devonshire and Portland, drawn by six horses, superbly caparisoned, with six running footmen attendant on each, formed a part of it; and the procession was closed by gentlemen's servants. After leaving Covent Garden it moved down Parliament Street and into Great George Street, where it turned round and again marched to Charing Cross, on its way to Pall Mall and Piccadilly. The court-yard of Carlton House, the residence of the Prince of Wales, then in the flower of his age, and enjoying the applauses of the popular party, was thrown open for its passage. Arriving at Piccadilly, the great gates of Devonshire House were opened, as at Carlton House, and the procession passed into the court-yard, where the various banners were placed in front. The Prince of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, and her sister Lady Duncannon, with other illustrious beauties, whose influence had not a little contributed to the victory, were here assembled to greet their favourite candidate. Mr. Fox addressed his friends from the steps of Devonshire House. Every man passed through Carlton House and Devonshire House uncovered in honour of their possessors. The procession next moved on to Berkeley Square, where it was again met by the Prince, who was with the Duchesses of Devonshire and Portland, and other noble persons, "to salute," as the accounts say, "the triumphant sons of freedom." The Prince of Wales had been at a review at Ascot in the morning, at which the King, who regarded Mr. Fox with anything but a friendly eye, was present. On his return to town his Royal Highness rode several times in his uniform along Pall Mall and St. James's Street, and was received with "shouts of triumph." After the procession was over, the Prince was again the object of popular applause, on going in his carriage to dinner at Devonshire House with the Fox favour and a laurel in his hat. "No description," it is said, "can equal the acclamations he received." On the following day his Royal Highness gave a splendid *dînéner*, at Carlton House, in honour of Mr. Fox's re-election, at which above 600 persons of fashion and distinction were present, most of whom wore Mr. Fox's colours of buff and blue. The same evening the beautiful Mrs. Crewe gave a select ball and supper to celebrate Mr. Fox's return. The world

of fashion had never before been so political, and never did so many brilliant auspices shine upon Westminster as those which, just "sixty years ago," marked the success of the "Man of the People." The French Revolution destroyed this union of gaiety and politics, and the stern times of political economy, with other circumstances which it is needless to mention, have prevented their mingling together in the same light spirit. At Mrs. Crewe's ball, Mr. Morris, afterwards Captain Morris, gave as a toast, "Buff and Blue, and Mrs. Crewe," which the lady acknowledged by "Buff and Blue, and all of you." There was at this period an annoying device for prolonging a contest long after the poll was declared, which was effected by demanding a scrutiny. This was the case on the re-election of Mr. Fox, and he entered the House as Member for Dingwall. The scrutiny went on at about the same rate as the subsequent trial of Hastings. In about two years the votes of as many parishes had been investigated. On the charring of Sheridan and Sir Samuel Hood, in 1806, the procession also passed through the court-yard of Devonshire House, and the Duke of Devonshire congratulated the newly-made members on their election.

Instead of three constituent bodies in the metropolis we have now seven, the City, Southwark, Westminster, with the new boroughs of Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth, forming, as it were, a confederation of free towns. It is remarkable that in one of the best maps of the metropolis, just now published, the limits of these boroughs have not been defined; yet there is something interesting in the consideration of the interests which predominate in each, and the contrasts which they exhibit with one another; and the line which separates them is surely worthy of attention. As to comparative wealth, the amount of assessed taxes paid in 1831 for each one hundred persons was 16*s.* in the City, 15*s.* in Westminster, 12*s.* in Marylebone, 8*s.* in Finsbury, 5*s.* in Lambeth, and 3*s.* in the Tower Hamlets; the average being 8*s.*, which was the exact amount paid by Finsbury. The population in 1841, and the number of electors in 1840, were as follow:—The City had a population of 120,702 and 19,064 electors, of whom 2743 were freemen; Westminster, 219,930 population and 14,254 electors, of whom 4659 were scot and lot voters under the old franchise; Marylebone, 287,465 population and 11,625 electors; Finsbury, 265,043 population and 12,974 electors; Lambeth, 197,412 population and 6547 electors; Southwark, 142,620 population and 4096 electors; and the Tower Hamlets more than Lambeth and Southwark together, or 419,730 population and 13,551 electors. The City, with its commercial activity, its concentration of capital, its immense monetary transactions, and with interests extending to every land and every sea, situated on the northern bank of the highest part of the Thames accessible to large ships, stands in contrast with Westminster, the seat of the court, the law, the parliament, the government, the public offices, and the aristocracy; the new borough of Marylebone, and its fashionable squares, with the Tower Hamlets; and the intelligent and respectable middle classes of Finsbury with the manufacturers of Lambeth and Southwark. Without drawing the line very precisely, we may at least mark out the position of these great boroughs, and we may assume that the three of ancient date are well known, though changes were made in them in 1832, the whole of the Inner and Middle Temple, for example, being now included in the City, the borough of Southwark being extended so as to comprise the parishes of

Rotherhithe, Bermondsey, Christ Church, and the Clink Liberty; and the Duchy Liberty was added to Westminster.

Marylebone Borough is situated north of a line drawn from Tottenham Court Road down the centre of Oxford Street and the Uxbridge Road to Kensington Gardens. Its eastern boundary passes for some distance along Tottenham Court Road, and then diverges eastward north of the British Museum and Russell Square; after which it turns southward so as to include a part of Brunswick Square and Mecklenburgh Square, until it touches the north-eastern corner of the House of Correction at Cold Bath Fields, from which point the boundary line runs in a direction north-north-east. The borough of Marylebone pays the largest proportion of assessed taxes of any of the new boroughs, and contains the largest proportion of private houses. Portman and Cavendish Squares, and Bryanstone and Montague Squares, Portland Place, and the Regent's Park, are within its limits. The borough of Finsbury is situated to the eastward of Marylebone, and partly north of the parliamentary limits of Westminster and the City of London. Its most southern point is the Rolls Liberty, near Chancery Lane, and its northern boundary comprises Islington. A line running for some distance north from Finsbury Circus, and then turning to the west, is its limit to the eastward. This borough contains a considerable number of wealthy inhabitants and tradesmen of the first class, and persons connected with the City, from the wealthy merchant to his clerks and warehousemen. The northern part of the borough is a favourite place of residence for persons of small fortune and those who have retired from business, as Islington enjoys the quietness of a country place with the advantages of a town. Finsbury also contains the British Museum and the London Institution, the first the greatest public, and the last the greatest private literary institution in the kingdom. The Borough of the Tower Hamlets is formed out of a number of places which have risen from comparative insignificance, but now form a great associated mass. It is situated east and north-east of the City, and east of Finsbury, and contains the Tower, the Mint, the St. Katherine, the London, East and West India Docks; the Blackwall Railway runs from one end of it to the other, and it comprises that most important portion of the river from the Tower to Blackwall. It is, in fact, a great maritime city, as the sailors one meets, and the indications on every side, clearly testify. The western part of the river boundary line is chiefly occupied by traders more or less connected with shipping; then come the great ship-building yards, and along the whole of the river side are establishments necessary for all the purposes which is required by the greatest port in the world, either for fitting up a ship or rigging out the seamen who are to be her crew. All the great sugar refineries are situated in this part of the metropolis. The proportion of small houses in the borough formed by the Tower Hamlets is larger than in any of the other metropolitan boroughs, for it comprises Spitalfields, Whitechapel, and Bethnal Green; but the wealth it contains probably exceeds that of any two of the boroughs. The Docks and their warehouses cost upwards of 5,000,000*l.*, and the shipping is of great value. The value of the merchandise of every kind, brought from every clime, which is at all times to be found in the Docks, has been estimated at 20,000,000*l.* Passing to the opposite side of the Thames, we have the borough of Lambeth, which on the banks of the river is intersected by the borough of

Southwark, which here occupies the shore from a point opposite the Temple Gardens to one opposite the Tower. Lambeth Borough extends westward of Southwark along the river to a point opposite the Penitentiary Prison at Millbank. The portion east of Southwark extends along the river to a little beyond the Commercial Docks; and the part south of Southwark reaches as far as Brixton church; while its south-eastern limits border upon Dulwich. In the southern section of the borough are included Stockwell, Brixton, the northern part of the parish of Camberwell and Peckham. Lambeth Borough contains a population smaller and less dense than any of the metropolitan boroughs; and its southern part is more rural than any of them. Here are to be found many first-rate houses, delightfully situated, and inhabited by gentry, merchants, and bankers. The number of small houses is larger in proportion than in Marylebone or Finsbury, but that of second-rate houses is greater. Lambeth may be said to represent the manufacturing industry of the metropolis. The shipping which arrives at the wharfs on the southern bank of the Thames consists chiefly of coasters. The characteristics of the seven great parliamentary divisions of the metropolis, if minutely described, would require a Number for each, and here the outline is but sketched.



[Finsbury Fields in the reign of Elizabeth.]



[British Gallery, Pall Mall.]

CXLIII.—EXHIBITIONS OF ART.

IF Art in this country, since the days of Hogarth, Reynolds, Wilson, Gainsborough, and Barry, has been raised to no higher elevation than was then given to it, it is something to reflect that it has not been stationary—that steadily increasing numbers of disciples have made up for the absence of a few commanding intellects—that we have been at least busy about the base of the building, widening and strengthening the foundations; perhaps, in the truest wisdom, preparatory to a new advance upwards: above all, that we have made Art familiar to the people, and thereby unlocked new sources of strength to aid it in all future endeavours. In our account of the Royal Academy, we have already described the earliest in point of time, and most important in respect to results, of the agencies by which all this has been accomplished, the Academy Exhibitions; in the present number, we propose to notice such other exhibitions as have most powerfully contributed to the same end.

And the first glance of the building shown in p. 273 reminds us of a debt of gratitude due to one, who, but little of an artist himself, by his enlightened and munificent patronage of artists, obtained, and deservedly, one of the most honourable of earthly titles, that of a public benefactor. That building is the original edifice raised by Alderman Boydell, for the exhibition of the Shakspeare Gallery; which, like Barry's pictures in the Adelphi, originated in a desire to repel, in the noblest way, the contempt of foreign critics, and set at rest at once and for ever their peculiarly obliging and flattering speculations as to the causes of the unfitness of England and Englishmen to produce great artistical works. And Barry was not more successful in his way than Boydell in his. Throwing wide his doors, with but one condition of entrance, indisputable talent, and selecting as a truly national subject the works of Shakspeare, Boydell spared no cost to achieve his truly glorious object of establishing a school of English historical painting, that should have at least all the vigour and originality of youth, if with something also of its immaturity. Reynolds, West, Opie, Northcote, Fuseli, were among the labourers in this goodly field, and the result, as shown in several successive years, with universal admiration and delight, in the Gallery here, must have surpassed even the most sanguine anticipations of the projector. Unfortunately, Boydell, at the age of eighty-five, became involved in difficulties through the wars of the French Revolution: it appears that, by his own unaided exertions, he had, prior to the commencement of the Shakspeare Gallery, completely turned the current of importation of prints *from France to France*, simply through making our best engravings as superior as they had previously been inferior to those of the Continent. He now determined to dispose of his Gallery by lottery. In the interesting memorial laid by him before Parliament, he stated that in his enthusiasm for art he had constantly expended all his gains in further engagements with unemployed artists; that he had laid out, with his brethren, in the course of his career, 350,000*l.*, and accumulated a stock of copper-plates which all the print-sellers in Europe together would be unable to purchase. The lottery was of course granted; and Boydell just lived to see the last ticket disposed of. He died in 1804. Two of the most magnificent books that ever delighted the eyes of connoisseurs in prints and printing remain in memorial of this gigantic undertaking; the one consisting of the superb engravings made under Boydell's patronage from the paintings, a volume measuring three feet by two; and the other of a no less superb edition of the great poet, to accompany the plates, printed in nine folio volumes. None but a caricaturist could have made such a man a subject for ridicule, as did Gillray in his large print of the Shakspeare Gallery travestied; which excited so much attention, that it is said even the artists who were most actively engaged under Boydell could not rest till they had each obtained a copy. Boydell one day called on one of them, an R.A., who had a lay figure before him, from which he was studying for one of the great works that afterwards adorned the Gallery, and pinned to the figure was Gillray's caricature. "Ha!" said Boydell, feeling for his spectacles, "what have we got here that looks so fine?" But an accident relieved the troubled R.A. from his dilemma. Boydell had sat down upon a palette nicely prepared for the day's work, which the servant at the moment discovering, called his attention to; so while the attendant

scraped away, and Boydell pleasantly observed, "Oh, I have only taken a proof impression of your art," the obnoxious print was hurried into obscurity and forgotten.

One need not wonder at the difficulties attending the discovery of the true origin of ancient institutions, when we see the uncertainties that grow up frequently about modern ones, even during the life-times of the very men who have aided and assisted in the formation. When West re-assumed the presidential chair of the Royal Academy, after his temporary retirement, he endeavoured to form a national association for the encouragement of works of dignity and importance, and impetuned minister after minister, Pitt, Fox, and Perceval, to listen to and support his plan; and but for the death of each, just when matters looked most promising, he would probably have succeeded; as it was he failed; and from the wreck of his magnificent scheme rose the British Institution. Such is Allan Cunningham's statement. But if we look into the pages of that very agreeable miscellany, published, for a short period, about twenty years ago, the *Somerset House Gazette*, it appears, that poetry may claim some honour in the matter. The writer, having alluded to the indifference and apathy among the great, who in their prejudices in favour of our old masters entirely overlooked the claims which living talent had upon their consideration, adds, "at length a professor, in his hours of relaxation from the labours of his palette, diverted the spare energies of his mind in the exercise of his pen, and the elegant and patriotic appeal of the 'Rhymes on Art' touched the sympathies of those noble minds to whom they were addressed, and we beheld the British Institution."* Lastly, we are told, and this is the general statement of the case, that the immediate cause that gave rise to the Institution was the impossibility of doing justice to large historical subjects, among the miscellaneous multitudes of pictures at the Royal Academy exhibition, and in consequence that the British Institution was founded in 1805, on a plan by Sir Thomas Bernard, for the encouragement of art and artists, by an annual exhibition of the works of the old masters, borrowed for the occasion from whatever quarter they could be obtained; and by another annual exhibition of the works of living British artists, for sale. The truth, no doubt, is, that the British Institution is a result of all the causes enumerated; its very constitution implies a conquest over a variety of difficulties that time, and many separate agencies, must have aided to achieve. It is hardly possible to imagine an Institution better calculated, under vigorous management, to accomplish its professed purposes. Here is a body of noblemen and gentlemen of the highest rank, combining first to lend their own best pictures, for the study of the artist and the enjoyment of the public; secondly, to collect together yearly, without respect to names, or invidious distinctions, as many of the best productions of the native school, in painting and sculpture, as their gallery will hold, for sale; themselves again by that very practice declaring their readiness as individuals to purchase; and, thirdly, adding to these weighty advantages, the still more direct ones of occasionally rewarding the best works exhibited by valuable premiums and bounties. Such, in brief, were the views, such the modes adopted of developing them, by the patriotic founders of the British Institution, when

* 'Somerset House Gazette,' No. XX., 1824.

they purchased the Shakspeare Gallery and commenced operations. The benefits rendered by it to art since that time have been truly great; and a history of the Institution would form a valuable as well as a most entertaining work. With our limited space, to notice here and there a salient feature is all that can be attempted. Among the years that have been marked by circumstances of extraordinary interest, we may mention 1813, when Reynolds' works, collected at a vast expenditure of time and money, from all quarters, made England more than ever proud of its greatest painter. Reynolds once remarked that fine paintings were walls hung round with thoughts: the remark, it may be said, derived fresh force and significancy from this assemblage of his own works. Of the popularity of such an exhibition it is unnecessary to speak; the present President of the Academy, in one of his poems, says of it—

“ 'T was taste at home—a route declared
Where every grace and muse repair'd,
Where wit and genius found a treat,
And beaux and beauties loved to meet.”

This glorious and truly national exhibition was followed, in 1801, by a similar collection of the productions of Hogarth, Wilson, Gainsborough, and Zoffany, which was indeed wonderfully rich: there were no less than 54 paintings by Hogarth, 87 by Wilson, and 74 by Gainsborough. But the gratification was not altogether unalloyed. There were few to whom Wilson's history was familiar, that could avoid a sense of pain and humiliation at the recollection of the cruel neglect with which one of that noble trio had been treated; how pawnbrokers had refused the merest trifle to poor Wilson for works which since his death would be cheaply purchased for hundreds of pounds. There has always seemed to us something very unaccountable in this, considering Wilson's acknowledged reputation among his contemporaries; an apparently well-informed writer in 'Arnold's Magazine' (1832) partially explains the causes. Barret, who came to London in 1761, was received with open arms by the fashionable world, and at once demanded and received prices three or four times higher than Wilson had ever asked; Lord Dalkeith, for instance, gave him for three pictures, the largest only the size of a whole length, 1500 guineas. Wilson's proud spirit from that time would not stoop to his former prices: he advanced them, and in consequence became more neglected than ever. But the most serious injury to his prospects arose from a little incident, in which he carried his independence of feeling and expression into his dealings with royalty. "Kirby," says the writer we have mentioned, "who taught perspective to the King (George III.), wished to introduce Wilson's works to his Majesty's notice, and commissioned him to paint a picture on that account. As Lord Bute was the proper person to show it to his Majesty, the picture, when finished, was sent by Kirby to his lordship's house. The subject was a view of Sion House, upon a half-length canvass. Lord Bute, who was almost exclusively partial to highly-finished Flemish landscapes, as those of Hobbima and Ruysdael, called it a daub; but inquired the price, which he found to be sixty guineas. He thought it too much, and said that fifty would be sufficient. When the circumstance was reported to Wilson, he angrily exclaimed, 'If the King cannot afford to pay so large a sum at once, I will take it by instal-

ments of ten pounds a time.' This hasty effusion was carried to the King, and Wilson was never employed by royalty or the court."* This spirit, his quarrel with Reynolds, and the popularity of Barret and Gainsborough, combined altogether to depress the greatest landscape-painter to such a position, that he called one day on a brother painter, and asked, in a tone of the deepest bitterness and despair, if he knew any one who was mad enough to employ a landscape-painter, and if so, would he recommend him? for he had then literally nothing to do. What a question to be put by such a man, and to—Barry!

Following these two exhibitions of the English school came, in 1815, Rembrandt, Vandyck, Rubens, with their Flemish and Dutch successors; and, in 1816, the Italian and Spanish masters. Then, in 1817, there were the deceased British masters; in 1820, the portraits representing the most distinguished persons in the history and literature of the United Kingdom; and since that time, among others of great interest, the exhibition together of the works of the three Presidents, Reynolds, West, and Lawrence, of the works alone of the last-named after his death, and of Wilkie's after his. There is something peculiarly fine in this custom of bringing together the works of a man's life-time, when, alas! he can no longer add to their number. They form a monument to his memory better than stone or brass; they are calculated to call forth more spontaneous and genuine regrets for the departed than the most eloquent epitaph ever penned. And what a study does such an exhibition become to the young painter; what strength may he not derive from it for the prosecution of his own career! Take the Wilkie exhibition, for instance. Why, on those walls the great artist's history, written by his own hand, lay before our eyes. There, for instance, was his first remarkable work, the 'Village Recruit,' which he brought with him to London, and exposed for sale in a shop-window at Charing Cross, with the price of 6*l.* attached to it, and for which sum it was speedily sold. There, too, was the 'Village Politicians,' painted from the "ale-caup commentators" in the ballad of 'Will and Jean,' by Macneil, which at its first exhibition startled artistic London from its propriety, Northcote denouncing it as the "pauper style," and Fuseli, a more enlightened critic, observing to the young painter, "That is a dangerous work: that picture will either prove the most happy or the most unfortunate work of your life:" which of the two it turned out to be we need not state. There too, belonging to the very culminating period of Wilkie's powers in his own peculiar walk, was the 'Chelsea Pensioners,' his greatest work, for which he received from the Duke of Wellington 1200 guineas. Then, again, there were a whole host of works belonging to his later style, his pictures of Monks and Guerillas, his 'Columbus,' and his 'Maid of Saragossa,' telling not in subject only, but in their entire treatment, of the impression made upon his mind by his study of the Spanish painters. Of course, his noble 'John Knox Preaching' and his 'Siege of Seringapatam' were not missing; nor his Oriental subjects, which forcibly spoke to us of the scenes in which his last hours were spent, and in returning from which he found so poetical a grave.

The exhibitions at the British Institution of modern works, of course, are also

* Anecdotes of Artists, Arnold's Mag. 1832.

a most interesting field for comment and reminiscence, but into which, for various reasons that will be sufficiently evident, we must not enter, further than to notice the exhibition of 1822, when such an extraordinary sensation was made by the appearance of Martin's 'Belshazzar's Feast,' not only on account of its general grandeur of conception, but for the technical skill, unequalled, perhaps, in the history of art, which had been brought into the service of a truly sublime conception; we allude to the hand-writing on the wall, the letters of which appeared to be really blazing with light, and illumining the whole scene around. There was at first an impression among artists that the effect was the result of some kind of transparency; we need hardly say the almost magical result was produced by the ordinary means, disposition of colours, and of light and shade. At that same exhibition was another picture, which at once took rank among our chief English historical paintings, Bird's 'Chevy Chase;' a picture having for its subject a passage from that fine old ballad, which stirred the heart of Sir Philip Sidney like a trumpet, and which Ben Jonson said was well worth all his dramas. And the picture is steeped in the poetry and feeling of the antique verses. The history of its production is not without interest. The writer of a memoir of Bird, in 'Arnold's Magazine,' says that he, whilst "in company with a few friends, once asked Bird why he had never painted a picture from a subject which had been such a favourite with him in his boyish days, the battle of Chevy Chase, of which he had already made a sketch. Bird said, 'I will paint a picture of this favourite subject, if the present party will agree to purchase it; and I will get it ready for the competition at the British Institution—the premium, if obtained, to be yours.' This proposition was agreed to, and the design was taken from the day following the battle:—

' Next day did many a widow come
 Their husbands to bewail;
 They wash'd their wounds in briny tears,
 But all would not prevail.'

"The picture was finished and sent to London, but a letter was despatched by the Secretary to Bird, with the mortifying intelligence that his painting had been delivered after the appointed time for the reception of the candidates' works, but that it would be allowed its proper situation in the exhibition. Bird generously offered to return the money he had received for it from his friends, but they assured him that it was merely to give a stimulus to his exertions that they had secured the purchase; and that even if it had obtained the premium, it was not their intention to have deprived him of the benefit resulting from his own talents. The picture was, however, purchased by the Marquis of Stafford for three hundred guineas, the price that had been fixed."

The circumstances attending the production of Bird's next picture, and its exhibition at the British Institution, are also interesting, and have been described by the same writer, evidently from personal knowledge. The success of the 'Chevy Chase,' it appears, "encouraged Bird to commence a trial picture for the ensuing year. His next subject was the Death of Eli, and having (as was too frequently the case) neglected it till the eleventh hour, he threw the picture aside, and abandoned all thoughts of completing it. Sudden determinations and revivi-



[The Battle of Chevy Chase.—Bird.]

fied hopes form no inconsiderable portions of the circumstances of genius, and we often behold in the career of men of superior powers, the very improbability of success stimulating to a task of magnitude. Within three days of the time appointed for its reception at the British Gallery, the artist was assailed by an invincible desire to proceed with his long neglected work. With a rapidity seldom equalled he dashed in the principal part of the picture, he succeeded in realizing his wishes, and in two days his 'Death of Eli' was completed. It was despatched to the coach-office [Bird then resided at Bristol], wet from the pencil, but was refused by the book-keeper, on account of its size and the quantity of luggage already waiting. The spirited coach-proprietor, the late John Weekes, coming into the coach-office, and being made acquainted with the circumstance, declared that all the luggage should be unpacked, sooner than that Mr. Bird's picture should be delayed. To this kindly interference the painter was indebted for his success: the picture was adjudged the premium of three hundred guineas, and was likewise purchased by the Marquis of Stafford," for five hundred guineas; of which last named sum, according to Allan Cunningham, Bird received but three hundred, the picture having been painted on commission for three gentlemen of

Bristol, who, he says, pocketed the difference, and then offered a fresh commission to the artist, which he declined; but the story above narrated seems to show that this is an error, arising probably from the circumstances attending the production of the 'Chevy Chase,' as already stated by one of the parties concerned.

Besides the two annual exhibitions we have mentioned, there is a third of the copies made by students from certain pictures by the old masters, left for that purpose after the exhibition to which they belonged closes. To this the public are admitted free—at each of the others, the admission fee is one shilling. It would be a noble thing in the Directors of the British Institution to throw open the doors of these exhibitions for one or two days of the week, during the season, or for two or three weeks after, to those who are unable to spare a shilling; let us trust that that unfortunately large class of the public will yet have to thank them for such a boon. Of the Gallery itself we may observe that the interior is well fitted for its uses. The exterior is decorated with a piece of sculpture, by Banks, executed for Boydell, as we may guess from the subject, which represents Shakspeare accompanied by Poetry and Painting; and in the hall is a colossal statue of Achilles mourning the loss of Briseis, also by Banks, and esteemed one of the noblest efforts of his genius. But that statue is scarcely a less honourable memorial of the fortitude than of the grandeur of the sculptor's mind. It was sent by him to the Royal Academy exhibition soon after his return to England, from Russia, whither he had gone half in despair, at his want of success among his countrymen. Upon this work Banks had expended all his power, in the hope of making his second appearance a more successful one than his first; what then must have been the anguish of the unfortunate artist when the statue, whilst on its way to Somerset House, was accidentally thrown from the car, and broken to pieces? Banks, however, returned home, said nothing to his wife or daughter of what had happened, and with the assistance of his brother set to work to restore it, if possible. They were successful in their most difficult task: the Achilles appeared before the public, and was received with universal admiration.

One of the most interesting features in British art is the sudden growth of the school of painting in water-colours; there are those living to whom it must seem as it were but yesterday, when to say a man was a water-colour painter was to give the idea of his fitness to make correct topographical drawings, and—nothing more. Nay, when artists arose who thought proper to make it something more, and who laid the foundation of a department of British art, in which the native artist should be unrivalled; when these men arose, and at last formed themselves into a separate society, under the designation of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours, their brother artists actually treated the assumption of the title as a most unwarrantable act, denying the right of the mere draughtsman and tinters to rank under the same lofty name as themselves of painters. We have changed all that now; and it is but justice to mention that no inconsiderable portion of the change has been owing to the exquisite productions of Turner, who, with Girtin, and in a minor degree, the late John Varley, founded the art. It is curious to contrast this position of the water-colour painters, so short a time ago, with the fact that water-colour painters were in reality almost the only old

English artists, or limners, as they were formerly called. "Oil-colours were not used for imitative art until the fifteenth century, when Van Eyck, by boiling linseed, poppy, and nut oils, with certain resinous mixtures, obtained a vehicle so much better adapted than any then in use, for working, for effect, and durability, that it was generally adopted by the artists of the period when it became known. What these mixtures were which Van Eyck used is not now known, but Vasari calls them a varnish, which all painters had long desired. From this time what is called oil-painting became general, and the various methods in water-colours were proportionately neglected, or employed only when oil-painting was a less convenient mode, as for theatrical and similar decorations, for which distemper (*a tempera*, that is, with an egg, yolk and white together) is better adapted;"* and so the matter may be said to have remained, as far as art was concerned, till about the commencement of the present century, when water-colours again came into use, first for one kind of subject, then another, until at last, if we step into one of the two water-colour exhibitions of the present period, we may reasonably wonder whether there is any department of art for which it is not admirably adapted—from the smallest landscape to the largest historical subject;—fresco, be it remembered, now in all probability again coming into extensive use, is a department of water-colour painting. Of Girtin, one of the founders of this modern school, a curious story is told by the author of the anecdotes before mentioned, who states that Girtin himself was his informant in 1802. When Lord Elgin was about to set out as ambassador to Constantinople, Girtin, it appears, had a great desire to accompany him, naturally fancying the position would be at once delightful to him as an artist, lucrative, and honourable. After many visits, and a good deal of delay and uncertainty, his lordship offered him 30*l.* a-year (of course, we presume, including his board, &c.), adding, that as Lady Elgin had a taste for drawing, he wished to know whether he would engage to assist her in decorating fire-screens, work-tables, and such other elegancies. Girtin, who probably was at first too much surprised at finding his services estimated at about the same rate as his lordship's butler's to treat the proposal as it deserved, replied that for that department he feared he was not the fit man, and that he must add the salary was too small. His lordship remarked he was poor. "Then," said Girtin, "I will engage to find a publisher who shall return the whole money I am to receive from your lordship, on receiving from you the drawings I am to make." With that Lord Elgin and the artist parted; of course neither feeling the smallest desire to renew their conversations on the subject.

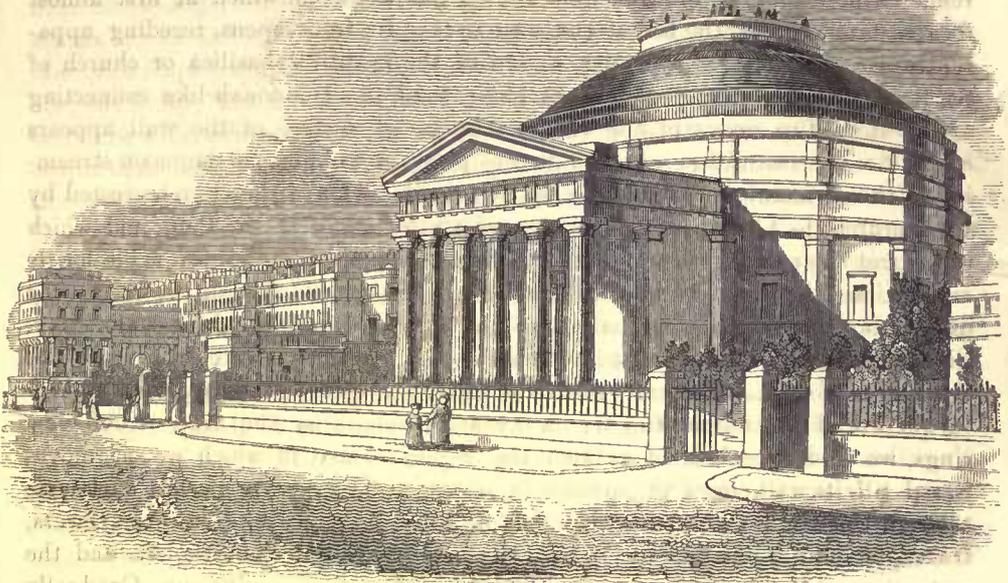
Of the three founders of the Water-colour school, Varley alone appears to have been connected with the society, which was formed in order to get rid of the serious disadvantages attending the exhibition of water-colour drawings among paintings in oil, the strength and body of the colours in the last naturally overpowering the more delicate hues of the first. Two societies were in consequence formed, one of which soon died; the other lives and flourishes to this day, under the name of the (Old) Society of Painters in Water-Colours. The founders were

* 'Penny Cyclopædia,'—Water Colours.

Samuel Shelley, a miniature painter of celebrity, and a protégé of Reynolds, at whose house the early deliberations were held, Hills, Wells, Glover, of whom a distinguished portrait-painter used to say he was the only landscape-painter who had conveyed to his mind a perfect idea of the immensity of a mountain, and Pyne; to whom were added by the time of the first exhibition, among others, Barret, Cristall, Gilpin, Rigaud, and W. Havell, whose naturally rich style was greatly enhanced by Mr. Turner's discovery of the process of taking out the lights of a picture with bread, which produced an effect perfectly marvellous to the unaccustomed eyes of his brother painters. The first exhibition took place in Lower Brook Street, and among those who crowded the rooms the Royal Academicians, to their honour be it said, were conspicuous. From Lower Brook Street the Society in progress of time moved to Spring Gardens. We may here observe, that among the pictures of Sir John Swinburne is a small one purchased at one of the exhibitions in Spring Gardens, which that liberal patron of art is, we believe, accustomed to show as the earliest exhibited production of Mr. Edwin Landseer, and the circumstance is referred to as a proof of the young painter's ignorance of the difference between the two exhibitions, his work being in oil; but we presume the fact has been overlooked, that it was at Spring Gardens the water-colour painters became dissatisfied with the principle upon which they had established themselves, and allowed oil-paintings to be exhibited among their other productions. This, no doubt, was owing to the circumstance that some, perhaps most, of the members of the Society painted in both ways, and that the popularity of the new or revived mode was not altogether satisfactory to them. A division took place; but, in 1821, the members wisely reverted to their former system, and exhibited water-colour paintings only in the Egyptian Hall; where they remained till they built themselves a Gallery in Pall Mall East, at which place they have gone on increasing in prosperity as in years; till apparently they began to feel themselves getting too prosperous, too rich, and so imposed restrictions on their wealth, or what we should call their wealth; they would only have so many members, no matter what amount of talent might be waiting to join them. As none but members were permitted to exhibit, the result was inevitable, the formation of a new society of painters in water-colours, which accordingly was accomplished in 1832, though not on a firm basis till 1835, when the first exhibition took place in Exeter Hall. This, too, has enjoyed a rapid course of prosperity; and will doubtless continue to advance just so long as the members recollect its origin, and give no cause, either by limitations or invidious distinctions which pure Art will not acknowledge, to other men to follow their example. The Gallery of this Society is also in Pall Mall. The charge for admission to each of the Water-Colour exhibitions is a shilling. The only other metropolitan Society of British Artists is the one known by that designation, which was established in 1823 for the exhibition of paintings, sculpture, architecture, and engravings, and which possesses the finest gallery for exhibition in London; containing about 700 feet of wall, well lighted. Here also the numbers are limited; though at the outset that point was of the less consequence, inasmuch as that all works were admitted free, whether the productions of members or no. We may here pause a moment to mention a very admirable institution that exists

among artists, and which deserves to be generally known and imitated. They have a society established by themselves, at first under the name of the Artists' Joint Stock Fund, now generally called the Artists' Annuity Fund, founded on the principle of securing each other against distress, either during sickness or in the decline of life, when the hand may be no longer able to inscribe on the canvas the busy thoughts that yet people as of yore the brain. Grafted upon this, subsequently, we find the Artists' Benevolent Fund, to which the public largely contribute. The result of the two is that an artist, who subscribes whilst in health to the institution, receives during sickness 30*s.* a-week, and when superannuated an annuity of 60*l.* per year; whilst there are other important benefits also secured to his widow and children on his decease. How inestimable would be the blessings of such an institution to literary men!

Turn we now to a different class of exhibitions that have also in their way helped to diffuse a taste for art among the million, the Panoramas, Dioramas, Cosmoramas, and we know not how many other pictorial shows with similarly terminating designations. Of these the Panorama takes precedence in point of time. This is of national origin; its invention being due to Robert Barker, an Englishman, who exhibited at Leicester Square about 1794. The process of painting is distemper; but applied in a peculiarly ingenious way. The two principal existing Panoramas are Burford's, in Leicester Square, and that of the Colosseum, in the Regent's Park, the last the largest painting of the kind ever attempted, covering, in short, nearly an acre of canvas; there, ascending a flight of steps in the centre of an immense rotunda till we reach the platform on the top, London suddenly bursts upon us, with all the freshness and reality of life—giving us almost the same sensations of being placed on a giddy height that we feel in standing on the spot from whence Mr. Horner took his view, namely, the top of St. Paul's. The picture is lighted all round by the skylight which is over our heads, but hidden from us, and although the lower part is somewhat dim from the immense height of the picture, that circumstance almost helps the general illusion. Indeed, in looking at this panorama, it requires an effort to weigh as they deserve all the difficulties that must have been surmounted. In such works the artist can neither concentrate his light, nor adapt its direction to suit his own purposes; he must take the sun's beams as they come, now strong upon this side of his picture in the morning, now on that in the afternoon. Then, again, he has to represent horizontal buildings on a curved surface; above all, he has no single point of sight, the spectator must turn as he pleases, and everywhere find a grand and harmonious whole. The Colosseum is at present closed, but will shortly, we believe, re-open. The Diorama is a still more delightful piece of artistical illusion, and of very recent origin; the authors are M. Daguerre, since so famous for his discovery of drawing by the agency of light, and M. Bouton. When the Diorama was first exhibited in the French capital, the Parisians were in an ecstasy, and in London its welcome was scarcely less enthusiastic. This took place in 1823, when the building in the Regent's Park, erected from the designs of Messrs. Morgan and Pugin, was first opened. The interior consists of a rotunda forty feet in diameter, for the spectators, with a single opening, like the proscenium of a stage on one side. Surrounding this is



[The Colosseum.]

another rotunda with a similar opening, through which,—as the inner rotunda revolves till the openings in the two rotundas correspond,—the spectators behold the picture in the picture-room beyond. For convenience there are in fact two openings in the outer rotunda, revealing two different picture-rooms, in order that two paintings may be exhibited to the visitors, by merely turning the inner rotunda from one opening to the other. Those who have not beheld the extraordinary scenes that open upon the eye, with each gyration of this platform, can hardly credit the extent to which illusion is here carried. The spectator stands in almost total darkness, till through the proscenium, the picture is revealed to his gaze, which is placed at such a distance, that light can be thrown upon it in front at a proper angle from the roof, which is here too, of course, hidden from him. He sees, therefore, nothing but the picture, which, under such circumstances, acquires an extraordinary beauty and reality of appearance. And as the glazed roof will admit a great deal of light, whilst but little is needed merely to show the work, the exhibitor may be said to have an almost unlimited store of light at his disposal, enabling him from time to time to subdue or increase it, and suddenly or gradually, at his pleasure, by means of folds or screens of different kinds attached to the glass roof; and which also enable him at the same time to imitate the most subtle and delicate atmospheric effects. But there is even yet another advantage possessed by the painter in this very beautiful exhibition. He can make parts of his picture transparent, and with different degrees of transparency, thus obtaining a brilliancy impossible to be obtained by the ordinary mode, whilst he possesses all the strength and solidity of that mode in the more opaque

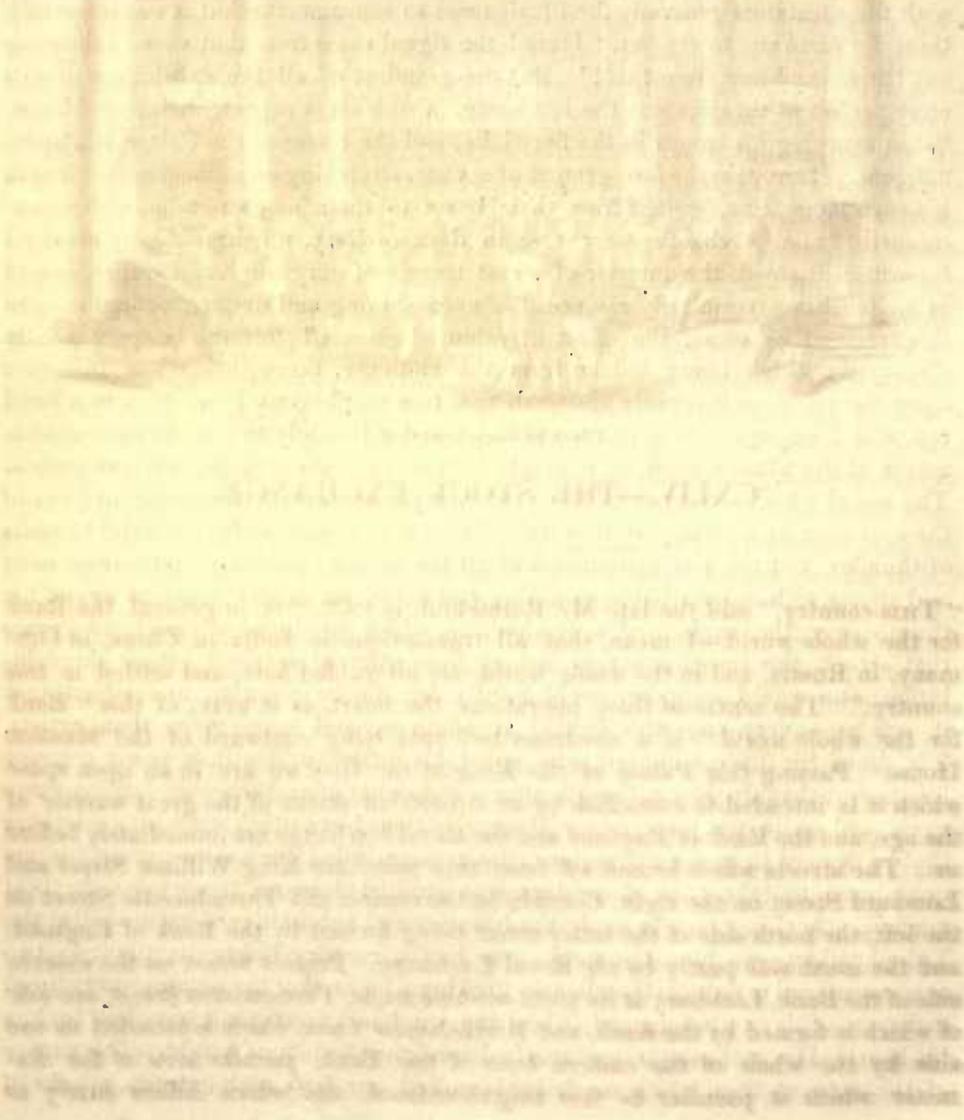
parts of his picture. With this preliminary explanation let us pay our two shillings in the vestibule of the exhibition, ascend the stairs, and submit ourselves to the guidance of the attendant waiting to receive and conduct us to a seat through the darkness-visible of the theatre, into which we enter; a precaution rendered necessary by the transition from light to gloom, which at first almost incapacitates us for the use of our own eyes. In front opens, receding apparently like the stage of a theatre, a view of the beautiful basilica or church of St. Paul, with its range of delicate pillars and small Moorish-like connecting arches at the top, over which again the entire flat surface of the wall appears covered with beautiful paintings, now lit up by the radiance of the moon streaming in through the windows on the opposite side. This is the church erected by Constantine the Great, over the supposed resting-place of St. Paul, and which was burnt down in 1823; since which period great efforts have been made for its restoration; the work, we may add, is still in progress. But as we gaze—the dark cedar roof disappears, and we see nothing but the pure blue Italian sky, whilst below, some of the pillars have fallen—the floor is covered with wrecks; the whole, in short, has almost instantaneously changed to a perfect and mournful picture of the church after the desolation wrought by the fire. A bell now rings, we find ourselves in motion; the whole theatre in which we sit, moves round till its wall closes the aperture or stage, and we are in perfect darkness; the bell rings again, a curtain rises, and we are looking on the time-worn towers, transepts, and buttresses of Notre Dame, its rose window on the left, and the water around its base reflecting back the last beams of the setting sun. Gradually these reflections disappear, the warm tints fade from the sky, and are succeeded by the cool grey hue of twilight, and that again by night—deepening by insensible degrees till the quay and the surrounding buildings and the water are no longer distinguishable, and Notre Dame itself scarcely reveals to us its outlines against the sky. Before we have long gazed on this scene the moon begins to emerge slowly—very slowly, from the opposite quarter of the heavens, its first faint rays tempering apparently rather than dispersing the gloom; presently a slight radiance touches the top of one of the pinnacles of the cathedral—and glances as it were athwart the dark breast of the stream; now growing more powerful, the projections of Notre Dame throw their light and fantastic shadows over the left side of the building, until at last, bursting forth in serene unclouded majesty, the whole scene is lit up, except where the vast Cathedral interrupts its beams, on the quay here to the left, and where through the darkness the lamps are now seen, each illumining its allotted space. Hark! the clock of Notre Dame strikes! and low and musical come the sounds—it is midnight—scarcely has the vibration of the last note ceased, before the organ is heard, and the solemn service of the Catholic church begins—beautiful, inexpressibly beautiful—one forgets creeds at such a time, and thinks only of prayer: we long to join them. And yet all this is illusion (the sounds of course excepted)—a flat piece of canvas, with some colours distributed upon it, is all that is before us; though where that canvas can be, it seems, to one's eyes at least, impossible to determine; *they* cannot by any mental processes be satisfied that buildings, distance, atmosphere are not before them—to such perfection has the Diorama been brought.

But none of these Panoramas, Dioramas, or Cosmoramas, the last a pretty little exhibition, embodying in a minor degree the principles of both the former, can equal after all De Louthembourg's famous petite stage, the very name of which is almost enough to make one lift up one's hands in wonder—Eidophusikon—yes, that's the word—Eidophusikon. If we say that this stage was of the extraordinary dimensions of six feet wide, by eight deep, the reader will be apt to smile at the idea of the performances thereon, and certainly find it difficult to believe the marvels wrought in that space, as recorded by the agreeable author of 'Wine and Walnuts;' who says that "such was the painter's knowledge of effect and scientific arrangement, and the scenes which he described were so completely illusive, that the space appeared to recede for many miles, and his horizon seemed as palpably distant from the eye as the extreme termination of the view would appear in nature." The stage was lighted from the top of the proscenium, in a natural manner; the clouds in every scene positively floated upon the atmosphere, and moved faster or slower, ascended or descended, apparently in obedience to the ordinary laws that regulate their movements; the waves, carved in soft wood, and highly varnished, undulated, and threw up their foam, when at comparative rest, but as the storm began to rage grew more and more violent, till, at last, their commotion appeared truly awful; the vessels, exquisite little models of the craft represented, rose and sunk, and appeared to move fast or slow according to their bulk, and distance from the eye; rain, hail, thunder, and lightning descended in all their varying degrees of intensity and grandeur; natural looking light from the sun, the moon, or from more artificial sources, was reflected naturally back wherever it fell on a proper surface; now the moonlight, for instance, appeared sleeping on the wave; now the lurid flash lit up the tumultuous sea; and all these, and a variety of other imitations of natural phenomena were brought into the service of landscapes, and other scenes from nature, of the most exquisite kind. Louthembourg, we need hardly say, was a fine painter, but here, no matter how small the canvas, he was absolutely great. His whole heart and soul indeed were wrapt up in his Eidophusikon. The opening subject, it seems, "represented the view from the summit of One tree hill, in Greenwich Park, looking up the Thames to the Metropolis; on one side, conspicuous upon its picturesque eminence, stood Flamsteed House (the Observatory), and below, on the right, the grand mass of building, Greenwich Hospital, with its imposing cupolas, cut out of pasteboard, and painted with architectural correctness. The large groups of trees formed another division; behind which were the towns of Greenwich and Deptford, with the shore on each side stretching to the metropolis, which was seen in its vast extent from Chelsea to Poplar. Behind were the hills of Hampstead, Highgate, and Harrow; and the intermediate space was occupied by the flat stage, as the pool or port of London, crowded with shipping, each mass being cut out in pasteboard, and receding in size by the perspective of their distance. The heathy appearance of the fore-ground was constructed of cork, broken into the rugged and picturesque forms of a sand-pit, covered with minute mosses and lichens, producing a captivating effect, amounting indeed to reality. This scene on the rising of the curtain was enveloped in that mysterious light which is the precursor of day-break, so true to nature that the imagination of the spectator sniffed the sweet breath of morn. A faint light appeared along the horizon; the

scene assumed a vapourish tint of grey; and presently a gleam of saffron, changing to the pure varieties that tinge the fleecy clouds that pass away in morning mist; the picture brightened by degrees; the sun appeared gilding the tops of the trees, and the projections of the lofty buildings, and burnishing the vanes on the cupolas; when the whole scene burst upon the eye in the gorgeous splendour of a beautiful day!"

Scenes of a more absorbing nature followed. A 'Storm at Sea' was exhibited with all its characteristic features, and with almost incredible effect;—old mariners could hardly persuade themselves they were not once more surrounded by the most imminent danger, and that they ought not themselves to reply to the signal-guns of distress, which in the pauses of the terrific gale were heard vainly asking for assistance, and replying with melancholy significance to each other; whilst with the spectators generally the illusion was so consummate that it was a common thing for some one to cry out, "Hark! the signal came from that vessel labouring out there—and now from that!" But the grandest of all the exhibitions of this most perfect of theatres was the last scene, in which was represented, from Milton, Satan arraying his troops in the fiery lake, and the rising of the Palace of Pandemonium. Here, "in the fore-ground of a vista, stretching an immeasurable length between mountains, ignited from their bases to their lofty summits, with many-coloured flame, a chaotic mass rose in dark majesty, which gradually assumed form until it stood, the interior of a vast temple of gorgeous architecture, bright as molten brass, seemingly composed of unconsuming and unquenchable fire. In this tremendous scene, the effect of coloured glasses before the lamps was fully displayed; which being hidden from the audience, threw their whole influence upon the scene, as it rapidly changed, now to a sulphurous blue, then to a lurid red, and then again to a pale vivid light, and ultimately to a mysterious combination of the glasses, such as a bright furnace exhibits in fusing various metals. The sound which accompanied the wondrous picture struck the astonished ear of the spectator as no less preternatural; for, to add a more awful character to peals of thunder, and the accompaniments of all the hollow machinery that hurled balls and stones with indescribable rumbling and noise, an expert assistant swept his thumb over the surface of a tambourine, which produced a variety of groans that struck the imagination as issuing from infernal spirits." Such an exhibition, one would suppose, could hardly fail to be popular, and whilst new it was so—every one who beheld it admired, and none more than artists. The dread Sir Joshua himself, who ruled his little world with a power scarcely less potent than Jupiter's, though after a somewhat more benignant fashion, came again and again, not merely to nod approbation, but to look on with a pleasure that he desired to make contagious: he recommended the ladies among his acquaintance to take their daughters, who studied drawing, to see it, as the best artificial school in which to study the beauties and sublimities of nature. But the Eidophusikon—we love the word—was half a century before its time; so two seasons sufficed to reduce its audiences to so low a point, that the painter was induced to dispose of his exhibition; and, in so doing, we should fancy, must have half broken his heart. His enthusiasm once reached an almost ludicrous height. The author of the account from which we have borrowed our facts and extracts, speaks of

an opportunity he enjoyed of comparing the effect of the awful phenomenon—a thunder-storm, with the imitative thunder of De Loutherbourg's. "A lady exclaimed 'It lightens!' and, in great agitation, pointed to an aperture that admitted air to the upper seats. The consternation caused by this discovery induced many to retire to the lobby, some of whom, moved by terror or superstition, observed 'that the exhibition was presumptuous!'" A party, however, moved to the gallery, and, opening a door, stood upon the landing-place, where they could compare the real with the artificial, when it seems the last bore the comparison remarkably well. But the writer does not mention De Loutherbourg's own opinion as to such a comparison, when he and Gainsborough watched, in a similar manner, the real and the artificial phenomena; and when the delighted painter so far forgot himself as to call out, "By —, Gainsborough, our thunder's best!"





[Stock Exchange, Capel Court.]

CXLIV.—THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

“ THIS country,” said the late Mr. Rothschild, in 1832, “ is, in general, the Bank for the whole world—I mean, that all transactions in India, in China, in Germany, in Russia, and in the whole world, are all guided here, and settled in this country.” The centre of these operations, the heart, as it were, of this “ Bank for the whole world ” is a circumscribed spot lying eastward of the Mansion House. Passing this Palace of the King of the City we are in an open space which it is intended to embellish by an equestrian statue of the great warrior of the age, and the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange are immediately before us. The streets which branch off from this point are King William Street and Lombard Street on the right, Cornhill in the centre, and Threadneedle Street on the left, the north side of the latter street being formed by the Bank of England, and the south side partly by the Royal Exchange. Princes Street on the western side of the Bank, Lothbury at its north-western angle, Throgmorton Street, one side of which is formed by the Bank, and Bartholomew Lane, which is bounded on one side by the whole of the eastern front of the Bank, partake also of the character which is peculiar to this neighbourhood, and which differs nearly as

much from that of the streets of fine shops as the Temple differs from Cheapside. On each side of Lombard Street, Cornhill, and the other streets we have mentioned, there are numerous passages, apparently leading to some private house, but which, in reality, are busy thoroughfares, along which the passengers hurry to and fro with an eagerness peculiar to this part of the City. We have here marked out the district in which the largest monetary and commercial transactions of London take place. Here are the Bank and the Royal Exchange, the Stock Exchange, the great private and Joint-Stock Banks, the offices of the bullion, bill and discount brokers, and of the stock and share brokers. Three years ago, in pulling down the French church in Threadneedle Street, there was exposed to view a tessellated pavement, which, at least fourteen centuries ago, had borne the actual tread of Roman feet; and the immediate neighbourhood was probably the most opulent part of Roman London.* A greater power than the Roman, a power of which the masters of the old world had no conception, now reigns supreme on this very spot. As a witty writer remarks—"The warlike power of every country depends on their Three per Cents. If Cæsar were to re-appear on earth, Wettehall's List would be more important than his Commentaries; Rothschild would open and shut the Temple of Janus; Thomas Baring, or Bates, would probably command the Tenth Legion; and the soldiers would march to battle with loud cries of Scrip and Omnium Reduced, Consols and Cæsar." †

Three centuries ago the centre of the money power of Europe was at Antwerp. But, in 1566, Clough, the agent of Sir Thomas Gresham in the Low Countries, expressed an opinion that, were proper means taken to create confidence, "there would be more money found in London than in Andwerpe, whensomever the Queene's Majesty should have need;" and in 1570 Gresham proceeded to act upon this opinion. Writing to Cecil, he urged upon him the expediency of raising the necessary supply of money for the Queen from her own subjects, "wherebie all other princes maie see what a Prince of power she ys." A loan was therefore proposed to the Merchant-Adventurers, who referred it to a common hall, where it was negatived by a show of hands, a proceeding not very imprudent, considering the bad faith of Her Majesty as a borrower of money. Gresham affected to be surprised at the unwillingness of the merchants, and by dint of persuasion and remonstrance he was enabled to take up in the City, from eight of the principal merchants and aldermen, 12,900*l.*, and in the following month, from six others, 8200*l.* more, to be repaid in six months, with interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. When these sums became due they were renewed on the same terms; and as the confidence of the merchants increased loans were afterwards frequently negotiated between them and the State. This was a great improvement on the practice which Elizabeth had been in the habit of resorting to for raising the most paltry sums, which she was accustomed to demand peremptorily of one or other of the City Companies. On one occasion the Ironmongers were directed, if unprovided with the amount she required (the large sum of 60*l.*), to borrow it for her immediately and pay the interest themselves.

The growth of the National Debt, and with its increase the extraordinary development of the financial capabilities of the country and its high credit, would

* Vol. I. p. 290.

† Rev. Sydney Smith.

astound the men who lived only a century ago, while to us the wonder is that less than a century and a half since (in 1702) the public debt of the nation was little more than sixteen millions sterling. Such a debt as this could now be paid off at a day's notice. In 1736 the debt did not exceed fifty millions; in 1756 (not ninety years ago) it amounted to about seventy-four millions; in 1776 (within the memory of persons living) it was no more than one hundred and thirty-two millions. The American war raised it to two hundred and sixty-eight millions; and the first war with France, ending with the Peace of Amiens, increased it to six hundred and twenty-two millions. At the conclusion of the Peace in 1815, the debt was eight hundred and eighty-five millions; and after nearly thirty years' peace it now exceeds eight hundred millions. In 1792 the entire public expenditure, including the interest of the debt, was under twenty millions; and, in 1814, for that one year, it exceeded one hundred millions; while from 1806 to 1815 the average was above eighty-four millions. The excess of expenditure over income in these twenty-four years of war was upwards of four hundred and twenty-five millions sterling. Large fortunes were made during this period by loans and stock-jobbing. At the commencement of the great struggle with France nothing could exceed the energy and spirit of the country. In December, 1796, a loan of 18,000,000*l.* was raised with extraordinary rapidity. Negotiations for peace had been for some time pending between the British government and the French Directory. The French authorities seemed to be unwilling to come to terms, and their reluctance was supposed in this country to arise from an opinion that the pecuniary resources of England were crippled, or, perhaps, nearly exhausted. Mr. Pitt, who was then minister, to show that his power of raising money was as great as ever, asked for a loan of 18,000,000*l.* for the service of the ensuing year (1797). The plan by which this large sum was to be raised he communicated to the Bank Directors in the following notice:—"Every person subscribing 100*l.* to receive 112*l.* in 5 per cent. stock, to be irredeemable, unless with the consent of the owner, until the expiration of three years after the present 5 per cents. shall have been redeemed or reduced, but with the option of the holder to be paid at par, at any shorter period, not less than two years from the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace. Payment in either case to be made in money, or, at the option of the holder, in a 3 per cent. stock valued at 75, liable, if wished, to be converted for a certain proportion into a life annuity. The first payment on the 13th of January, the second in March, the remaining instalments between March and the October following. The receipts not to be issuable till after the second instalment, or till after 20*l.* has been deposited on each 100*l.* Discount, as usual, on prompt payment." The hopes of the nation were strong that by a great demonstration of the unexhausted power of England to continue the war, they would destroy the unfounded notion of the French Directory, and thus accelerate the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace.

The subscription was opened on Thursday, December 1st. The Bank, in its corporate capacity, subscribed one million sterling, and each of the directors individually 400,000*l.* When the books were closed the first day five millions had been subscribed, and when they were closed on Friday, the second day, the subscriptions amounted to 11,900,000*l.* and upwards. The eagerness to subscribe was not less on the Saturday. On Monday the 5th the country subscrip-

tions were entered first, before the doors were opened, and when this was done little remained to complete the eighteen millions. The lobby was crowded. When the doors were opened at ten o'clock as usual, numbers could not get near the books at all, and many persons called to those who were signing to enter their names for them. So great and so general was the desire to subscribe, that the room was a scene of the utmost confusion. At twenty minutes past eleven the subscription was declared to be full, and great numbers were compelled reluctantly to go away without having subscribed. Persons continued to come long afterwards, and a vast number of orders were sent by post which were too late to be executed. It is a curious fact that the subscription for this enormous sum was completed in fifteen hours and twenty minutes, that is, December 1st, two hours; December 2nd, six hours; December 3rd, six hours; December 5th, one hour and twenty minutes. Most of the corporations in the City (one of which, about two centuries before, reluctantly raised 60*l.* for Queen Elizabeth) subscribed 200,000*l.*, and most of the bankers 50,000*l.* The loan, from the stimulus of national excitement under which it was raised, was designated *the Loyalty Loan*.

The South Sea Bubble created so much prejudice against speculators in the public securities that, in 1720, the House of Commons passed a vote without opposition to the effect "that nothing can tend more to the establishment of public credit than preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." A pamphlet, published in 1719, entitled 'The Anatomy of Exchange Alley,' shows that all the ordinary artifices for raising or depressing the prices of stocks by false rumours were in full practice by the ingenious speculators of that day. "If they meet with a cull, a young dealer that has money to lay out, they catch him at the door, whisper to him, 'Sir, here is a great piece of news; it is not yet public; it is worth a thousand guineas but to mention it. I am heartily glad I met you, but let it be as secret as the black side of your soul, for they know nothing of it yet in the Coffee House; if they should, stock would rise ten per cent. in a moment, and I warrant you South Sea stock will be at 130*l.* in a week's time after it is known.' 'Well,' says the weak creature, 'prithee, dear Tom, what is it?' 'Why, really, sir, I will let you into the secret upon your honour to keep it till you hear of it from other hands. Why, 't is this; the Pretender is certainly taken, and is carried prisoner to the Castle of Milan.'" The "cull" is referred to the Secretary of State's office, and there, according to the pamphlet, a confederate meets him and gives a pretended confirmation of the rumour. In the end the unwary man is "bubbled." At this period the great resort of the speculators was Jonathan's Coffee House, in Change Alley, or "the Alley," as it was called. In 1762, an action was brought against the proprietor of Jonathan's for pushing the plaintiff out of the house; and it being proved that the place had been a market, time out of mind, for buying and selling Government securities, the jury, under the direction of Chief Justice Mansfield, brought in a verdict in the plaintiff's favour, with one shilling damages. As the business of stock-jobbing increased, a more commodious room was opened in Threadneedle Street, to which, as we are informed, admission was obtained on payment of sixpence. The Bank Rotunda was, at one period, the place where bargains in stocks were made. Towards the close of the last century the increased scale of transactions in the Funds, and the new loans which were continually being raised, induced the principal frequenters of the

stock-market to subscribe for the erection of a building for their accommodation. Capel Court, on the east side of Bartholomew Lane, once the residence of Sir William Capel, Lord Mayor in 1504, was fixed upon as a convenient situation for the purpose. The first stone was laid on the 18th of May, 1801, and contains an inscription, which states, for the information of remote posterity, that the national debt was then upwards of five hundred millions. This building, which is the present Stock Exchange, was opened in March, 1802. The entrance to Capel Court is nearly opposite the door at the east end of the Bank, leading to the room in that building called the Rotunda.

No one is allowed to transact business at the Stock Exchange unless he is a member. If a stranger unluckily wanders into the place he is quickly hustled out. There are about three hundred and fifty firms of stock-brokers in London, whose places of business are situated in the streets, courts, and alleys within five minutes' walk of the Royal Exchange. To these we must add thirty or forty bullion, bill, and discount brokers. All the more respectable of these money-dealers are members of the Stock Exchange, and the total number of members is at present about six hundred and fifty. The admission takes place by ballot, and the committee of the Stock Exchange, which consists of twenty-four members, is elected in the same manner. Every new member of the "house," as it is called, must be introduced by three respectable members, each of whom enters into security in 300*l.* for two years. At the end of two years, when the respectability of the party is supposed to be fairly ascertained and known, the liability of the sureties ceases; but, as each member of the house is re-elected every year, if in the course of the preceding twelvemonth there is anything discreditable in his conduct, he is not re-elected. If a member becomes a defaulter, he ceases to be a member; though, after inquiry, he may be re-admitted on paying a certain composition; but he must be re-admitted, if at all, by vote of the committee. When a member becomes unable to pay his creditors there are certain official assignees who receive all the money due to him and divide it amongst his creditors. No man can be re-admitted unless he pays 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound, from resources of his own, over and above what has been collected from his debtors. As some of the practices of the Stock Exchange are contrary to law, and cannot be enforced in the courts, the members are only to be held to them by a sense of honour, and such restraints in the way of exposure and degradation as the governing committee may be authorised to apply by the general body of members. Cases of dishonourable or disgraceful conduct are punished by expulsion. The names of defaulters are posted on the "black board," and, in the language of the Stock Exchange, they are then technically called "lame ducks." In short, the committee have the power of effectually destroying the credit of a member whose transactions are of a dishonourable nature. They investigate the conduct of members whenever called upon by other parties, and give their award according to the evidence.

The two leading classes of men who have dealings on the Stock Exchange are the jobbers and the brokers, though the business peculiar to each is not unfrequently transacted by one person. Some members deal for the most part in English stocks, others in foreign, and many confine their attention principally to shares in mines, railways, canals, joint-stock banks, and other public companies;

some call themselves discount-brokers and money-dealers, and transact business to a large extent in commercial securities—that is, in bills drawn by merchants and tradesmen on mercantile transactions. Bargains are made in the presence of a third party, and the terms are simply entered in a pocket-book; but they are checked next day, and the jobber's clerk (their clerks are members also of the house) pays or receives the money, and sees that the securities are correct. There are but three or four dealers in Exchequer Bills, and the greater number of these securities pass through their hands. The majority of the members of the Stock Exchange employ their capital in any way which offers the slightest chance of profit, and keep it in convertible securities, so that it can be changed from hand to hand almost at a moment's notice. The brokers are employed to execute the orders of bankers, merchants, capitalists, and private individuals; and the jobbers on 'Change are the parties with whom they deal. When the broker appears in the market he is surrounded by the jobbers. One of the "cries" of the Stock Exchange is "Borrow money? borrow money?" a singular one to general apprehension; but it must be understood that the credit of the borrower must either be first-rate or his security of the most satisfactory nature; and that it is not the principal who goes into this market, but his broker. "Have you money to lend to-day?" is a question asked with a nonchalance which would astonish the simple man who goes to a "friend" with such a question in his mouth. "Yes," may be the reply. "I want 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*" "On what security?" for that is the vital question; and that point being settled, the transaction goes on smoothly and quickly enough. Another mode of doing business is to conceal the object of the borrower or lender, who asks, "What are Exchequer?" The answer may be, "Forty to forty-two." That is, the party addressed will buy 1000*l.* at 40*s.*, and sell 1000*l.* at 42*s.* The jobbers cluster around the broker, who perhaps says, "I must have a price in 5000*l.*" If it suits them they will say, "Five with me, five with me, five with me," making fifteen; or they will say each, "Ten with me;" and it is the broker's business to get these parties pledged to buy of him at 40, or to sell to him at 42, they not knowing whether he is a buyer or seller. The broker then declares his purpose, saying, for example, "Gentlemen, I sell to you 20,000*l.* at 40;" and the sum is then apportioned among them. If the money were wanted only for a month, and the Exchequer market remained the same during that time, the buyer would have to give 42 in the market for what he sold at 40, being the difference between the buying and the selling price; besides which he would have to pay the broker 1*s.* per cent. commission on the sale, and 1*s.* per cent. on the purchase again on the bills, which would make altogether 4*s.* per cent. If the object of the broker be to buy Consols, the jobber offers to buy his 20,000*l.* at 96, or to sell him that amount at 96½, without being at all aware which he is engaging himself to do. The same person may not know on any particular day whether he will be a borrower or lender. If he has sold stock and has not repurchased, about one or two o'clock in the day he would be a lender of money; but if he has bought stock, and not sold, he would be a borrower. Immense sums are lent on condition of being recalled at the short notice of a few hours. These loans are often for so short a period, that the uninitiated, who have no other idea of borrowing than that which the old proverb supplies, that "He who goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing," would wonder that any man should borrow

10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* for a day, or at most a fortnight, and which is liable to be called for at the shortest notice. The facilities which the Stock Exchange affords for the easy flow of capital in any direction where profit is to be secured will explain the mystery. The directors of a railway company, whose receipts are 12,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* per week, instead of locking up this sum every week in their strong-box, as a premium for the ingenuity of the London thieves, authorise a broker to lend it on proper securities. Persons who pay large duties to government at fixed periods, and are in receipt of these duties from the time of their last payment, make something of the gradually accumulating sum by lending it for a week or two. A person whose capital is intended to be laid out in mortgage on real property finds it advantageous to lend it out until he meets with a suitable offer. The great bankers have constantly large sums which are not required for their till, and they direct their brokers to lend this surplus cash on the Stock Exchange. One banker lends about 400,000*l.* to the jobbers on every settling day. Bankers are also borrowers at times, as well as lenders. The Bank of England sometimes, and also the East India Company, employ their brokers to raise money on the Stock Exchange. Some members of the Stock Exchange call themselves, appropriately enough, "managers of balances." Whatever the market rate of interest may be, it is more advantageous to a capitalist to employ his resources at the smallest rate of profit rather than that it should remain idle. Sometimes the jobber, at the close of the day, will lend his money at 1 per cent. rather than not employ it at all. But the extraordinary fluctuations in the rate of interest, even in the course of a single day, are a sufficient temptation to the money-lender to resort to the Stock Exchange. During the shutting of the stocks money is invariably scarce; but as soon as the dividends become payable, it is again abundant. At other times, on one day the rate of interest will be 10 per cent., and the next day only 2. The rate of interest offered in the morning will also frequently differ from that which can be obtained in the afternoon. Instances have occurred in which every body has been anxious to lend money in the morning at 4 per cent., when about two o'clock money has become so scarce that it could with difficulty be borrowed at 10 per cent. For example, if the price of Consols be low, persons who are desirous of raising money will give a high rate of interest rather than sell stock. Again, an individual wants to borrow 100,000*l.* on Consols, but they happen to be in great demand, and the jobber may borrow on them at 2 per cent., and lend the very same money on another description of Government security at 5 per cent. The constant recurrence of these opportunities of turning capital is of course the life and soul of the Stock Exchange.

The profit of the jobber, after he has concluded a bargain, depends upon the state of the market, which may be depressed by extensive sales, or by the competition of buyers. These jobbers are middle men, who are always ready either to buy or sell at a minute's notice, and hence a broker, in dealing for his principal, who wants to borrow money, has no need to hunt after another broker, who has money of another principal to lend, but each resort to the jobber, who is both a borrower and lender. The following information as to the extent of the transactions of a firm of stock-brokers, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, of money-dealers, or, to use the technical phrase, "managers of balances," is official, and may be fully relied on:—"Our business, in addition to that of mere stock-brokers,

extends to the dealing in money, that is, borrowing of bankers, capitalists, and others, their surplus or unemployed moneys, for the purpose of lending again at advanced rates, the difference of rate being our remuneration for the trouble and risk attendant thereon. By the general facility thus afforded, from our being almost always ready either to borrow or lend, we have become, as it were, a channel directly or indirectly for a great portion of the loans between Lombard Street and the Stock Exchange; and the magnitude of our money-dealings will be at once understood when I state that we have both had and made loans to upwards of 200,000*l.* at a time with one house; that the payments and receipts through our banking account on each side amount to eighteen or twenty millions per annum, but our loan transactions far exceed that sum, and extend to the vast amount of from thirty to forty millions a-year. Our loans for the year ending October, 1841, exceeded thirty millions, being an average of three millions a-month, or 100,000*l.* a-day; and generally, upon four or five days in every month, the loans have amounted to 150, 2, 3, 4, 5, and even 700,000*l.* in a single day."

Notwithstanding the magnitude of the business created by the national debt, amounting to 800,000,000*l.*, and an income of 50,000,000*l.* a-year from the taxes, an annual circulation of Bills of Exchange amounting to between 500,000,000*l.* and 600,000,000*l.*, a circulation of Bank notes of 35,000,000*l.*, the perpetual transfer of shares in Railways, in which capital to the amount of above sixty millions has been embarked, besides the traffic in shares in canals, banks, insurance offices, and public companies, and in the foreign funds, the gentlemen of the Stock Exchange would scarcely find sufficient employment, if all the transactions which take place there were absolutely of a *bona fide* character, and led in every case to an actual transfer of the property which was the object of speculation. "Time-bargains" fill up their leisure, and the excitement which attends such transactions is rather agreeable than otherwise to those who are accustomed to the atmosphere of the Stock Exchange. The origin of these transactions was legitimate enough. At certain periods, which occur half-yearly, the transfer-books at the Bank are "shut" for several weeks, in order to afford time for the preparation of the dividend warrants. During this interval a person who buys or sells stock must necessarily do so speculatively, "for the opening," that is, for transfer on the day on which the transfer-books are re-opened. These half-yearly opportunities for speculative transactions were not sufficient to gratify the desire for "doing business" which prevails amongst speculators, and, accordingly, periodical dates have been fixed upon by the Committee of the Stock Exchange similar to the "opening," at intervals of about six weeks, making altogether about eight settling days, as they are called, in the course of the year, two of these "settling days" corresponding with the first days of the opening of the Bank books for public transfer. The price at which stock is sold to be transferred on the next settling day is called the price "on account." A party engages to sell to another for a certain sum a certain amount of stock on the next "settling day," the calculation of the seller being that by the day in question the market-price of stock will be lower than the price agreed upon; that of the buyer, that it will be higher. The matter, however, instead of being arranged by an actual transfer of stock, is settled simply by the losing party paying the "difference," that is, the seller, in case of the price on the "settling day" turning out to be below that

stipulated for, gains by the difference between the two sums, and the buyer loses; but, if the price rises above that stipulated for, exactly the reverse would happen. The whole transaction is founded on the anticipation of a rise by one party and a fall by the other, and is, in fact, essentially a bet. The amount of the bet which is won and lost is the difference between the price agreed upon and the actual selling price. These bargains are illegal, and cannot be enforced by law. The jobbers, therefore, depend upon each other's honour. The terms "Bull" and "Bear," which are familiar to every reader of a newspaper, are used, the former to designate those who speculate for a rise, and the latter for those who endeavour to effect a fall in prices, as the bull tosses the objects of its attack in the air, and the bear endeavours to trample it under foot. The "Bull" who buys 50,000*l.* Consols for the settling day, or "for the account," as it is technically called, endeavours to sell them again in the interval at a higher price; and, on the other hand, the "Bear" would endeavour to sell the 50,000*l.* (which, nevertheless, he does not possess, as no transfer actually takes place) "for the account," with a view of buying them in for the purpose of balancing the transaction at a lower price than he originally sold them at. Wars and rumours of wars, favourable turns of the public fortune, every circumstance which can affect the most sensitive of political barometers, re-acts upon the interests of either the speculator for a rise or a fall in the public funds. When the account is not closed on the settling day the stock is carried on to a future day, on such terms as the parties may agree on. This is called a "continuation," which is nothing more than interest for money lent on security of stock, which fluctuates in the most agreeable manner for a speculator, according to the scarcity or abundance of money. Operating upon the "continuation" is a favourite mode of speculation amongst those who can command large capitals, and the foreign stocks offer the most tempting inducements to this kind of enterprise, as they are subject to greater fluctuation than the English stocks; and though the security is not so good, the rate of interest is higher, being sometimes equal to 15 per cent. per annum.

Of all the means of making a fortune none is so rapid as speculation in the Funds,—if good fortune do but smile on the speculator, nor any more uncertain. No Stock Exchange in Europe affords such facilities for speculation as that of London, for the dealings are not confined to English Government Securities, but embrace every description of transferable security, shares in Railways, Mines, Canals, Insurance Companies, Joint-Stock Banks, and indeed all property, the sign of which can be passed from hand to hand, besides including every description of foreign Funds. The foreign capitalist is attracted from every capital in Europe to the English Stock Exchange, and the Jews flock to it from every quarter under heaven. One of the most *naïve* productions we have seen for a long time is the letter of a Jew of Mogadore, who wished his friends to provide him with the means of going on the London Stock Exchange, where he was certain of making a "fortune." The letter, which reads almost as if it were written by the 'Turkish Spy,' was produced in evidence in the Bankruptcy Court, dated London, October, 1841, and is as follows:—"Unfortunately at present there is little business to be done without a large capital to speculate with. Now I am much inclined, and am encouraged to hope making my fortune in the public Funds, for you are aware that

loans are negotiated here for all nations, and the value of each nation's 'Funds' is regulated by its credit, so that the prices rise and fall according to the intelligence which arrives. The Governments of Europe are not like that of our Emperor [of Morocco], who has sacks full of doubloons buried under ground, for they are poor, and indebted to the public. The English Government are indebted to the public eight hundred millions sterling, which are 4,000 million dollars! and all this capital is in the Funds, and bought and sold transactions are in it daily effected, so that one may make a fortune in a few days, as many have done, for the riches of R — and M — were all acquired in the Funds; therefore I am urging my dear Judah to become guarantee for me with a broker who deals in this business, and I have a friend who is named Moses Abitbol, of Mogadore, a man of great sagacity, who understands this business, and is skilful in Government matters; he has been in London more than thirty years, and he is desirous of placing me in this business; but as I am not known, and my dear Judah is very well known, Abitbol tells me that I must ask my dear Judah to be answerable for me, and then he will assist me and put me in the way how to act. Now I have already spoken to Judah, who tells me 'he is unwilling to enter into matters which are foreign to his business,' and that 'it is not creditable for a merchant to negotiate in the Funds,' and he 'does not wish to have too much to think of.' That it will be better to import articles from places and gain four pounds or five pounds at a time, than to run risks, as I might perhaps lose. Pray, therefore, write to him in my behalf, and request him to assist me in this matter, as I can assure you that I am confident, with the blessing of God and the assistance of this Mr. Abitbol, to make my fortune. I read the newspapers every day, as I understand the English language, and see by them that from one week to another the public Funds rise 5 per cent., and I am acquainted with everything about them, and what I ask of my dear Judah to be responsible for me is no great thing—the utmost will be 40*l.* or 50*l.*, as I am not going to risk anything which might turn out very detrimental, and, with the Divine aid, 200*l.* may be gained with 50*l.*, so Mr. Abitbol tells me, who likewise says that I may gain 500*l.* a-year. I am in hopes that if you will write and request my dear Judah he will do the needful out of respect for you, and I beg that you will not lose any time so soon as you receive this." We have heard of one firm of stock-jobbers, or rather money-dealers, who would have made 20,000*l.* a-year on their transactions at 10*s.* per cent. Money-jobbers would, in fact, grow rich if they were sure of realising one-eighth per cent. on all their transactions, that is only 2*s.* 6*d.* per 100*l.*; but the way to wealth is not so easy. After having concluded a bargain the market changes, and the speculator may "realise" a loss on the transaction. The Mogadore Jew would not find it so easy to gain 200*l.* with a capital of 50*l.* There is no doubt, however, that large fortunes have been gained on the Stock Exchange by persons who have begun with transactions on the humblest scale; but then how many large fortunes have been lost! Apparently, however, the life of a member of the Stock Exchange would seem to be one of continual excitement. He rushes up from Brighton by the Express Train in an hour and a half, transacts his business, and leaves town again for the coast soon after four o'clock, having, it may be, netted some hundreds of pounds by his clear-headed speculations, or by a fortunate turn in the chapter of accidents. Some of

the prettiest villas all round the metropolis are inhabited by members of the Stock Exchange, who here may tranquillise their nerves in the long summer evenings by those pursuits which seem so congenial to the happy-looking spot.

It would scarcely be possible to arrange under any number of general heads all the "skyey influences" that are capable of elevating or depressing the Funds, which fluctuate with every breeze of popular exhilaration or nervous despondency, every fit of suspicion or confidence, every hope and fear, almost every hope, passion, or caprice of the human breast. In 1797 the prospects of this country, owing to the successes of the French, the mutiny in the fleet, and other adverse circumstances, were so unfavourable, that the price of the Three per Cents. sunk on the 20th of September, on the intelligence transpiring of an attempt to negotiate with the French Republic having failed, to 47½, being the lowest price to which they have ever fallen. The same Stock is now at 96. Such events as the battle of Leipsig, the escape of Napoleon from Elba, the battle of Waterloo, which influenced the hopes and fears of mankind throughout the civilized world, are not likely to occur in these times, and we must content ourselves with a more prosaic life.

During the war many frauds were practised on the Stock Exchange, under various forms of false intelligence; but one of the most daring, complicated, and complete, was executed in February, 1814. The parties implicated in this transaction were Sir Thomas Cochrane (commonly called Lord Cochrane), Andrew Cochrane Johnstone (his uncle), Charles Random de Berenger, Richard Gathorne Butt, John Peter Holloway, Henry Lyte, Ralph Sandom, and Alexander M'Rae. Lord Cochrane, the present Earl of Dundonald, had recently been appointed to the command of a ship of war, and was Member of Parliament for Westminster. Johnstone was Member of Parliament for Grampound. Butt had been formerly a clerk in the Navy-Office. Holloway was a wine-merchant in London. Sandom was a spirit-merchant at Northfleet, near Gravesend, but was then in the Rules of the King's Bench. De Berenger, the main agent in executing the plot, was a foreigner who had long resided in this country, and for the previous fourteen or fifteen months had been in the Rules of the King's Bench. Lyte was a small navy-agent. M'Rae was a man in distressed circumstances, who resided at 61, Fetter Lane.

The series of extraordinary military operations by which Bonaparte, in January and February, 1814, kept the allied armies in check had a very depressing effect on the Funds. This country was in a state of the greatest anxiety, and the intelligence of the battle of Montmirail, which was received in London on the 17th of February, reduced Omnium to 27½, which, before the opening of the campaign in January, had been as high as 30.

The plot of this imposture, there is little doubt, originated with Johnstone, Butt, and Holloway. Lord Cochrane was implicated, perhaps unconsciously, as he always affirmed. The rest were employed as performers. Of these the principal was De Berenger, and he performed the first and chief part of the plot himself. The subsidiary part was left to Sandom, Lyte, and M'Rae, whose immediate employer was Holloway.

Johnstone and Butt commenced their speculations in the stocks on the 8th of February; Lord Cochrane on the 12th. Holloway had long been a speculator

in the Funds. On the Saturday preceding the Monday on which the fraud was executed these individuals possessed stocks as follows:—

Andrew Cochrane Johnstone	. . .	£141,000 Omnium.
” ” ”	. . .	100,000 Consols.
Richard Gathorne Butt	. . .	224,000 Omnium.
” ” ”	. . .	168,000 Consols.
John Peter Holloway	. . .	20,000 Omnium.
” ” ”	. . .	34,000 Consols.
Lord Cochrane	. . .	139,000 Omnium.
		£826,000

The necessary preparations had been made, and everything was now in readiness. The performance commenced a little after midnight at Dover. A person knocked violently at the door of the ‘Ship Hotel.’ He was admitted. He was dressed in a grey military great coat, a scarlet uniform, richly embroidered with gold lace (like a staff-officer), a star on his breast, a silver medal suspended from his neck, a dark fur cap with a broad band of gold lace, and a small portmanteau. This was De Berenger, in the assumed character of Lieut.-Col. Du Bourg, aide-de-camp of Lord Cathcart, just arrived from Paris, and the bearer of the glorious news that a decisive victory had been gained, that Bonaparte had been killed, and that the allied armies were then actually in Paris. With the appearance of great haste and excitement he wrote the following letter:—

“To the Rt. Hon. T. Foley, Port Admiral, Deal.”

“Sir—I have the honour to acquaint you that ‘l’Aigle,’ from Calais, Pierre Duquin, master, has this moment landed me near Dover, to proceed to the capital with dispatches of the happiest nature. I have pledged my honour that no harm shall come to the crew of ‘l’Aigle.’ Even with a flag of truce, they immediately stood for sea. Should they be taken, I entreat you immediately to liberate them. My anxiety will not allow me to say more for your gratification than that the allies obtained a final victory; that Bonaparte was overtaken by a party of Sacken’s Cossacks, who immediately slaid him and divided his body between them. General Platoff saved Paris from being reduced to ashes. The allied sovereigns are there, and the white cockade is universal. An immediate peace is certain. In the utmost haste I entreat your consideration,” &c. Signed, “R. Du Bourg, Lieut.-Col., and Aide-de-Camp to Lord Cathcart.”

A special messenger was immediately dispatched with this letter to the Port Admiral at Deal, in the expectation that he would have communicated the news by telegraph to the Government in London. The letter was delivered between three and four o’clock. The morning, however, happened to be hazy, the telegraph could not be worked, and this part of the plot therefore entirely failed.

Meantime, De Berenger ordered a post-chaise to be got ready without delay. He offered to pay with napoleons, which the landlord scrupled to take, and he then took out some one-pound notes, paid his bill, and started for London. When he changed horses at Canterbury, Sittingbourne, Rochester, Dartford, he spread the news, and when he dismissed the post-boys rewarded each of them with a napoleon. When he arrived at Bexley Heath he learned from the post-boys that the telegraph could not have been worked, and then told them that they need not drive so

fast. The boys walked by the side of their horses up Shooter's Hill, and De Berenger then informed them that the French were beaten, that Bonaparte was killed, and that the Cossacks had actually torn his body in pieces, and had contended for the parts. He stopped at the Marsh Gate, in Lambeth, got out, entered a hackney coach, and gave each of the post-boys a napoleon, who drove off rejoicing to spread the news as they went. This was about nine o'clock on Monday morning. De Berenger was driven in the hackney-coach to No. 13, Green Street, Westminster, where Lord Cochrane resided, in furnished apartments which he had taken three days previously.

The news reached the Stock Exchange a little after ten, either through the post-boys, or by express sent up from Dover or some of the towns where De Berenger had changed horses. The price of Omnium had commenced at $27\frac{1}{2}$ extremely flat; but when it was communicated that an officer had come from Paris, arrived at Dover, and reached London in a post-chaise and four, bearing dispatches for Government, Omnium rose to 28, $28\frac{1}{2}$, 29, 30. No communication having been made from the Secretary of State to the Lord Mayor, at twelve doubts began to be entertained, and the funds fell to 29.

The auxiliary plot now came into operation. Between twelve and one a post-chaise and four drove over London Bridge, and made a sort of triumphal procession through the City. There were three persons in it, two of them dressed like French officers, in blue great-coats with white linings, and having white cockades. The horses were decorated with laurel. Small billets were scattered as they proceeded. They passed over Blackfriars Bridge, and then drove rapidly to the Marsh Gate, where the three persons got out, folded up their cocked hats, put on round ones, and walked away. The post-chaise drove rapidly back down the Kent Road.

The funds now rose from 29 to 30, 31, 32, $32\frac{1}{2}$, 33; but persons having been sent to the office of the Secretary of State, and it having been found that no messenger had arrived there, the deception was discovered, and the funds fell to their original level. Large sales, however, had been made, and the whole of the 826,000*l.* which had been bought by Johnstone, Butt, Holloway, and Lord Cochrane, had been sold.

The members of the Stock Exchange, who had been thus defrauded, appointed a committee, by whom it was discovered that the second post-chaise had been brought from Dartford early in the morning, and had started from Northfleet with four post-horses, bearing Sandom, Lyte, and M'Rae.

It was ascertained that De Berenger, who was the chief agent, was paid a large sum. He was arrested at Leith as he was on the point of leaving this country. His military coat was accidentally fished up from the Thames, in which he had sunk it. Johnstone escaped to the Continent. M'Rae received 50*l.* It was also proved in evidence on the trial, that he brought into his lodgings in Fetter Lane on Saturday, February 19, a couple of great coats, blue lined with white; he had white cockades made up by his wife; and, in reply to inquiries as to the use to which the coats and cockades were to be applied, he said, they were "to take in the flats." He quitted his lodgings in the afternoon of Sunday, stating that he was going down the river to Gravesend, and he returned about two o'clock on Monday, after having got out of the post-chaise at the Marsh Gate.

The profit on the sales of stock was ascertained to have amounted to about 10,000*l.* If the telegraph had worked, so as to have ensured a communication from the Government to the Lord Mayor, the profit would probably have been not less than 100,000*l.* The sales were mostly made by Mr. Fearn, a stock-broker. Butt was active manager; but Johnstone was at the office, which he had taken on purpose, and which was just by the side door of the Stock Exchange.

The trial came on June 21, 1814, at the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, before Lord Ellenborough. Gurney was the leading counsel for the prosecution, and the prisoners were severally defended by the first lawyers of the day, Brougham, Denman, and others.

All the prisoners were found guilty, and they were all sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in the Marshalsea. In addition to this, Lord Cochrane and Butt were fined 1000*l.* each, and Holloway 500*l.* Lord Cochrane, De Berenger, and Butt were also sentenced to stand one hour in the pillory, in front of the Royal Exchange. The matter, however, was taken up in Parliament, and this ignominious part of the sentence was remitted.

The effect of the great panic of 1825 upon the public funds was more astounding than the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba. In January, 1825, the Three per Cents. were above 93, and twelve months afterwards they were under 80. A brief account of this "Panic" has been already given.* The daily newspapers commenced giving at this period an article under the head of 'Money Market,' which is now an indispensable feature in every newspaper, daily or weekly. In 1815 the 'Courier' newspaper did not even give the price of stocks.

Perhaps the next circumstance in point of interest connected with the money market, in the last twenty years, was the extraordinary forgery of Exchequer Bills by Beaumont Smith, discovered in October, 1841. This case is remarkable not only for the large amount of money obtained, but for the length of time during which it escaped detection, that is, from the spring of 1836 to the middle of 1841.

Beaumont Smith was the senior clerk in the Issuing Office of the Exchequer. His confederate was Ernest Rapallo, a foreigner who had been long resident in this country. This fraud related exclusively to the species of Exchequer Bills called Supply Bills, which are issued from the Exchequer under authority of successive acts of Parliament. The periods of issue are March and June, and each bill is either paid off or exchanged, at the option of the holder, at the office of the Paymaster of the Exchequer, after the expiration of a year. There are therefore two exchanges of Exchequer Bills every year—in March and June. The bills have a blank left for the name of the payee, which, however, is rarely filled up, and they pass, like a bank note, by mere delivery; they are numbered, in each successive issue, in regular progression, and are signed with the name of the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer, but in practice the signature was generally made by the Deputy-Comptroller. As a check to forgery, they are cut from a counterfoil, by comparison with which their genuineness may be ascertained. The number of these forged bills was 377, and they were generally made out for

* Vol. iv., p. 17.

the sum of 1000*l*. In paper, stamp, and every other particular, they were genuine, with the exception only of the signature, which was an imitation of that of the Deputy Comptroller-General. Each of the forged bills was a duplicate of a genuine bill; so that suspicion was only likely to arise in the case of two of the same number coming into the hands of the same person. All the forged bills emanated from Smith, and were passed through Rapallo.

In raising money on these instruments it was essential to abstain from sale; for, if thus brought into general circulation, there would not only be a great probability of duplicates falling into the hands of the same person, but a certainty of being carried at the regular periods of exchange to the office of the Paymaster, where the duplicates would of course come also, and thus infallibly lead to detection. Besides this, there is a great advantage in borrowing money on bill's rather than selling the bills and replacing them by purchase. Suppose a banker requires to use his money for a week, if he sells those bills, and at the end of the week repurchases them, he has to pay broker's commission, which is a shilling on 100*l*. bill (if he is a banker he has to pay half); and he also has to pay the difference between buying and selling prices, which generally is two shillings per cent., which would make a loss in the week's work, selling those bills and replacing them, of three shillings on every 100*l*. bill; whereas, if he came upon the Stock Exchange, and borrowed the money even at five per cent., which is a higher rate of interest than that on Exchequer Bills (five per cent. is threepence farthing a day, and he receives upon the Exchequer Bills twopence farthing from the Government), his loss during the week is a penny a day, making sevenpence for the week; whereas if he sells and repurchases the bills it is three shillings. That is the reason why many bankers bring their bills into the market, and borrow upon them, instead of selling. The plan adopted by Smith and Rapallo, in every case, was to raise the money upon loan, and before the next period of exchange came round to redeem it by payment of the money, or to exchange it for another bill of more recent date. This method rendered it necessary to repay in every case the money advanced, as well as to pay the interest due upon the loan; but the opportunity which it afforded of employing large sums of money in extensive speculations in the stock market probably flattered the confederates with the hope of realizing large fortunes as the result.

In carrying the plan into effect, the mode of operation was the following: at the commencement of the transactions, and for some years afterwards, Rapallo delivered over the bills which he received from Smith to Angelo Solari, another foreigner, resident in this country, between whom and Rapallo there had previously been a connection; and Solari raised money upon the bills. This service he effected in part through connections formed by the assistance of Messrs. William and James Morgan, stock-brokers. They introduced him to the banking-houses of Ransom and Co., and Jones Lloyd and Co. From the former he obtained from time to time large sums of money on the deposit of the forged bills. He also obtained similar loans from Price and Co. Messrs. W. and J. Morgan likewise received from Solari the forged bills; and on the deposit of these, in their own names, as the apparent borrowers, they obtained large sums of money, out of which, according to the directions of Solari, they purchased for him foreign

bonds or shares, or paid losses incurred by him in the stock-market. They also, from time to time, paid over to him large sums of money, and paid off the principal and interest which became due on the loans; and received from him, on the other hand, large sums, and sold foreign bonds, and so on, charging the usual commission.

These dealings lasted till the death of Solari, in October, 1840, when Rapallo continued them as the agent of Solari's widow. Solari and Rapallo carried on similar dealings with Mr. William Mariner, who was then secretary to the National Brazilian Mining Company. Mr. Mariner employed as his stock-broker Mr. F. T. De Berckhem. The advances procured from Messrs. Morgan amounted to about 420,000*l.*; from Mariner and De Berckhem to about 465,000*l.*

At length the discovery was made. On the 19th of October, 1841, De Berckhem employed a person to borrow 10,000*l.* for him on the deposit of Exchequer Bills for three months, at 6 per cent. The application happened to be made to a member of the Stock Exchange, who had just lent money on a similar deposit at 4 per cent., and this appeared in all its circumstances so remarkable that he deemed it right to enter into communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Other bills were then obtained from De Berckhem, and on comparison with the counterfoils, the whole were found to be forged. Smith was taken into custody on the 25th of October; and the fraud then became known to the public.



[Terminus of the Blackwall Railway.]

CXLV.—RAILWAY TERMINI.

IN the course of our work we have had frequent occasion to illustrate the general magnitude of the metropolis, and of all that belongs to it—as, for instance, in its mighty underground systems; its docks, banks, and markets; its size—its population; but all these together hardly give so vivid an idea of what London truly is as is furnished by its Railway Termini—those gates of the world through which we have only to pass, put on our wishing (or travelling) cap, which we take to be suggestive, in Fortunatus' case as well as in our own, of a short nap, and the thing is done; we are presently either roaming among the sublime mountains of Wales or Northumbria, following with antiquarian interest the route of Henry the Fifth's invading French army, *viâ* Southampton, looking for the samphire on Shakspeare's cliff at Dover; or, if we are in a great hurry, whirling away on the other side of the Channel to Paris or Cologne, towards Italy or Vienna, towards Siberia or Timbuctoo. And apparently, before many years, all destinations will be about the same as regards the hours occupied—your only modern mode of measuring—or as regards the comfort and safety with which they may be reached. For, seriously, it would be as idle to sit down now satisfied that travelling has reached its climax, as it would have been when the first of those excellent coaches

started which reached York from London in a week, God willing. One's health, no doubt, requires that there should be a little interval between shaking hands with friends at parting in London, and doing the same with others on meeting at Brighton; but really the amount of that interval promises to depend upon some such considerations only. But of this subject we shall have to say a few words by and bye. And now, as to our metropolitan termini. They are ten in number: namely, the London and Birmingham, 1833 (date of Act for the establishment); the Greenwich, 1833; the South Western or Southampton, 1834; the Great Western to Bath and Bristol, 1835; the Croydon, 1835; the South Eastern and Dover, 1836; the Northern and Eastern, 1836; the Eastern Counties, 1836; the Blackwall, 1836; and the Brighton, 1837; the whole erected at a cost of above twenty-seven millions of money. The streets of London may not be paved with gold, as no doubt, many of our readers can remember once thinking they were, when youth and distance alike lent enchantment to the view, but certainly the roads leading to London seem to have been founded upon that metal. And, if there is something suggestive of almost Oriental visions of wealth and profusion in such an expenditure, there is not the less a decidedly British character of reality about the results. On the Birmingham line, for instance, every 100*l.* expended is now worth 240*l.*! The annual income of the Company is fast advancing towards a million (in the year just ended it was above 830,000*l.*)! whilst the aggregate of the mere duties paid to Government by the ten lines, in the same time, was above 82,000*l.*! It can be hardly necessary to say one word more as to the gigantic commercial character of the metropolitan railways.

But this is, after all, the least important and interesting of their features; the revolution they have wrought in our locomotive capabilities sinks into comparative insignificance when we contemplate the revolution they must yet work in mental and moral phenomena—blending together more and more intimately all countries and peoples, all religions, philosophies, feelings, tastes, customs and manners, through the agency of the great social harmoniser, personal converse. We shall hardly be able to speak much longer of mere visitors to and from London, but of London going to see the country, the country coming to see London—of London running over to inquire how all goes on in Paris, Paris returning the compliment in the same way: already we perceive six hours is the allotted time for passing from London to Boulogne; we do not despair of seeing Paris reached in less than twice that period. Through a great portion of Europe the same kind of communications are preparing; and we may, in short, almost anticipate the time when we shall make as little fuss about the tour of the world as of a tour through the Isle of Wight; when we shall talk of London, Paris, Vienna, Madrid, and so on, as of so many stages for refreshment—a little longer, certainly, than those of a stage coach, but still more nearly akin to them than to anything else. Seeing all this, one can almost excuse the enthusiasm generated in some minds by the subject, and which has led a recent writer into an attempt to explain, by the system of railroads, the mystical Vision of the Chariot by the prophet Ezekiel, and other Scripture passages, which, he says, “have reference to railroads and railway conveyance by locomotive carriages; and the more the form and construction of the powerful engine, in connection

with the carriages, are carefully and minutely examined, and compared with effects, the more opinion strengthens, and conviction confirms the truth, that it is altogether of Divine origin, and little short of a miracle, that after the lapse of so many ages . . . the description of it should be handed down to us in the nineteenth century, in language so appropriate, so true, intelligible and descriptive, that it is impossible to mistake its meaning; for although Ezekiel saw four living creatures (destined for the four quarters of the globe, 'in the fulness of time'), he shows clearly their component parts were of iron and burnished brass, containing inwardly, fire, without consuming itself—'fire of coals,' sufficiently large and active to send upwards a lengthened wreath upon wreath of crystal-coloured cloud, and their centre to be of burnished brass, sparkling, as with lightning speed they winged their way, emitting sparks as from forged iron, instinct with a vital spirit, unknown till steam, and its powerful effects, were disclosed to man, by the manifold wisdom of God; the force of the steam escaping, panting as with the breath of life, is accurately described by the prophet, and the beautiful confusion of ideas, to give expression to the extraordinary sounds applicable to what he saw and heard, when 'four living creatures' started at one moment before, is grand in the extreme, and true to the letter." Then again, as the writer reminds us, there is the Hebrew tradition that the Rabbins "held a consultation whether they should admit him (Ezekiel) into the sacred canon, and that it was likely to be carried in the negative, when Rabbi Ananias rose up and said, he would undertake to remove every difficult part in the whole book. This proposal was received; and, to assist him in his work, that he might complete it to his credit, they furnished him with *three hundred barrels of oil*, to light his lamp during his studies. But the most convincing argument to our minds, is the preliminary passage of Ezekiel, 'And I looked, and behold, a whirlwind came out of the *north*, a great cloud, and a fire,' &c. Was not the earliest railway for which an Act was obtained in 1758, a coal-waggon-way at Leeds? Was it not the Stockton and Darlington Railway which gave the grand impulse to the locomotive movement? Was it not at Manchester that Stephenson's engine, the 'Rocket' first displayed the capabilities of such machines?—All *northern* localities!" If we are to believe all the rest, there can be no reason why we may not have full faith in that part of the explanation too. We cannot however but remark that such parallels must be painful to many, perhaps to most religious persons: who require no such literal illustrations of the spiritual truths of the Bible.

We now propose to notice first and briefly some of the more striking individual features of our metropolitan railways; and then to devote the remainder of our paper chiefly to a view of the economy of a metropolitan station, a subject, if we mistake not, of considerable interest, and not entirely without novelty to our readers, and which, through the politeness of the authorities, we have had ample opportunity of examining. We refer to the London and Birmingham, the earliest in point of time, and greatest, as regards revenue and expenditure, of all the more important railways that radiate from the common centre—London. For the present, then, we pass on to the railway for which an Act was obtained in the same year, 1833, the Greenwich, which is remarkable as standing upon one con-

tinuous series of brick arches, and which is interesting to engineers from the experiment tried upon it as regards the respective value of stone sleepers (or square slabs) at intervals, or continuous bearers of wood, for the support of the rail. Stones were first used, but with such unsatisfactory result, that they were taken up and replaced with timber: the improvement has been most decisive. This is an American custom, which Mr. Brunel, jun., was among the first to introduce into this country, by recommending it for the Great Western. The bearers are there carefully Kyanized to prevent decay, then secured to the ground by piles. There is little doubt that a smoother and more elastic road has been thus obtained. The other advantages held out, superior economy and safety, are perhaps questionable. The formation of the Great Western Railway was signalized by a still more daring innovation on railway customs; the rail has a gauge of seven feet instead of four feet eight inches, the general breadth at the period in question. Larger wheels can consequently be employed, and therefore greater speed adopted with equal safety; the superior width of the carriages, of course, offers also superior facilities for carrying numerous passengers, or for making a limited number more comfortable. As to the speed, the directors of the line estimated their minimum would be twenty-five miles an hour, and their speed for mails and first-class trains much more. They have not been disappointed; their average speed now for the latter, including stoppages, is twenty-nine miles an hour. We may here pause a moment to notice the gradual rise in men's minds of our present ideas of speed. When the projectors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway offered their premium for the best engine, the most important of the conditions were that it should draw three times its own weight at the rate of ten miles an hour. After their success, so astonishing at first to themselves, both as regards the speed and the power they found they could obtain, the directors of the London and Birmingham did not begin at a higher rate than eighteen miles an hour, then gradually advanced to twenty, twenty-two and a half, and ultimately to above twenty-six, including stoppages; whilst, excluding stoppages, from thirty-six to forty-two miles per hour is run upon the Northern and Eastern, the South-Eastern, and the Brighton, and not unfrequently forty-five on the Great Western, which, on special occasions of importance, considerably exceeds even that enormous rate. The history of the Great Western, like that of the Birmingham, is distinguished by the severity of the parliamentary opposition that had to be contended with and overcome. The first company in defending its claims expended between 80,000*l.* and 90,000*l.*, and the second 73,000*l.*, facts nationally disgraceful, not so much for the individual selfishness that was at the root of all, as for the view it gives of the business capacities of our legislature, which stood idly and almost unconcernedly by, watching two parties fight their battle as they best might, exhausting their time, temper, and funds, instead of at once causing such inquiries to be made as were necessary in a direct and unquestionably honest manner, and then deciding according to the result of the inquiry. Those party fights have been attended by some ludicrous among many painful exhibitions. We do not know whether the following story ever before appeared in print, but if so it will bear repetition:—An eminent northern engineer was undergoing a rigid examination at the

hands of a barrister on the subject of a proposed line: "And pray, Sir," said the latter, after many other equally shrewd and pertinent queries, "How will you make your crossings?"—"By bridges," was the brief answer. "Yes, yes, of course, but how will you secure the line in that part?"—"By hedges." "All that is very well; but come, Sir, let us suppose a case: I ask you, Sir, to suppose a case. Suppose a valuable cow from our meadow here was to break through or leap over the hedges; what then, Sir, I ask you, would be the consequences?"—"Vary awkward for the cool!" We believe the barrister asked no more questions.

Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the South Western or Southampton Railway is the prosperity which it seems likely to confer on the line of country and the chief towns with which it is connected. Already since the establishment of the Railway has Southampton been made a mail packet station by the Government, whilst on the part of the people, chiefly those resident in Southampton and Portsmouth, hundreds of thousands of pounds have been raised for the formation in those places, of docks, piers, jetties, floating ferries, and similar works; and at the present moment a commercial association to India and China is in process of establishment. It is indeed a line in many respects peculiarly favoured. For instance, it necessarily enjoys a great deal of Government patronage, not only by carrying the mails from the most important parts of the world, but also through its connection with the Admiralty at Portsmouth, and through the continual conveyance of troops, which cause it to be in constant communication with the Horse Guards. Some idea of the importance of this last department to the Company may be obtained when we state that, although the charge per head amounts to only a penny and a fraction per mile, between 7000*l.* and 8000*l.* were nevertheless received during the last year from that source. The increasing importance of the South Western Railway is indeed very evident from its present movements. Besides preparing to enlarge its metropolitan station by the addition of some four acres of land in the Wandsworth Road, two new branches are marked out to be undertaken by the Company, namely, to Epsom and to Salisbury; for all which purposes Acts are to be sought in the ensuing session of Parliament. At the same time it is proposed to follow the example of the London and Birmingham Railway, and convert the share capital into Stock.

No less than four of the Railways we have mentioned have their termini at the same spot, the foot of London Bridge, where the strikingly handsome building, of which a part is shown in an adjoining page, is now in course of erection: these four are the Greenwich, the Dover, the Croydon, and the Brighton. The lines of the whole are connected together in a most remarkable manner. Thus, for a short distance there is but one line; then the Croydon Railway diverges to the right, forming to Croydon also the Brighton and Dover lines; from Croydon the last two depart in undivided companionship as far as Redhill, about twenty-one miles from London, where they separate to seek each alone its respective destination. Before this is reached on one of the lines, the Dover, the works become of the most interesting and extraordinary character. At Folkstone the line touches the coast, and from thence the tunnels, sea walls, and excavations in the cliffs are of the most stupendous nature. The accounts in the papers of the



[The London Terminus of the Dover, Brighton, and Croydon Railway, London Bridge.]

blasting of some of these mighty masses of rock by gunpowder, fired by galvanic batteries, are among the most striking memorials of engineering skill and daring. Who can ever forget that sublimely-calm lifting up of the rocky mountain, as if to expire as a mountain should, then descending, scarcely less calm, though rent and shattered to the very heart, and crumbling to pieces as it touched its former apparently invincible foundations? During the last session an Act was obtained on the part of two of these companies which will somewhat obviate the disadvantages arising from such a congregation of termini, and add in other ways materially to the public convenience—we allude to the branch now in progress from a certain point of the Croydon line to a point near the Bricklayers' Arms, where an extensive station will be erected for the joint use of the Dover and Croydon companies. The passing of this Act was a strong hint to these giant monopolies which we are now bringing into existence, perhaps necessarily, just as all others are disappearing. The Greenwich Company demanded fourpence-halfpenny for every passenger that passed over their one mile and three quarters in their way to the other three lines we have mentioned; and they had their reward when this Act passed, in spite of their most determined opposition. We have mentioned the costs of the respective Acts of Parliament for the establishment of the Birmingham and Great Western Railways, but the most expensive contest that has yet taken place in this country was that connected with the Brighton Railway, when for two successive sessions four or five companies were engaged in the struggle. Whilst in Committee the expense of counsel and witnesses is stated to have amounted to about a thousand pounds daily for some fifty days. Can there be any other country in the world where it is so hard to obtain

leave to spend one's money? The Eastern Counties and the North Eastern Railways are also connected at starting from Shoreditch (where they have a joint and handsome station) until they reach Stratford; there the first pursues its route towards Colchester, and the second towards Bishop's Stortford, from which it is to be extended to Newport, an Act having been obtained in the last session. The Eastern Counties, for the first ten miles, runs along one almost continuous series of arches and bridges, the last alone numbering fifty, and one of them, the bridge over the Lea, having a span of seventy feet. When this line was first opened, in March, 1843, three portions of it were crossed by means of temporary viaducts of timber, rendered necessary in two cases by gaps in the unfinished embankments, and in the third by a most perverse land-slip, as it is called, at Lexden, where, in a space of about forty feet by thirty, earth was thrown down in such amazing quantities, without the slightest perceptible elevation, that it is said that sixty thousand cubic yards of soil failed to raise the embankment a single yard either in its height or its length. On the whole of this line there are no less than 365 bridges, arches, and culverts. The expense of the Railway, as may be supposed, was enormous, namely, nearly 2,800,000*l.* up to last August. An Act for a branch from the Eastern Counties at Stratford to the Thames was sought last session, but (it is said, through misapprehension) ineffectually. Since writing the above, we perceive by the papers that the two companies, the Northern and Eastern and the Eastern Counties, have become completely amalgamated into one, and that the general management of both has been transferred to a board of directors consisting of twelve members of the greater company and six of the lesser. We may now hope, it seems, to have the one line pushed on northwards from Newport to Cambridge and Ely, and thence eastward to Brandon and westward to Peterborough. Truly the network of railway is fast enveloping the entire surface of England. The London and Blackwall Railway has some peculiarly individual features to distinguish it from the other metropolitan Railways, arising chiefly from the fact that no locomotive engines are used on it, and that it is necessary to set down passengers very frequently. Accordingly there is an endless rope, nearly six and a half miles long, or double the length of the Railway, attached to two powerful engines, one at Blackwall and one in London. A train starting from the latter is so arranged as that the Blackwall carriages shall be foremost, and the carriages for all intermediate stations similarly placed in order. At a signal, given by means of the electric telegraph, the Blackwall engine begins to wind up the rope, thereby drawing the carriages attached towards it. On approaching the first station the carriage destined for it is detached from the train by the guard, and stopped by a brake; and the same proceeding takes place at all the other stations. Whilst drawing the train, the Blackwall engine has at the same time of course unwound the other part of the rope attached to the London engine, which, in its turn winding up, draws back the train, with all the carriages, which before starting have been attached to the rope, wherever they were, so that they come in with a rather curious-looking want of unanimity, but of course they all do come in by dint of sufficient winding-up of the rope, and so the carriages are again collected together. The same line therefore, it will be seen,

is used both for going and returning. A stranger to the Railway, after reading this account, may be surprised to hear that by such means, and hampered with such difficulties, the Blackwall Railway will take him along at a rate varying from twenty to thirty miles an hour. Yet so it is. And in a great measure this has been accomplished through that beautiful invention of our own times, the electric telegraph. Its importance here may be understood when we state that it is not only necessary for the attendants at each terminus to know when the train is about to start from the opposite extremity of the line, but also when the carriages at all the five intermediate stations are ready: there must be, in short, an almost instantaneous communication, whenever required, through the entire line—and this is obtained by means of the telegraph. The principle of this agency is thus explained by Mr. Cooke:—"As a natural stream of electricity passing round the circumference of the earth causes magnetic needles in general to be deflected at right angles to its course, or toward the north and south poles, so an artificial stream of electricity of adequate strength will cause magnetic needles placed within its influence to be similarly deflected at right angles to its course, whatever that may be." A wire, then, is laid down from London to Blackwall, connected where required with certain small instruments, containing a needle so fixed that it moves either toward the left or the right, in accordance with the direction given to the magnetic current passed through it; the one movement intimating "stop," the other "go on:" those who desire to give the signal previously ringing a bell placed above the dial in the place where the signal is to be received, and which is also managed by an ingenious application of the voltaic stream. Of course the communication between the battery of any particular station and the general wire may be interrupted or continued as required.

It has been calculated, and the fact gives one a striking idea of this truly stupendous undertaking, that the quantity of earth and stone removed on the London and Birmingham line, 112 miles long, was about sixteen millions of cubic yards; which, if formed into a belt three feet wide and one high, would more than encompass the earth at the equator. Yet the mere quantity of the earth and stone removed formed but a small portion of the mighty task; which consisted rather in the circumstances under which the labours were so frequently carried on—now in piercing through a mile-long tunnel; now cutting for two miles together, and fifty feet deep, through the limestone rock; now through another tunnel above a mile and a quarter long, where nearly 600 yards of the entire length was a perfect quicksand, in which the excavators could only pursue their labours by the aid of most powerful steam-engines; and which tunnel, alone, cost 400,000*l.* The fact is, that such lines of railway are each a conquest over an aggregate of difficulties, any one of which, a few years ago, would have made their engineer famous. Passing from the line itself, to the stations which are formed on it at intervals, we have a scarcely less magnificent idea presented to us of the character of the Railway. Three of these stations alone—those at Birmingham, Camden Town, and Euston Square, occupy fifty acres, in addition to which there are stations of great magnitude at Wolverton, Rugby, and Hampton, and several smaller ones. The original estimate for stations was about 70,000*l.*, but such

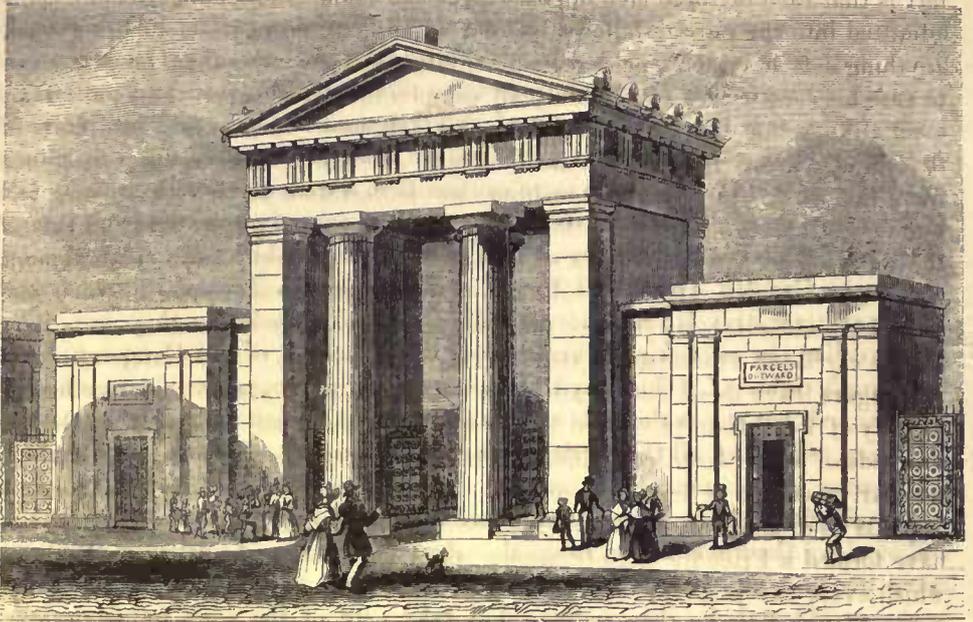
has been the immensity of the traffic, and the greater accommodation consequently required, that ten times that sum have been expended. One of these last-named stations—Wolverton, the grand central one of the Company—is, alone, worthy of a visit; the Company have there built quite a little town, which has already its population of 800 souls, almost all their own people; a church, in a beautiful early English style, with parsonage-house attached, in the Tudor style; a market-house, reading-rooms, schools, streets, and squares—aye, even squares. The schools have four teachers—a master, and three mistresses. Many of the houses have a small garden-plot attached; but in order to assist in rendering such tastes universal, the Company have rented a piece of ground, of fourteen acres, simply to let out to their people at a low rent.

The Camden Town Station is used chiefly as a kind of supplementary station to that of Euston Square; here, for instance, are kept the engines required for the metropolitan extremity of the line; and here all the heavy goods are set down, with cattle, sheep, &c., thereby leaving the Euston Square station entirely for the accommodation of passengers, and for the receipt and delivery of parcels. And, as one looks at the immense warehouses that range along one side of the Camden Town Station, with the well-known names inscribed on their front—Pickford and Co., Chaplin and Horne, &c., how the eventful history of the last few years, as regards conveyance, rises forcibly to the mind! Where are the fly-vans of the one now? Where all the fast coaches of the other? that those great leviathans of the road come hither so meekly to take up their lot with the Opposition? They have put down many an opposition in their time, but, apparently, there was no putting down this! So the fly-vans and fast coaches were dropped quietly into oblivion, and their owners now content themselves with carrying heavy goods to and from the Railway. The change has been indeed wonderful in all that relates to coaches and coaching, whether drawn by four horses, three, or two; in all that relates to vans, waggons, and carriers' carts; in all that relates to the inns and yards where they were erst accustomed to start from or to put up at. Our metropolitan inns and yards in particular could, we fear, tell a melancholy story of deserted rooms, pining chambermaids, and misanthropic ostlers, of gallant teams that *used* to prance in and out so, notwithstanding the narrowness of the way, of landlords once thriving, but since gone into the Gazette, or measuring the time when they must go into it. We suspect that not all their faith in political economy can satisfy them of the beauty of these adjustments of the natural principles of supply and demand; and that, in reality, their only consolation is—they can't help it. But to return. The plan adopted on the Birmingham Railway is, to leave the collection of all bulky commodities to the carriers before mentioned, the railway proprietors only receiving from the public what are called parcels; and charging the carriers at a fixed rate per ton for whatever they put upon the line to be transmitted. And a goodly train they provide for the Company occasionally. There have been as many at one time as eighty-four waggons in a single train, to draw which four engines were required; the country people must surely have thought London was removing *en masse*. We now advance towards the engine-house, passing, on the way, the coke-yard, where a long double range of furnaces are constantly

employed forming small coal into coke. The engine-house is a strange-looking place, with the floor covered with tracks and circles, the last a most ingenious contrivance for turning the engine round so as to remove it from one line of rail to another. To this house the engines, which go no further than Wolverton, are brought on their return from that place with the trains, to be cleaned and carefully examined; no engine being sent out a second time till it has undergone these processes. How many of those beautiful and powerful things, which really seem, in the words of the writer before quoted, to be instinct with a vital spirit, and panting like some mighty animal—how many of these, may it be supposed, are required for the service of the Birmingham Railway?—Ninety! There are absolutely ninety of them now in the Company's possession, all in the most perfect condition. The performances of some of these engines are marvellous. Three or four years ago, a very minute investigation was made into their respective powers, as well as into the separate branches of expense attending their employment. It was then found that one engine, the most powerful among the passenger engines, had run during six months 14,822 miles, and conveyed loads which, for one mile, would be equal to 650,246 tons. As regards consumption of fuel, and cost, the averages struck for the performance of all the passenger engines engaged in the six months, showed that $37\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. of coke were consumed for each mile run, and fourteen ounces for each ton conveyed one mile, and that the cost was $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ for each mile run, or about one-sixth of a penny for each ton conveyed that distance. The locomotives, as is well known, stop at Camden Town, and from thence the carriages run by their own impetus down an inclined plane to Euston Square; and up which, on their return, they are drawn by an endless rope, stretched on small wheels between the rails, and winding at each extremity round a great wheel beneath the ground, motion being given by one of two powerful steam-engines at Camden Town, also buried beneath the earth, where the two tall and rather elegant-looking chimneys stand that are so conspicuous for miles round. But hark! Whence that whistle? It seemed to come from the little wooden shed where we descend to the steam-engines just mentioned. It did so, we are informed, and intimates that a train is ready at Euston Square to start. Hardly anything in particular makes you wonder on a railway, everything is so wonderful; therefore quietly asking for an explanation we are shown a contrivance of the most ingenious and simple character. There are two cylinders without tops, one of which is turned upside down into the other, and the last filled with water; the inner one is, therefore, air-tight. In this is a pipe extending from hence to another little signal-house at Euston Square similarly furnished, and, by the mere turn of a handle, air is suddenly forced into the pipe, when, in about two seconds after, a whistle is heard at the other end, a mile and three quarters distant. The whistle, therefore, we have just heard comes from Euston Square. Instantly the steam-engine sets to work, the rope glides rapidly along, which, being perceived by the man at Euston Square, tells him, in answer to his whistle, that all is ready. Presently we see the train come thundering towards us and stopping here for its engines, the policeman welcoming it with the white flag, signifying that the way is clear. It is an anxious time on a railway when that white flag is

not seen, and when in its place a green one is exhibited, enjoining caution, or more terrible still when the red one appears, threatening dangers, and commanding an instantaneous halt. By night the flags are exchanged for lamps, which, with so many turns of the hand, exhibit the same colours. The perfection of all the arrangements on such a railway as this is, indeed, most extraordinary; every contingency has been thought of, and systematically provided for. Here is an instance in this train that has just come up from the country. A ship going into harbour is not treated with more caution than a train meets with in being led into the metropolis; like that, too, it must have its special pilots, the bank-riders, as they are called, a small body of men who do nothing but this; from Euston Square to Camden Town, and from Camden Town to Euston Square is the extent of their travels; and very absolute in their dominions they are. The engine called the pilot-engine furnishes another instance of the Company's care and forethought. Let but any train exceed its time by a certain number of minutes, and out comes the pilot-engine and runs off as fast as it is able to seek its truant fellow and all the carriages under his charge, learn what is the matter, and render its assistance if necessary. The duties of the metropolitan pilot-engine extend as far as Tring, where there is another, ready for the same purpose, and so along the whole line at intervals. And what, it may be asked, is that man doing who seems to delight in lounging along the line of a railway, of all places in the world? Oh, he does nothing but take care of the rope, watching daily over its state with the most kindly and incessant solicitude. It is interesting to mark the result of such care and foresight in connection with the whole of our English railways. During the years 1840-41-42 there was a regularly decreasing average of accidents, until in the last mentioned year, if we omit accidents caused by the evident misconduct of passengers, or accidents to servants of the companies, we find the almost miraculous result that of eighteen millions of persons carried by railway in 1842, one only was killed! Still, it is to be observed, that in looking at the character for safety of any particular system of locomotion, accidents to those engaged in promoting the public convenience must not be esteemed of less grave consequence; and such accidents are, it appears, very numerous. These, too, must disappear before we can or ought to be content with any system. It is useless to put dangerous tools into men's hands, with the hope that the knowledge of their danger will make them habitually careful; it never does anything of the kind: and we should be thankful for it. Could a more horrible state of existence be devised than one where men felt in continual danger of their lives?

The most conspicuous feature of the Euston Square Station is, of course, the gateway, the grandest specimen of Grecian architecture perhaps existing in England, which is almost saying, in other words, that it is the grandest of all English gateways, which we think it is. There are, no doubt, many richer, many more interesting, many more valuable, from various causes, but none so truly, purely noble. Look on it from what aspect you will, and however often, it never wearies, never seems to grow smaller either in its style or actual dimensions, which is more than can be said of most modern structures; it is, in a word, worthy of its position, and we know not what higher praise could be bestowed on it.



[Entrance to the London and Birmingham Railway.]

We need not dwell upon its details, since they are shown in the adjoining engraving; it will be sufficient therefore merely to add that its height is seventy feet, and that the granite pillars, though hollow at the core, are eight feet six inches in diameter.

And now as we walk round the busy scene before us; at every step some illustration of the liberality and the wisdom that pervades all the arrangements meets the eye. Here, on the right of the gateway, one of the little buildings that flank it is now being elegantly fitted up for the accommodation of persons waiting to receive friends; whilst those who come to see friends depart follow the latter into the rooms that lie on either side the office where tickets are obtained. Then again mark that carriage coming in at its own separate entrance; how quietly and rapidly the horses are removed, the carriage turned with its back to the edge of the platform, and then pushed over the little pieces of iron lying embedded in the stone, till turned back upon the railway-truck, like little bridges—and that work is accomplished; or mark the arrangements for passengers leaving who require a cab; the wish is expressed to the porter, who calls the one of the forty-five allowed within the yard whose turn it is; the vehicle hurries along with its fare, but before passing through the gate the driver's destination and number are taken down by a clerk. You wonder at the meaning of so troublesome a proceeding, as you fancy it must be, to the Company—you get home, jump out, and in the delight of return forget your carpet-bag, with heaven knows how many valuables in it. You hurry off in a great fume and fright to the Station—before you have well got out the story the clerk hands you

over the bag: you appreciate fully then the Company's thoughtfulness. The fact is that each of these men deposits a certain sum (two pounds) before he is admitted into the railway-fellowship, and so sure as he neglects to bring back anything left in his cab, or charges a solitary sixpence more than his fare, even to ease his conscience—for certainly all cabmen must look upon the legal fare as a sin alike in him that gives and him that takes—so sure as any complaint of that kind reaches the Company is he fined, suspended, or altogether dismissed from the yard. It is quite touching, we understand, to see the virtue and humility of the cabmen under these little provisions for their welfare and that of the public. In the same spirit of regard for the protection of their customers, which contrasts so gratifyingly with the selfish recklessness that too often characterised the old coach-proprietors, the Company make it an invariable rule to have all the carriages examined on the arrival of every train, immediately after the passengers leave them, and whatever is found is carried also to the office for the custody of lost property, where it stays, if unclaimed, till the annual sale, the proceeds of which exceeded a hundred pounds last year, and which will probably regularly average at least that amount. The disposal of the proceeds of the sale reminds us of another honourable feature of the Company's establishment. They have formed a Friendly Society among the parties connected with the Railway, which every one must belong to, though the compulsion is anything but disagreeable, considering that the benefits are more than proportionate to the payments. The proceeds of the annual sale go to the Friendly Society, all fines levied by the Company from their officers do the same, and then there is continually some irregular source of income arising through the liberality of the directors. For instance, when Her Majesty, the other day, travelled on the line, the Company of course made no charge, and Royalty of course was not the less munificent—fifty guineas were presented, and handed over to the Friendly Society. The members receive from this a handsome weekly allowance when sick or superannuated. The number of persons permanently engaged on the Railway, and for the greater part of whom the Society has been instituted, is probably not less than fifteen hundred—a goodly establishment, commencing with Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and Board of Directors, and then passing gradually downwards through all the stages of Secretary, Superintendent, Superintendent of Locomotive Power, Architect, Consulting Engineer (Mr. Stephenson, the patriarch of the system), Resident Engineer, Cashier, Accountant, Heads of Departments, Engineers, Overlookers, Guards, Ticket Collectors, Police, Porters, &c. &c. Having alluded to Her Majesty's visit, we may remark that the carriage built for her use is exceedingly chaste and beautiful, of a rich chocolate colour on the outside, with white window-cases and plate-glass, and lined throughout in the interior with delicate blue satin—walls, couch, and the two arm-chairs. But a still more delicate mark of attention is in preparation for the next occasion on which the Sovereign may honour the Company with her presence: two rooms, one a kind of ante-chamber, are fitting up in the most exquisite style. The walls are white and buff, painted in large pannels, with the most fairy-like scroll-ornaments and flowers. The windows reach from the floor to the ceiling, and, one of these opened, Her Majesty will step at once out upon the platform, ready

to enter her railway-carriage. This kind of fitness of every office, or room, or thing to its place, is characteristic of all the arrangements; so that in the very height of the bustle and apparent confusion, nothing in reality but the strictest order prevails. Among the many other interesting objects about the Station, the vast number of the carriages must attract attention, ready to provide accommodation, at a minute's notice, to any conceivable number of passengers that may present themselves. The Company possesses 438 of these carriages at the present time, in addition to 600 waggons. Among these the Mail carriages appear conspicuous, each one painted a different colour, according as it favours Liverpool or Manchester, Birmingham or Coventry. But, not content with building towns, and churches, and schools, forming Friendly Societies, establishing their own hotels (those two splendid ones opposite the gateway belong to a company formed out of the greater Company), the Railway must have its own Post-Office too; this carriage before us, partially divided in the centre into two rooms, in one of which, shaped into a half circle, the upper portion of the wall is covered with neat little nests, each with the name of a place painted beneath. Here, regularly as the hour comes round, resort two clerks and a guard, with all the northern letters; the door is shut, and work begins. And thus while the train is rattling away at its usual swift pace, the bags are, one by one, emptied of their contents, and distributed into these little nests, till the whole of those required for the line are exhausted; then they are re-made up into the proper bags, and a new phase of the capabilities of the Railway Post-Office is exhibited. As the train is approaching a minor station, where no stoppage is allowed, the bag for that station is suspended outside the carriage, on a curious little hook. At the station itself the arrangements are of a similar character—the bag is suspended by means of a pole, so as to be quite close to the Railway Post-Office which is to receive it. As the carriage passes at the rate of some thirty miles an hour, it quietly knocks off the bag into a net which lies extended beneath, and with the same movement releases the other bag from the hook and sends it whirling into the road, far out of harm's way. We don't know what those old respectable postmasters, who have always been accustomed to think a dignified slowness part of the duty of the office, must think of this—but could fancy they must feel greatly scandalised. But we must dwell no longer on this subject, as another demands our little remaining space; so, with the mere mention of the new Ticket Office, so admirably fitted for its object; the Bude Light, which so brilliantly illumines the outer area; and lastly, the Transfer Office, where a register is kept of all transfers of Stock, as the capital is now called, by virtue of a recent Act, and which, when completed to its full amount of seven millions, will be worth some seventeen millions on the Stock Exchange, we conclude our notice of the London and Birmingham Railway Terminus. We may here append a table showing various particulars connected with the foregoing railways, such as the amounts expended upon each, the cost of construction per mile, the average number of passengers weekly, and the average weekly receipts (omitting fractional sums), which we have extracted from a more comprehensive statement of the same kind just published in one of the railway journals:—

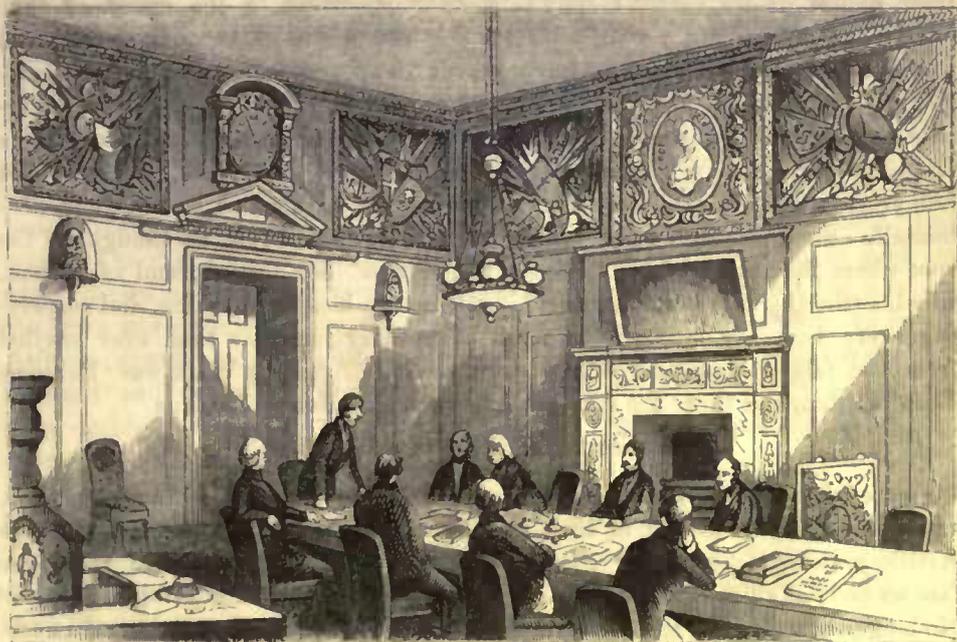
Name of Railway.	Amount expended as per last Report.	Cost per mile.	Passengers per week.	Receipts per week.
London and Birmingham	£5,953,831	£52,882	..	£12,019
London and Greenwich	1,026,101	264,228	30,397	647
South Western	2,588,984	27,834	..	5,141
Great Western	6,651,928	56,372	29,275	10,932
London and Croydon	683,304	75,923	3,472	241
South Eastern and Dover	2,615,283	36,835	7,546	2,449
Northern and Eastern	914,004	31,517	10,205	1,553
Eastern Counties	2,700,157	53,736	16,141	2,412
London and Blackwall	1,289,080	332,705	34,879	583
London and Brighton	2,634,058	57,262	11,317	3,073

There is a short railway, but little known among the public, called the West London, constructed to unite the Great Western and the Birmingham railways, and give both facility of communication with the Thames by means of the Kensington Canal at Kensington. On that railway exists a very remarkable spot, where first, at the lowest level, we see the railway, then above that a canal, and over that again a bridge or public roadway, the whole work being we believe perfectly unique in the annals of engineering. This arrangement, which got over great difficulties, was the work of Mr. Hosking. But that railway is still more remarkable for a series of experiments commenced upon it two or three years ago in order to test the capacities of a new locomotive agency—the atmosphere itself. Along the middle of the track for about half a mile was laid, at a certain height from the ground, an iron pipe, nine or ten inches in diameter. In this a piston was moved along at a rate of from twenty to thirty miles an hour, by simply exhausting the pipe constantly before it, by means of air-pumps worked by a stationary steam-engine. Of course there was a groove through the whole length of the pipe, with a valve to close it, made air-tight by means of tallow, &c., which gave way to the impetus of the advancing piston, and was immediately relaid by a hot iron. The engine being attached to the piston, the whole apparatus was complete. Now the advantages promised by this system were of the most important character, if the idea itself was practicable. There were no steam-engines to burst and scatter death and dismay on all sides; no possibility of running off rails, since the engine was firmly bound by the middle to its proper line; no collision by meeting other trains, since the engines in front would each stop the other by preventing the formation of the necessary vacuum; in short it promised to rid us at once of all the formidable dangers attending railway travelling. But it did seem too good to be practicable. At the best it was thought it would probably turn out slower or dearer than the old mode. What then must we now think of the system when we hear on unquestionable authority that on the Dalkey extension of the Dublin and Kingstown Railway, trains, *bonâ fide* trains, have been for a considerable time propelled at rates of speed varying from twenty-five to *fifty or sixty* miles an hour? and that, too, in spite of an upward inclination of the line in some cases as steep as 1 in 57, and averaging generally 1 in 115, and in spite, too, of several curves of a more than usually small diameter! Nay, in the late ‘Westminster Review’ the speed is said to

have reached eighty miles; and that whilst safety and economy—for with all its other wonders it is said to be more economical too—are both secured in an extraordinary degree, there really seems no limit whatever to the speed of the Atmospheric Railway. This is indeed advancing with giant strides to perfection.



[Bridge, Canal, and Railway at Wormwood Scrubbs.]



[The Council Chamber of the Artillery Company.]

CXLVI.—MILITARY LONDON.

THERE are few pleasanter occupations than that of wandering about among the localities which the chroniclers of Old London have made memorable, or which derive still higher interest from the great men who have been born, who have lived, or who have died in them. The metropolis is wonderfully rich in such associations; every district, almost every street, lane, or alley, has its own separate story; and many of those persons who hurry from clime to clime in search of amusement and instruction from turning over the decayed débris—as though they were so many pages of the history—of the past, might be surprised, on investigation, to find how much they had left unnoticed within a few paces of their own fireside. Wandering the other day, with some such thoughts as these floating through the mind, we found ourselves in Moorfields, upon the very spot that, seven centuries ago, formed a vast lake, and which, when frozen over in winter, was the resort of all the sledgers and skaters of the metropolis; the sledge of the one being a large cake of ice, the skate of the other the leg-bone of some animal, with which, if they could not rival the quadrille parties of the Parks in the nineteenth century, they at all events managed to progress with such speed, that Fitz-Stephen likens their velocity to the flight of a bird, or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow. Poor Fitz-Stephen's shade would be somewhat bewildered could it be shown Moorfields now, and told that that was the spot he so graphically

described. But beyond Moorfields the change has been no less comprehensive. As we strolled on, recollections of Finsbury Fields and the Archers' Butts, with their quaint names, each a trophy of some wondrous feat in the art, rose to the mind; but, on looking round, no sight nor sound was there to intimate even the possibility of such things having ever happened there; the very solemn-looking mansions of Finsbury Square alone met the eye, and the only noticeable recollection suggested by them was of anything but an harmonious nature,—Lackington, the bookseller, and the statue which the inhabitants would *not* let him erect in the centre of the square, when he was so kind as to offer one of—himself. Still, passing on northwards towards Bunhill Fields, we thought of the spot where the author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' lies buried; and of Milton, blind, sitting by the door, warming himself in the blessed sunshine, and answering every heavenly influence in tones of grander harmony than ever swelled from the fabled Memnon's breast; in a house in Artillery Walk was 'Paradise Lost' written, and there the sublime author died. But whilst thus

"Chewing the food of sweet and bitter fancy"

we were interrupted; surely, thought we, that was a volley of musketry; yes, again it came; we looked in the direction of the sound, and the gates of the Artillery Company met our gaze; so then it was the remnant of that once famous body of citizens that we heard, still exercising with unfaltering resolution! No longer praised, but still exercising; no longer in reality wanted, but still exercising; their occupation, like Othello's, might be gone, but it was something to show that they *had* had such an occupation, so there they were still exercising. There was something in the very constancy of such attachment that smote us forcibly, and as again the volley came, what with our admiration in one direction, and what with our impression in another that we had heard better firing, we found ourselves half unconsciously imitating the Frenchman's enthusiasm and honesty—Magnifique! Superbe! By Gar, it pretty well! And as this feeling passed off, and we began to recall, incident by incident, the military glories of London, and to reflect how large a share of them was directly owing to the men of the Artillery Garden, those sounds did seem an extraordinary and most significant illustration of the progress of civilization, of peace, and generally of juster ideas and habits; we could not for the life of us resist the impression that they were a kind of military farewell to the departed; a portion of the funeral ceremony performed by the last representatives of the warriors of ancient London, the heirs to all their reputation. To be sure they need not repeat the ceremony every Thursday in order to convince the world of their respect and reverence; but what harm is there in so doing? Nothing can be more innocent than the volleys here, unless it be the intentions of those who fire them. And the neighbourhood would have a right to look for compensation, if they were deprived of their accustomed opportunities of unbending *their* bows, strained somewhat severely by the harshnesses of business, by losing the exhibition of the little facetiæ of the Artillery Garden. Yet, if now such exhibitions have necessarily dwindled away till few things can be smaller, there are, on the other hand, few, if any, municipal military histories grander than that with which the Artillery Company has been so closely and honourably identified.

The earliest noticeable event recorded, that gives us a glimpse of the prowess of the citizens, has a double value, inasmuch as it gives us also a charming trait in the character of the noblest of British monarchs, Alfred. When the Danish chief, Hastings, was roaming with his followers like a pack of hungry wolves over the country, pillaging where they could pillage, and destroying where they could not, his wife and two sons were left in the Castle of Benfleet, in Essex, then in his possession. Partly, perhaps, with the hope of making a diversion in Alfred's favour, and partly, perhaps, tempted by the value of such captives if they could obtain them, Ethelred, Alfred's son-in-law and eolderman of the Mercians, led a body of London citizens and others against the Castle, stormed, and took it: then returned to the metropolis with the prisoners and an immense booty of gold and silver, horses, arms, and garments. When Alfred reached London, the wife and the sons were presented to him, and he was advised to put them to death; Alfred's answer was, to load them with presents, and send them back to the husband and father. The bravery which this little story implies was still more decidedly shown in the reign of Ethelred the Unready, when the citizens repeatedly drove back the Danes from their walls; and, again, in the short sovereignty of Edmund Ironside, when they thrice repelled Canute and all his host; and, perhaps more conspicuously still, in the Conqueror's marked hesitation in entering London, after the battle of Hastings and death of Harold; nay, he did not venture at last within the walls till the clergy and nobles had betrayed the national cause, and made opposition on the part of the City useless. Such even from the earliest period was Military London.

We may judge, then, that the influence of London on all occasions of great importance, such as the struggles of rival parties, or of rival sovereigns, was great; the facts show that in numerous cases it was decisive; Henry I. may be said to have owed his crown to the support of the London citizens; so also Stephen; whilst John, at the last moment, was forced into the solemn recognition of Magna Charta by the adhesion of London to the Barons, then advancing with a powerful army. There are some features connected with the metropolitan support of Stephen too interesting to be passed over. Just when Matilda had succeeded, through the flattering promises of her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, in obtaining the tacit support of the Londoners, so far as to induce her to enter London and prepare for her coronation, and when she began to think herself strong enough to refuse to fulfil those promises, with something like contempt for the petitioners, there appeared one day about noon, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, a body of horse on the other side of the river immediately opposite the City. They bore the banner of Queen Maud, Stephen's wife. The church bells rang throughout the City, and, as though prepared for the event, the people rushed instantly to arms; from every house, we are told, at least one man went forth with whatever weapon he could lay hand on; like bees issuing from their hives they gathered in the streets. The ominous sounds reached Matilda as she sat at table: she rose, mounted the first horse that was brought, and galloped off just in time to escape being made prisoner. Before she had well cleared the western suburb, the people were pillaging and destroying in her apartments. From that time till the final arrangement which gave her son the succession to the crown, and left Stephen himself while he lived in peaceable

possession of it, neither Matilda nor any of her partizans again were seen in London. During the contention between Henry III. and the Barons, and Edward II. and the same (to royalty) troublesome body, the efforts of the citizens on the popular side were scarcely less memorable; and when, during the rule of Edward III., "sides" disappeared, they distinguished themselves no less zealously by their support of that monarch in his French wars; now responding to his call upon those "strong in body" to use in their recreations bows and arrows, or pellets and bolts, and learn and exercise the art of shooting; now giving him practical proof of their progress by supplying him with a hundred men-at-arms, horses and accoutrements, all complete, and five hundred armed foot soldiers; now, to finish the whole handsomely, lending him individually or collectively sums of money: one Simon de Frauncis, in 1343, lent 800*l.*, while in 1355 the Companies raised for him 452*l.* 16*s.*, worth probably to him twenty times its nominal value to us.

But let us here look a little closer into Military London itself; and suppose, first, we glance at two or three specimens of the military citizen. Here is one, the son of a country tanner, apprenticed in London to a tailor, subsequently pressed into the army, and there finding himself very much at home, staying in it to please himself when no longer obliged to do so to please others. Not merely his own country, but his own country's wars, are insufficient for his expansive genius. His brother Merchant Tailors at home hear one year that he is famous in France, the next in Italy, the next in Florence, the next in Pisa. At last, indeed, they learn that he has set up the business of warrior on his own account; that he has, in short, become captain of one of those bands known as *Condottieri*, who let themselves out for hire to any king, prince, or duke that wants them. But he is no vulgar freebooter; he marries the niece of the Duke of Milan, and then fights him, and at last dies in Florence with the character of the best soldier of his age, and has a sumptuous monument erected to his memory. So much for Sir John Hawkwood, Merchant Tailor. Contemporary with him was there living one John Mercer, also a freebooter, but who managed his trade so badly as to be called what he was. This Mercer, encouraged by the feeble grasp with which the youthful Richard held the affairs of the nation, preyed upon the English mercantile navy, carrying off many rich prizes, and on one occasion sweeping out the entire shipping from the harbour of Scarborough: this was in 1378. Of course there was great outcry among the merchants, who complained to the government, and were promised redress. More ships were seized, more complaints made, more promises given, and kept as before. Then quietly stepped forward John Philpot, a distinguished citizen, fitted out at his own expense and risk a strong fleet, put on board a thousand armed men, and then stepped in after them himself as their commander. The pirate was soon met, flushed with success, a goodly train of captured ships about him, among them no less than fifteen Spanish vessels richly laden. A long and desperate fight ensued, which ended in the capture of the pirate with most of his ships. Of course all this was unendurable at court. John Philpot was summoned to explain what he meant by his presumption and conceit in dealing with grievances in this summary fashion; but Philpot was as able to speak as to fight, and modest withal; so that the great benefactor of his day succeeded in obtaining—an acquittal!

with the understanding, however, one may presume, that he was to put down no more pirates. In many other ways did this noble specimen of military London distinguish himself. He was, says Fuller, "the scourge of the Scots, the fright of the French, the delight of the Commons, the darling of the merchants, and [not the least of his merits] the hated of some envious lords," for whom John Philpot, no doubt, was much too patriotic. Our third and last specimen of the citizen soldier of the fourteenth century is Sir William Walworth, the man whose decision at a most critical moment broke to pieces in an instant the most formidable class insurrection that England has ever seen. King Richard, with his retinue of barons, knights, the Lord Mayor, and other city magistrates, in all not exceeding sixty persons, met the vast body of the rioters, headed by Wat Tyler, in Smithfield, who came thither at the King's invitation, forwarded by Sir John Newton, who, having pressed the Tyler to hasten, was told he might go and tell his master he would come when he thought proper. As soon as Wat Tyler saw the King he set spurs to his horse, and rode up with the abrupt salutation, "Sir King, seest thou all yonder people?"—"Yea, truly," was the reply: "wherefore sayest thou so?"—"Because," returned he, "they be all at my command, and have sworn to me their faith and truth to do all that I would have them." "In good time I believe it well," said the King. "Then," continued Wat Tyler, "believe thou, King, that these people, and as many more as be in London at my command, will depart from thee thus, without having thy letters?"—"No," replied Richard; "ye shall have them, they be ordained for you, and shall be delivered to every one of them." At that moment it seems the Sir John Newton before mentioned, who had probably offended the people's leader by his bearing, caught his eye, as he sat on horseback carrying the King's sword; upon which he was told it would better become him to be on foot in his (the speaker's) presence. Sir John remarked that he saw no harm in that; when the infuriated Tyler, intoxicated with the obedience that had been hitherto paid to him, drew his dagger, and called Sir John Newton a traitor, who flung back the lie in his teeth, and drew his dagger also. Wat Tyler then demanded from him the sword he bore. "No," said the knight, "it is the King's sword, of which thou art not worthy; neither durst thou ask it of me if we had been by ourselves." Wat would then have rushed upon him, but the King caused Sir John to dismount. This furnishes a pretty fair example of the spirit in which the advocate of the people's wrongs, which were undoubtedly real enough, was prepared to seek their redress: at the same time, it is to be observed, he was an utterly uneducated man, raised suddenly to his position by over-controlling circumstances, and therefore utterly unfit for it. In the conference that ensued, his personal behaviour seems to have grown more and more intolerable, and to have suggested to the minds of those about the King the idea of a bold attempt to put a stop to the whole business by arresting him. Richard, with some reluctance, consented to so fearful an experiment, which he confided to the care of the mayor, Sir William Walworth, who, being no sheriff's officer, went about the arrest in the most characteristic manner, commencing with a blow from his sword that wounded Wat Tyler dangerously; and, as he turned to rejoin his men, Ralph Standish, one of the King's esquires, ran him through the body, "so that he fell flat on his back to the ground, and, beating with his hands to and fro for a while, gave up his

unhappy ghost." It was an awful success. The men of Kent cried out they were betrayed, and bent their bows for the indiscriminate slaughter of the royal party; when Richard, as though putting into one act the entire resolution of a lifetime (for he was, indeed, weak afterwards), galloped fearlessly towards them, exclaiming, "What are ye doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor: I am your King, and I will be your captain and guide." Insurrectionists, like women, are generally lost when they hesitate: these hesitated now, and, whilst they were hesitating, the King rode back to Sir William Walworth for counsel. "Make for the fields," was the prompt answer: "if we attempt to retreat or flee, our ruin is certain; but let us gain a little time, and we shall be assisted by our good friends in the City, who are preparing and arming with all their servants." The King obeyed, and rode off, followed by the greater part of the people, towards Islington; whilst Sir William hurried into the city for succour, where a thousand of the citizens, armed, had been waiting in the streets for some knight to lead them, lest coming out of order they might easily be broken (a noticeable proof of their sense of the value of military discipline), when, by chance, Sir Robert Knowles passing by, they requested him to lead them, which, with the assistance of other knights, he did. As soon as the host that had followed Wat Tyler beheld them, they were struck with a sudden panic. Some ran away through the corn-fields, and the rest threw down their arms, and begged for pardon; which Richard, who could be kind only to be cruel, not only granted, but also with it a charter of manumission; and so the people dispersed to their homes. Soon after Richard found himself at the head of 40,000 men, whilst the strength of the insurrection had completely melted away. That was the time to show what he really meant; so the villeins were informed their charters of freedom meant nothing; and then began the executions with all their horrors. To that time it is supposed we owe the worse than savage custom, only so lately disused among us, of hanging in chains, which was done to prevent friends from carrying away the dead bodies. We need hardly add to this notice of Wat Tyler and his insurrection, that the dagger in the City arms is supposed to have been derived from this event. Walworth was knighted by Richard, as were three other aldermen, among whom was Philpot, who was, therefore, evidently one among the King's retinue during the day. Richard, in addition, granted fee-farms to the whole, worth, in Walworth's case, a hundred pounds a-year, and in each of the others forty pounds a-year.

From the leaders of the citizens, we now turn to the conduct of the citizens themselves, as shown in another insurrection of a scarcely less memorable character in the following century, Jack Cade's. There is little doubt that in all the large towns and cities, those nuclei of the more liberal opinions of the age, the wrongs on which the insurrection was based were pretty generally acknowledged, and therefore the attempt at remedy sympathised with. As a proof, Cade was received by the citizens of the metropolis in a friendly spirit, and entertained by some of the more eminent of them with great hospitality; which he returned by robbing the entertainers. The houses of Malpas, an alderman, and Gerstie, were, it appears, both spoiled by him, as an after-dinner amusement. That the citizens generally might be left in no doubt as to the character of their guest, many of them were obliged to pay heavy fines for the safety of their lives

and goods, which, after all, were found to be anything but safe. The citizens now determined to show Jack Cade that if he thought they had been frightened into admitting him, he was labouring under a great mistake. His head-quarters were in Southwark, where he was accustomed to retire after the agreeable proceedings of the day in investigating the truth of the popular notion as to the wealth of London. Lord Scales then held the Tower for the King, Henry VI. to him the citizens sent secretly for a leader, and presently one of the ablest soldiers of the time, the veteran Matthew Gough, was among them. It was then Sunday night. Silently, towards and over the old Bridge, now poured the dense array of the citizens, with the determination to keep the passage against all the multitudes encamped on the other side of the water. Part of the bridge-way, we may observe, lay over a drawbridge situated near the Southwark extremity; but the machinery had been previously destroyed by Cade, when he first entered London, so that it could not be used. Quietly as these arrangements had been made, and little as the insurgents anticipated any such opposition to their entry, the news reached them two or three hours after midnight, and without a moment's loss of time they seized their arms and hurried to the Bridge, headed by Cade himself. And now began a desperate fight. The shock of the advancing assailants was tremendous, but firmly met, and resisted; every step gained was dearly paid for; the mass of combatants heaved to and fro, scarcely knowing friend from enemy in the terrible darkness, but each man striking and pressing forwards through the opposing multitude. And strangely shifted the chances of the battle from side to side; now were the assailants up to the very drawbridge on one side, presently again they were retreating beyond the "stoops" into Southwark on the other; where Gough, who was praying earnestly for the day to come, kept the citizens from following them, seeing how gallantly the insurgents fought, how numerous their numbers, and the consequent danger of their out-manceuvring, or even altogether overwhelming, his little band of civic heroes in the darkness. And as hour after hour advanced, fiercer and fiercer grew the fight. At last, in one united and perfectly irresistible stream, the men of Kent forced those of London back—step by step—it was like moving a mountain—but still back—to the drawbridge; but there the citizens, redoubling their energies, kept them awhile at bay;—one leader after another fell—Matthew Gough himself was seen to drop dead; then back further still they were driven; and the insurgents began to fire the houses on the Bridge, where men, women, and children were stifled in the smoke, or burnt in the flames, killed by the sword as they rushed out by the doors, or drowned as they leapt from the windows, their cries of agony swelling and sharpening the hoarser clamour of the combatants. Still back the citizens were irresistibly impelled, till the very extremity of the Bridge was reached; a moment more and London had been given up to pillage and sack, and all the worst horrors that ever scourged or disgraced humanity. when, despair itself lending new strength, the tide was at length arrested, then rolled back, in its turn, to its source;—the heroic citizens were again masters of the Bridge. For six hours did this memorable engagement last, during which nearly all that we have described was repeated over and over again, and with great loss of life on both sides, till both parties growing faint and weary, a cessation of hostilities took place at nine in the morning, on the understanding that

the men of Kent were not to come into the City, nor the men of London to go into Southwark. Excellent citizens! they not only beat their adversaries with their hands, but with their heads. This was truly reciprocity all on one side; giving the Londoners exactly what they had fought for. But we suppose it sounded well, that agreement not to go over into Southwark, so there the matter ended. The old game of promising, without the intention of performing, was then again successfully tried by the government; the insurgents became divided among themselves, and—a prey. We need not follow their fate further.

And now for a Military Gala-day; with a few words on the Martial exercises of old Military London. During the reign of Henry VIII. the names of all the male population of the City, between the ages of 16 and 60, were registered and accounts taken of their "harness" and weapons of war, and a general muster or review took place before the King. And truly the exhibition must have been in the highest degree picturesque and splendid. The number of the armed citizens is not mentioned, but it must have been very large (we read of 15,000 on another and later occasion in the same reign), and these were all arrayed in white harness, or armour, white coats and breeches, white caps and feathers. Their chief officers, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and Sheriffs, were still more sumptuously adorned. These too had their white harness; but over that they wore coats of black velvet, embroidered (probably in silver) with the arms of the City. They had also black velvet caps on their heads, and gilt battle-axes—no toys with such men—in their hands. Each wore a gold chain of great weight and price. Their horses were caparisoned in the richest manner. Following each Alderman and the Recorder were four halbertiers, in white silk or buff coats, and carrying gilt halberts; whilst the Lord Mayor's attendants formed a troop alone, dressed in crimson velvet and cloth of gold. First came his two pages, riding on beautiful horses, their superb trappings almost sweeping the ground; one of these carried the helmet, the other the pole-axe, both richly gilded. Then came five footmen, dressed from head to foot in white satin; and lastly sixteen attendants, all picked men, gorgeously habited in white satin doublets, caps and feathers, chains of gold, and bearing long gilt halberts. As the framework to this rich picture, there were the King and his nobles, magnificent of course, and the great body of citizens not engaged in the armed array, most of the wealthier among them clad in white satin, or white silk coats, wearing chains of gold, and in some cases rich jewels. This muster took place in 1532. As to the mode and principles of training, we have already incidentally seen that the citizens were accustomed to rely on orderly array as one of the grand essentials. In minor details the exercises in use toward the close of the century appear to have been of a very complex and, considering the weight of the armour worn during them—back and breast plate, scull-cap, sword and musket, and bandoliers,—a very arduous character. The ponderous match-lock of the time could only be loaded, primed, and fired during the performance of a long series of manœuvres. To accustom the new recruit to the recoil of his piece, and to give him gradual confidence in the use of it, at first a little powder only was flashed in the pan. As the use of wadding to keep in the ball was not yet understood, he could only fire usefully breast high; and this he was taught to do in the act of advancing, lest he should himself be marked out by the enemy

while taking aim. The pike was a most formidable weapon, of pliant ash, some sixteen feet long, and required continual practice in order to be used with anything like skill or effect.

In the year 1585 we first hear of the Artillery Company. The time was one of great excitement: the Spanish Armada was then hanging like a vast cloud over the political horizon, and all men's minds were earnestly discussing how they might best avert the danger. Foremost ever at such times, the Londoners now surpassed all their former doings. Among the merchants there were many able soldiers who had served abroad; these seem to have led the way in the formation of an association of citizens of similar rank, who submitted themselves voluntarily to continual exercise and study of the theory and practice of war, with the view of being able to train and command on emergencies large bodies of their fellow-citizens. Within the first two years they numbered above three hundred members, "very sufficient and skilful to train and teach common soldiers the managing of their pieces, pikes, and halberts, to march, countermarch, and ring." A pleasant evidence of the spirit in which they congregated is given by their custom of letting every man serve by turns every office, from the corporal's up to the captain's. And as the Armada grew more and more a reality, every month bringing fresh news of its advancing state, plenty of work was found for these merchants of the Artillery Company. The City furnished no less than 10,000 men for the public defence, who were officered chiefly by the civic authorities and the captains of the Artillery Garden; and the government exhibited its appreciation of this force in a marked manner: while 1000 men were sent to the great camp at Tilbury, the other 9000 were kept by the Queen around herself as a part of the army appointed for her protection, and which was commanded by Lord Hunsdon. The raising of this body was undertaken by the several wards of the City, each sending a certain number of soldiers in proportion to its wealth and rank. Farringdon Ward Without stands at the head of the list; this sent no less than 1264 men, namely, 398 shot or fire arms, 318 corselets with pikes, 18 corselets with bills, 159 calivers, 106 bows, 212 pikes, 53 bills; and the composition of this body shows with sufficient accuracy the composition of the whole 10,000, or, in other words, the composition of an English infantry army in the sixteenth century. Thus much for the field strength. At the same time (1587) the City supplied the Queen with sixteen of the largest ships in the Thames, and with four pinnaces or light frigates, all completely furnished, armed, manned, and victualled, at its own expense; and even this powerful fleet was further increased, when the Armada did actually set out, to the entire number of thirty-eight ships.

The discomfiture of this gigantic expedition caused the assemblies in the Artillery Garden for a time to be neglected; but in or about 1610, Philip Hudson, lieutenant of the Company, revived them with considerable éclat. Country gentlemen, ambitious to shine in the discipline of these trained bands, flocked hither: the courtiers condescended to nod approval. Prince, afterwards King, Charles became their patron. Six thousand volunteers were at one time on the list. A beautiful stand of 500 arms was purchased, and an armoury built. The Garden was situated in Bishopsgate Street, on the spot now occupied by Sun Street, Fort Street, Artillery Street, and Artillery Lane. But as the Company about this time had an

historian of its own, and he a poet, we must not presume to describe the history of the Garden in any but his words, which were evidently written immediately after the erection of the building just named:—

“This fabric was by Mars’s soldiers framed,
And Mars’s armouries this building named.
It holds five hundred arms, to furnish those
That love their sovereign and will daunt his foes.
They spend their time and do not care for cost;
To learn the use of arms, there’s nothing lost.”

So much for the Armoury. Now for the Garden.

“The ground whereon this building now doth stand
The teazel* ground hath heretofore been named.
And William, Prior of the Hospital,
That of our blessed Lady, well we call
St. Mary Spittle, without Bishopsgate,
Did pass it by indenture bearing date
January’s third day, in Henry’s time,
Th’ eighth of that name;—the convent did conjoin
Unto the guild of all artillery,
Cross-bows, hand guns, and of archery,
For full three hundred years excepting three:
The time remaining we shall never see.
Now have the noble council of our King
Confirmed the same; and under Charles’s wing
We now do exercise, and of that little
Teazel of ground we enlarge St. Mary Spittle;
Trees we cut down, and gardens added to it;
Thanks to the lords that gave us leave to do it,” &c.

Marischallus Petovæ composuit.

As the more regular prose historian of the Company, Highmore, observes, we may see from these verses, “there was not wanting mental as well as personal ardour to support their cause;” nay, we even subscribe to his remark, that, “considering the early period in which they were composed,” when nothing better than a book of Canterbury Tales, a Faery Queene, or a Hamlet, had appeared, “that they may be not unworthily preserved.” We have all heard of the wish—Oh, that mine enemy would write a book; if he be an antiquarian, by all means let us add, and Oh let that book be in poetry! In 1641 the Company removed to their present home, a plot of ground leased to them by the City, in consequence of some unusually gratifying exhibition of their skill before the citizens in Merchant Taylors’ Hall. This ground, prior to 1498, was covered with gardens and orchards, and called Bunhill Fields; in that year it was converted into a spacious area for the use of the London Archers. On the decline of archery, the close was surrounded by a wall, and used by the gunners of the Tower for their weekly practice of firing against a butt of earth. At the time of their removal, busier than ever became the scenes in the exercising ground. At no period of the metropolitan history had weightier considerations occupied the minds of the citizens of London; the Armada even seemed to grow trivial in comparison. In a large, thickly populated, wealthy, brave, and martial country,

* It was called the Teazel Close from the plant formerly grown there, used for raising the nap on woollen cloth, and which forms so important an article in the same manufacture at present.

undistracted by internal dissensions, successful invasion must be at all times exceedingly difficult, almost impossible; and such was the position of England when the Armada threatened. Great sacrifices might have had to be made in resisting; but there could hardly be a doubt from the first, in the eyes of an intelligent bystander, that England would successfully resist. But now England was to be divided against itself, through all its length and breadth—county against county, city against city, friends, fathers, brothers, and sons, each against each. Here too, was no one straightforward object to be obtained by either party, such as the taking of this castle or that place; it was to be a war of principles, which might lead men they knew not whither, through interminable years of warfare, to end perhaps in a despotism, perhaps in a republic. And through all the eventful period that now commenced, the City, having chosen its side, (the popular one as usual), did not simply show itself worthy of its former reputation, but achieved new glories, that won even from its bitterest enemies an almost enthusiastic approbation. A large proportion too, of the trained bands, as they were called, were new men; not previously accustomed to join in the regular exercises of the Artillery Company, or even in the more general musters of the City Militia once a year, or the separate Companies' musters, which occurred four times in the year, and lasted each for two days. The Puritans, in short, looked with abhorrence at the meetings in the Artillery Garden, as consisting of men too profane and wicked for their saintships. But no sooner did their preachers begin to show them from the pulpits that the spiritual battle they were about to fight must be decided by carnal weapons, than they soon rushed to the exercises, and though, no doubt, many a laugh greeted their first attempts, there was no laughing long at men so terribly in earnest. The Cavaliers said it took two years to teach a Puritan to discharge a musket without winking; but they were mistaken; it did not take the majority of them so long a time even to enable them to return the jest with a fearful amount of interest. At an early period of the dispute the trained bands of London were placed under the command of Serjeant-Major Skippon, one of the most popular, brave, and zealous of commanders, who had raised himself by his merit from the rank of a common soldier to that of captain. Charles made numerous attempts at first to keep, and subsequently to regain to his cause, the people of London, but in vain. In May, 1642, or but three months before Charles erected his standard at Nottingham, it became evident to the whole country that London was heart and soul with the Parliament: a general muster then took place in Finsbury Fields, where six regiments appeared under arms, comprising 8000 men, all officered by men of known devotion to the Parliament, and headed by Skippon. To witness the review, tents were pitched for the accommodation of both Houses of Parliament; and the whole ended in a sumptuous dinner given by the City to all the chief persons concerned. The storm rolled on, and in the following month new preparations were made: Guild-hall then presented a remarkable aspect. In obedience to the orders of Parliament, orders that willing spirits alone would have obeyed, people in London, and from the country around for eighty miles, flocked thither with all the money they could spare to lend in support of the cause: arms and horses were also desired and supplied; and those who had none of these things were bidden to provide what they could—plate, jewels, valuables of every kind down to the

smallest trifle. "Not only," says the historian May, "the wealthiest citizens and gentlemen who were near dwellers brought in their large bags and goblets; but the poorer sort, like that widow in the gospel, presented their mites also; insomuch that it was a common jeer of men disaffected to the cause to call this the *thimble and bodkin army*." The first occasion of the trained bands being drawn forth gave little opportunity for testing the quality of the soldiers thus ridiculed. This was when Charles, taking advantage of a November fog, and of the circumstance that the Parliamentarians were deliberating on some proposal he had made to them the day before, never dreaming he would play them such a trick, caused Prince Rupert to advance unexpectedly from Colnbrook to Brentford, hoping he might force his way suddenly into London; but at Brentford the broken regiment of Colonel Hollis received him like a wall of iron, and delayed the entire royalist army so long that the regiments of Hampden and Lord Brooke had time to come to Hollis's assistance. The united body suffered greatly, but yielded not an inch; so there the royalists were content to stay for the night; which in London and on the road was a very busy one. In vast numbers the citizens poured forth, headed by Skippon, who, although entirely illiterate, knew how to address his soldiers with an effect that a Hannibal might have envied. "Come, my boys, my brave boys," said he on the present occasion, "let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us." "And thus," continues Whitelock, "he went all along with the soldiers, talking to them, sometimes with one company, sometimes with another; and the soldiers seemed to be more taken with it than with a set oration." To make them all very comfortable, it appears their wives and friends in the City sent after them many cart-loads of wines and provisions to Turnham Green, with which the next day, as the armies faced each other inactive, the soldiers made merry; and, as Whitelock observes, they grew merrier still when they heard that the King and all his army were in full retreat. This alarm over, a rumour of a second attack was shortly after bruited abroad; when the Londoners gave a new specimen of what they could do for the cause. They determined to fortify the City; and they carried out their determination in a most characteristic style; gentlemen of the best quality, knights and others, even ladies, took spades and mattocks in hand, and went with drums beating to the works; which put such spirits into the hearts of the general mass of labourers, that in an almost incredibly short space of time entrenchments twelve miles round were thrown up.* Fresh bodies of troops, horse and foot, were now raised under the name of auxiliary regiments; and soon after, a part of these, joined to two regiments of trained bands, were engaged at length in the open field, and had an opportunity afforded them of replying to all the Cavalier ridicule of the courage and military prowess of these London recruits—these apprentices, artisans, and shopkeepers. That was at the battle of Newbury. And what says Clarendon, the royalist historian, of their conduct in it? Why, that men, relying "on their inexperience of danger, or of any kind of service beyond the easy practice of their posture in the Artillery

* See the Plan of these Works in Vol. II. p. 104.

Gardens," had held them too cheap; for they now "behaved themselves to wonder, and were in truth the preservation of the army that day; for they stood as a bulwark and a rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse [which he elsewhere says no other troops in the kingdom had been able to withstand] to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about." This was the first important blow struck at the King's power, and it was indeed a severe one. He lost fifteen hundred men, and many officers of rank, including three accomplished noblemen, the Earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, and the Secretary of State, the lamented Lord Falkland. Worst of all he must have felt the moral injury done to his cause by the result of such a battle. And for the whole he was, as we have seen, in the main indebted to the citizens of the metropolis.



[Review of Volunteers by George III. at Hounslow.]

The only remaining occasions of importance since the Civil War for the exhibition of the military capabilities of London that we can mention were the wars during the latter part of the last and the early part of the present centuries. In the former of these periods the military arrangements were materially changed by the passing of an Act for the raising of two regiments of militia in the city; the Staff of this force, called the Royal London Militia, is alone now kept up, under its Colonel, Sir Stephen Claudius Hunter, Bart. and Alderman. Of course such provision was merely for ordinary times. During the extraordinary period of the

wars with the French Republicans, and subsequently with Napoleon, the old fire blazed out with all its former intensity. Armed associations sprung up in every quarter of the metropolis; till the citizens of London and Westminster, and parishes immediately adjacent, raised a volunteer force of above 27,000 men. In addition to this, and the militia, and the Artillery Company, all the great Government establishments became so many strongholds, garrisoned by the clerks and servants, constantly in preparation for siege. The East India House had a little army, 1676 strong, formed into four regiments of foot and one of horse; the Bank had a regiment of 546 men, with a supplementary corps of 189; the Excise Office a regiment numbering 590, and the Custom House a regiment numbering nearly 400 men.

In the Company's Hall and Armoury there is nothing demanding lengthened notice. The former is in process of rebuilding, and the latter is much the sort of place our readers will imagine an armoury must be—hung round with breast-plates, helmets, and drums, and containing plenty of guns, swords, and bayonets, presented by different members of the Company, all handsomely displayed. The Company has received various royal patents, but essentially it is based on the principle of its own thorough independence, paying all its own expenses of clothing, arms, and ammunition, making its own rules, choosing its own officers. Of course it does not form one of the 89 City Companies, though in most of its arrangements imitating them; it is governed, for instance, by a Court of Assistants; and has been accustomed, apparently, to exercise similar jurisdiction over the private conduct of its members; of which one odd example occurs in the Company's records under the date of 1670: "The name of John Currey, for his unmanly action in biting off his wife's nose, was ordered to be razed out of the Company's great book." The members are persons of respectability and wealth, and do not now exceed, we believe, 250 in number. Their Garden has enjoyed some reputation in connection with other than military subjects. In the last century it was the chief place for the settlement of cricket-matches, when county met county, and great was the tug of the sportive war. Here too in November, 1783, the first balloon was launched into the air from English ground by Count Zambeccari, no one ascending with it; the balloon measured ten feet, and was afterwards found near Petworth, forty-eight miles from London. And in the following year the first balloon ascended with living beings in England from this Garden. This was the machine of M. Lunardi, whose account, as preserved in the books of the Company, taken down probably from his own mouth as he delivered it before the Court of Assistants, when he dined with them two days after, is deeply interesting. We extract the commencement, descriptive of his ascent, which was attended not only by all the natural anxieties incident to an experiment then so full of danger, but by accidental circumstances calculated to disarm the strongest nerves of their tone. He says that "a short time before he set off, while he was in the house, somebody told him that his balloon was burst, and all was ruined, which so agitated and confused his spirits, that he could not recover himself; his chagrin was considerably increased by the disappointment he suffered from the inability of the balloon to carry his companion: being obliged, however, to content himself with the company of a dog, cat, and pigeon, he prepared himself for his journey, taking with him two fowls, and two bottles

of wine, a compass, and a thermometer that stood at 61° upon the earth. Every-thing being ready, he desired the people to leave his gallery, and, throwing out some ballast, he began to ascend, but was exceedingly alarmed when he found himself sinking again, and, hastily casting over some more ballast, he ascended readily, and felt himself perfectly easy and satisfied as soon as he was clear of the houses. He then waved his flag, and dropped it, as a token of his safety; after which he applied himself to his oars, but, unfortunately, one of them slipping out of its fastenings, he lost it; he continued, however, to work one with great success, finding he could raise or lower himself by that only, and did not doubt doing it with perfect ease when properly provided with both. He was much pleased with the success of the experiment; but, growing tired, he rested from his oar, and took a glass of wine, and (being supplied with the necessary utensils) wrote a letter, which, having folded up, he fastened it with a hair-pin to a napkin, and threw it down. He was now, and had been for some time, stationary. With respect to height, the thermometer standing at 50° , he for a short time indulged himself with a prospect beautiful beyond description; for at this height M. Lunardi could clearly distinguish every object; and the distance from the earth, by enlarging the field, greatly added to the grandeur of the scene. The appearance of London had an amazing effect, in which St. Paul's was majestically conspicuous, and the winding Thames, with its shipping, rendered the whole beautifully romantic and picturesque."

In conclusion, we must observe, that our object in the foregoing paper has been rather to give some adequate and systematic view of the courage, address, skill, and liberality of the citizens of London from the earliest times, and of the mighty influence which they have in consequence exerted over the destinies of the country, looked at simply in a military point of view, rather than to attempt what with our space was neither practicable nor desirable, namely, to enumerate all the great events in which they have been prominently engaged. We have, therefore, said nothing of their fortifying the City with iron chains drawn athwart the streets, in the time of the quarrel between Henry III. and his barons, and of the other "marvellous things" which they are then said to have done; nor of their answer to Edward II., when wife, sons, brothers, cousin, as well as almost everybody else were marching against him, and he requested supplies of men and money—to which they replied, "They would shut their gates against all foreign traitors, but they would not go out of the City to fight, except they might, according to their liberties, return home again the same day before the sun set;" upon hearing which Edward gave up all hope, fled, and was soon after murdered. Almost every few years of the City's annals are signalled by events of such, or scarcely less, importance. Thus again in 1471, whilst Henry VI. was confined in the Tower, and just after the battle of Barnet had decided the fate of his dynasty, the bastard Falconbridge made a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to rescue him, that only the more surely precipitated his death: Edward IV. entered London one day in triumph; the next it was rumoured through all its streets that Henry was dead. The attempted insurrections of Wyatt for the Protestant, and Essex for his own cause, are also interesting points in the civic history, inasmuch as that both were decided in its streets, that the leaders in both had relied on the aid of the citizens, and not receiving it, fell. Wyatt,

it is said, would have obtained this aid but for his own folly in delaying on the road to repair a gun-carriage, which prevented his arrival at the time that certain friends were ready to open the gates. Before he did arrive the plan had become known to the government, and was no longer possible. This story is the more likely from the evident feeling of the Londoners for him, as exhibited by a body of their soldiers, who, at the Lord Treasurer's request, were got ready in the course of a single day, to the number of five hundred, and shipped for Gravesend; but who no sooner reached the enemy than, moved by the spirited address of their captain, Brett, they at once joined the man they had come to oppose. The reviews under different sovereigns would furnish also materials for many a pleasant page, from those of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth in Greenwich Park down to those of George III. at Hyde Park and Hounslow; but, on the whole, we have probably said enough to show the Honour of Citizens and Worthiness of Men (to borrow one of Stow's quaint Chapter Titles) in the conduct of the affairs of Military London.



[Soldier of the Trained Bands, 1639.]



[Royal Hospital of St. Katherine, Regent's Park.]

CXLVII.—ENDOWED AND MISCELLANEOUS CHARITIES.

THE bustle of the streets of London, where one man jostles another in the eagerness of his own engrossing pursuit, hurries along even those who have no particular impulse to quicken their steps; but he who *has* time to look around him, and time for reflection also, will see much that is calculated to raise him above the thronging scene by which he is surrounded. His eye catches a glimpse of institutions devoted to religion, to education, or charity, which, besides having a claim upon his respect, show that something has been saved from the general scramble of selfishness, for human solace and the promotion of men's best interests. The church, the school, the almshouse, are evidences of the piety and worth of those who have gone before us, shining with mild lustre apart from the glare of temporary and passing interests. The contemplation of their good works is soothing to the spirits, and the oldest parts of London abound with proofs of the bountiful and liberal hearts of many of its former citizens. Their benevolence was as varied in its objects as the individual character of men's minds; but the result is that posterity is indebted to them to an extent not generally understood. Saved, as we have remarked, from the general scramble after individual ownership, and set apart for public purposes, there is now an annual income of 310,000*l.* in London alone. The income of the royal hospitals amounts to 128,000*l.* a-year; that of the City companies to 85,000*l.*; and the parochial charities amount to 38,000*l.* The endowments for the purposes of education exceed 57,000*l.*, or more than one-third of the total sum applicable to this object in the whole of England and Wales. For grammar-schools the endowments in London (included in the above sum) amount to 49,000*l.* a-year; for schools not

classical, to 7000*l.*; besides upwards of 1000*l.* a-year devoted to the general promotion of education. If Westminster be included, we find endowments for general purposes of the value of 24,000*l.* a-year, of which about 6000*l.* are for education. If Middlesex (exclusive of London and Westminster) be added, there is a further sum of 50,000*l.* a-year, of which there is 3599*l.* for grammar-schools; and above 14,000*l.* for schools not classical. Altogether there is a total of upwards of 384,000*l.* of the annual income arising from property in the metropolitan county which is devoted to purposes of charity and education. The bountiful disposition of the citizens of London is also further attested by the numerous endowments which they have founded in every county in England. After having acquired a fortune in London, they remembered with affection the place of their nativity. They endowed a grammar-school or an almshouse, not unfrequently both the one and the other; or they bequeathed a fund to provide bread or clothing for the poor, or perhaps for the erection of a bridge or the repair of the roads. In this way the foundation was laid for establishments for liberal education, which have attained an importance of which they had not the faintest conception. When Lawrence Sheriff, grocer and citizen of London, left the third part of a field of twenty-four acres, in the parish of Holborn, for the endowment of a grammar-school at Rugby, it produced only 8*l.* a-year. This field was called the Conduit close, and was nearly half a mile from any house. It is now covered with buildings, and the rental exceeds 10,000*l.* a-year. In the same way, and about the same time, Sir Andrew Judd founded the grammar-school at Tunbridge, endowing it with property in the City, and also with his "croft of pasture, with the appurtenances, called the 'Sandhills,' situate and being on the back side of Holborn, in the parish of St. Pancras," and then valued at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* This property is situated on each side of the New Road, and now forms a part of Judd Place and Burton Crescent. It was let in 1807 on a lease for ninety-nine years, at 2700*l.* a-year. The property in Gracechurch, which in 1558 produced only 23*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a-year, was let in 1822 for 490*l.* Other property, in St. Mary Axe, the rental of which was 5*l.* a-year in 1558, was let in 1822 for 166*l.*; at which time the yearly rents of the property bequeathed by Sir Andrew amounted to 4306*l.* By the advance of the country in wealth, the charities of the citizens of London have become in many instances truly splendid and munificent. Sir Andrew Judd's school now enjoys sixteen exhibitions of 100*l.* each, payable out of the founder's endowment, and tenable at any college out of either University.

Passing by the endowments for churches and monasteries, and gifts for their repair, to which the citizens of London were liberal contributors, we turn to an interesting class of foundations of which there were a great number in London before the Reformation. These were the chantries, established for the purpose of keeping up a perpetual succession of prayers for the prosperity of some particular family while living, and the repose of the souls of those members of it who were deceased, but especially of the founder and other persons specifically named by him in the instrument of foundation. They were usually founded in churches already existing, as all that was wanted was an altar with a little area before it and space for the officiating priest, and a few appendages. After the close of the twelfth century, when the disposition to found monasteries declined, the same

object was secured by the endowment of a chantry. Most of the old churches of London had four or five of these chantries, and the number in old St. Paul's was thirty or forty; and nearly all the gifts and devises to the City companies in Catholic times were charged with annual payments for supporting chantries for the souls of the respective donors. Where a chantry was not founded, the testator bequeathed property for the celebration of his obit. This observance owed its origin to the opinion which prevailed in Catholic times of the efficacy of prayer in respect of the dead as well as the living. At the celebration of these obits it was customary to distribute alms, and frequently refreshment was provided for those who attended. Mr. Herbert remarks, in his 'History of the Twelve Livery Companies,' that a great part of the beadle's duties before the Reformation, and almost wholly those of the almsfolk of the Goldsmiths' Company, were connected with the keeping of the Company's obits. The chantry services maintained by the Merchant Tailors' Company were also numerous, and were performed at various churches. A single notice of one of the bequests for securing the services of the church for the donor after his decease, will be sufficiently explanatory of the general character of the rest. Sir John Percival, late Lord Mayor, had left property in trust to be applied for the good of his soul, and his widow, who died six years afterwards, left eight messuages, the rents of which were to be expended as follows:—To augment the salaries of either of the two chantry priests singing for her deceased husband in the church of St. Mary Wolnoth; to the conductor for keeping the anthem; for maintaining the beam light; to the sexton for ringing the bells and helping the mass priest; to the Lady-mass priest at the obit; to the churchwardens for various services, as dealing out the coals ordered for the poor by Sir John Percival; for providing two great wax-tapers for the sepulture; and she ordered also that fivepence be given to five poor people every Sunday throughout the year, to have her soul, her husband's soul, and divers other souls in remembrance. In the celebration of every one of the obits returned by the Company the poor were remembered. In several instances the obit was only to be observed for a certain number of years, varying from thirty to a hundred: in others a certain sum was to be paid to the members of the Company who were present at the celebration of the obit. Herbert says that the custom in keeping most of the obits of the Drapers' Company was for those who attended to have bread and ale in the church where the service took place; in some instances, however, they adjourned to the nearest public-house. At Sir William Herriott's anniversary, who had been Lord Mayor



[Bedesman.]

in 1481, the entry of charge "for brede and ale at the Swanne, in Vanchurch (Fenchurch) Strete, at the evensong," was only fourpence. At William Galley's obit, who died in 1535, the twelve sisters of Elsing Spital were to receive four shillings for their attendance, and one shilling for their potation. The wardens and others of the Drapers' Company present were to "drynk with the freres." The parson of the church where the obit took place and the churchwardens were bound to the Company for its due performance.

An ordinance made by the Goldsmiths' Company in 1521 states that the wardens had yearly held and kept twenty-five obits, at divers parish churches, and went to the said obits twenty-five times, to their great hindrance and trouble and that of the livery; whereupon they resolved, for the time to come, to keep yearly two obits, upon one day, at two several churches, on which occasions they would cause to be spent upon a potation, at each of the same two obits holden in one day, twelve shillings and sixpence. By an Act passed in 1546 the estates out of which these observances were maintained were directed to be given up to the king; but they do not seem to have been finally extinguished until the first year of Edward VI., when they, as well as all payments by corporations, mysteries, or crafts for priests' obits and lamps, were irrevocably vested in the crown. "This," says Strype, "was a great blow to the corporations of London; nor was there any way for them but to purchase and buy off their rent-charges, and get as good pennyworths as they could of the king; and this they did in the third of Edward VI., by selling other of their lands to make these purchases." Scarcely any of the property of the Companies was exempt from obligations which had now come to be considered as superstitious; and, according to Strype, the re-purchasing of the lands cost the Companies 18,700*l.*, "which possessions, when they had thus cleared them again, they employed to good uses, according to the first intent of them, abating the superstition." After the time of Edward VI. the endowments of the City Companies were generally applied, as described by themselves, to the following objects:—"In pensions to poore decaied brethren; in exhibitions to schollers; to their almsmen; and to the maintenance of a schole or scholes." The principal ancient foundations for education in the City of London have been already noticed in various parts of the present work.

The ordinary parochial charities of the City consist chiefly of the following items: gifts in money, bread, clothing and fuel; loans with and without interest to young men beginning business; marriage portions; apprenticeship fees; payments for sermons on particular days; and there is the endowed school of the parish, where the children are gratuitously educated and, in many instances, also clothed, and in a few entirely maintained. In Sir John Cass's school, St. Botolph, Aldgate, which has an income of above 1500*l.* a-year, ninety children are educated, clothed, and fed.

The number of almshouses in London is probably not far short of one hundred and fifty. We can scarcely enumerate even the principal ones, which are chiefly maintained out of endowments left in trust to the City Companies. A brief notice of two or three of these institutions will give an idea of the general character of the rest; but, first, we must notice an establishment which is really an almshouse, though it scarcely assumes the character of such an institution. The

Royal Hospital of St. Katherine was founded in 1148 by Queen Matilda, wife of King Stephen. The master has an income of 1200*l.* a-year and an elegant mansion in the Regent's Park, situated in the midst of its own pleasure-grounds. The three brethren have each 300*l.* a-year, and the three sisters each 200*l.* The real alms-people are non-resident, and three or four years ago two of the sisters were non-resident also, and let their residence in the hospital-at a rent of 90*l.* a-year each. Queen Matilda's endowment was for a master, three brothers chaplains, three sisters, and six poor scholars, reserving to herself and her successors, the future queens of England, the nomination of the master upon every vacancy; but she granted the perpetual custody of the hospital to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, which was then in high repute. The ground on which the hospital was built was on the east side of the Tower of London, on the north bank of the river. The site is now occupied by St. Katherine's Docks. In 1255 Queen Eleanor brought a suit against the monks, and acquired the custody of the hospital and its entire revenues. After the king's death she re-founded it for a master, three brothers, three sisters, ten poor women called bedeswomen, and six poor scholars. Her charter is dated the 5th of July, 1273. Had not the original hospital been dissolved, St. Katherine's Hospital would now have been the most ancient ecclesiastical community in the kingdom; and it is still the fourth in point of antiquity, coming after Peter House, Cambridge, and Merton and Balliol Colleges, Oxford. The queens of England are by law the perpetual patronesses, it being considered, say the lawyers, as part of their dower. They nominate the master, brethren, and sisters, and may increase or diminish their number, and alter the statutes for the government of the institution. "The Queen Dowager hath no power or jurisdiction when there is a Queen Consort;" but "if there is a Queen Regnant and a Queen Dowager, the latter would have the power in preference to the Queen Regnant." In Queen Eleanor's charter the object of her foundation is stated to be "for the health of the soul of her late husband and of the souls of the preceding and succeeding kings and queens." One of the priests was daily required "to sing the mass of the Holy Virgin Mary; another, daily to celebrate the divine service of the day, solemnly and devoutly for the aforesaid souls." She ordained that every day throughout the year until the 16th day of November, which was the deposition of Edmund, the Archbishop and Confessor, there should be given, at the ordering of the master and his successors, to twenty-four poor men, for the aforesaid souls, twelve pence; and on the said day of St. Edmund the Confessor, namely, the day of the death of her husband, King Henry, there should be bestowed, in form aforesaid, upon one thousand poor men to each a half-penny.

In 1442 privileges of a most remarkable kind were granted to St. Katherine's, which, we may feel assured, never wanted "a friend at court" while there was a queen consort. The master had reported that the revenues of the hospital were insufficient for its maintenance, on which the king, Henry VI., granted a charter constituting a certain district in the neighbourhood of the hospital a precinct exempt with all its inhabitants from all ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction, except that of the Lord Chancellor and the master of the hospital. This charter further granted to the hospital a fair to be held on Tower Hill within the precinct every year, for twenty-one days after St. James's Day; also the assize and

assize of bread, wine, beer, and other victuals, custody of weights and measures, civil and criminal jurisdiction; exemption from payment of tenths or other quota granted by the clergy; also exemption from subsidies imposed by the Commons; and they were to have as many writs as they pleased out of the king's courts without fee of sealing. The hospital held this precinct as its own property and demesne, its revenues being increased by fines on renewal of leases and by ground-rents of the houses which it contained. It is said, and with much probability, that the intercession of Anne Boleyn with Henry VIII. saved the hospital from dissolution. The revenues at that time appear from a survey to have amounted to 338*l*. The first master appointed by Queen Elizabeth sold the privilege of holding the fair to the City for seven hundred marks; and he was suspected of other peculations not very creditable to the newly reformed religion. In 1698 Lord Chancellor Somers, as visitor, removed the master, and drew up rules and orders for the better government of the hospital. In 1705 a school was established for the children of the precinct at the charge of the hospital, and after they left school they were apprenticed and placed at service.

Early in 1824 some of the principal merchants in the City obtained the sanction of Government to apply for an Act of Parliament to construct wet-docks between the Tower and the London Docks, a space which would include the site of the chapel, hospital, and entire precinct of St. Katherine; and when the act was obtained, the new Dock Company made compensation to the hospital, under the direction of Lord Chancellor Eldon, to the following amount, namely, 125,000*l*. as the value of the precinct estate; 36,000*l*. for building a new hospital; 2000*l*. for the purchase of a site; and several smaller sums, as compensation to certain officers and members of the hospital, whose interests would be affected by removal to another situation. The precinct possessed at this time both a spiritual and temporal court. The spiritual court was a royal jurisdiction for all ecclesiastical causes within the precincts, probates of wills, &c.; and appeals from it could be made to the Lord Chancellor only. The officers of this court were a registrar, ten proctors, and an apparitor. In the temporal court the high-steward of the jurisdiction of St. Katherine's presided, and heard and determined all disputes arising within the precinct. A high-bailiff, a prothonotary, and a prison were appendages of the court. In 1661 the number of houses within the precinct was 731; in 1708 there were 850; and the number successively diminished to 505 in 1801, and 427 in 1821, which were inhabited by 685 families.

A site having been granted on the east side of the Regent's Park by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the new hospital buildings were erected there. The centre consists of a chapel, with chapter-house; and on each side of the chapel are three houses, those on one side being for the brothers, and the others for the sisters, with requisite offices and outbuildings, including a coach-house; and at each end, by the Park side, there is a lodge. The residence of the master, on the opposite side of the carriage-road, is situated in about two acres of land laid out in ornamental grounds and shrubberies. The ancient and interesting monuments were transported at the expense of the Dock Company to the new chapel, where they have been restored at an enormous expense. The cost of setting up and restoring the monument of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, who died in 1448, which constituted the most remarkable feature of the old hospital,

amounted to nearly a thousand pounds; and no expense was spared which could add to the embellishment of the edifice. Large sums were expended for stained glass, and for the iron railings and walls round the premises. The well and an ornamental pump cost many hundred pounds, and, after all, the water proved totally unfit for use. The site is so bad, from the nature of the soil, as to have required a very large sum for the repair of the foundations.

The affairs of the hospital are managed by the chapter, which consists of the master, the three brothers, and the three sisters. The brothers are in holy orders, but are not restrained from marriage; and the sisters are usually unmarried, though instances have occurred of widows being appointed. All important business must be transacted in the chapter-house, and by a majority of the chapter present, as voting by proxy is not allowed. The master, brethren, and sisters have each a vote, and the requisite majority of four must include one of each; that is, the master, one brother, and two sisters, or the master, two sisters, and one brother. One brother is required to be in residence constantly, in order to conduct the service in the chapel. He is assisted by a reader, who is paid 100*l.* a-year from the funds of the hospital. The sisters, as before stated, do not always reside. The original number of ten bedeswomen has been increased to twenty, and an addition made of twenty bedesmen. They are non-resident, and receive 10*l.* a-year for life, but have no duties to perform. The appointment of bedesmen and bedeswomen rests solely with the master, and they are usually decayed small tradespeople, old servants of good character, or other aged people. The school is on a small scale, and contains twenty-four boys and twelve girls, who are clothed during their continuance, and dine at the hospital every Sunday. At a suitable age the boys are apprenticed, with a premium; and on the girls going to service they receive an outfit, and a sum is deposited for them in a savings' bank. If they conduct themselves well, both enjoy some subsequent pecuniary benefit. The income of the hospital in 1837 was 5504*l.*, and the expenditure 4454*l.* The sum paid to the master, three brothers, three sisters, and forty bedesmen and bedeswomen, amounts to 2100*l.* a-year. The fines on the renewal of leases are distributed into three parts; one of which goes to the master, one to the brethren and sisters conjointly, and one-third for repair of buildings.

The principal almshouses, properly so called, which are intended as an asylum for the aged and infirm, are those under the management of the City Companies, which have been benefited and brought to their present state by successive endowments. They are intended for the liverymen and freemen of each fraternity or their widows, and are elected by the courts of assistants. The Drapers' Almshouses are amongst the earliest foundations of this kind, having originated in 1522. The Merchant Tailors erected seven almshouses for fourteen poor widows in 1593, on Tower Hill; in 1637, accommodation was provided for twelve more; and in 1835, in consequence of the dilapidated state of the old buildings, and their confined situation, the Company erected new almshouses at Lee, in Kent, at a cost of 10,000*l.*; and the number of almswomen is now increased to thirty. The almshouses of the Fishmongers' Company, called St. Peter's Hospital, are situated at Newington, opposite the Elephant and Castle, and are occupied by forty-two poor men and women free of the Company, or widows of freemen.* The married

* A view of this Hospital is given in vol. i. p. 244.

people received 12*s.* a-week, the single 7*s.* or 8*s.*, and 10*s.*, according to their age and infirmities; and those who require a nurse enjoy 2*s.* a-week more, or 12*s.* altogether. The almspeople also receive various gifts in money and clothing in the course of the year. Service is performed daily in the chapel, and the chaplain visits the almspeople when ill. A medical man is paid by the Company for attending to their health. The hospital consists of three courts, with gardens behind; and there is a dining-hall. The expenditure is about 1700*l.* a-year. Most of the almshouses of the Companies are of the same character, and it is unnecessary to describe them further.

Whittington's College, called "God's House" by his executors, is a superior institution, founded in 1421 by Sir Richard Whittington, an Alderman of London, "for perpetual sustentation of needy and poor people." It is now under the management of the Mercers' Company. The principal is a person in holy orders, called the tutor, whose duty it is to perform service in the chapel, and "to oversee the husbandry of the house, and nourish charity and peace among his fellows." Each poor person admitted is to be one "meek of spirit, destitute of temporal goods in other places by which he might competently live, and chaste and of good conversation." The inmates must be single persons above fifty-five, not having freehold property to the amount of 20*l.*, or other property to the amount of 30*l.* a-year. They receive from the funds of the college a yearly stipend of 30*l.*, besides enjoying some money gifts, and the advantages of medical attendance and the assistance of nurses. There are thirty out-pensioners, who receive 30*l.* a-year. The present college, situated near Highgate Archway, was erected in 1822, at an expense of 17,000*l.*, and is handsomely built of stone in the collegiate style. The annual income is nearly 5000*l.*

Morden College, though not situated within the limits of the metropolis, is chiefly designed for its "poor, honest, sober, and discreet merchants," of the age of fifty at least, and "such as shall have lost their estates by accidents, dangers and perils of the seas, or by any other accidents, ways, or means, in their honest endeavour to get their living by way of merchandizing." It was founded by Sir John Morden, in 1702, and is situated in the parish of Charlton, near Blackheath. The building consists of a quadrangle with two wings, the north wing containing a common hall and a common cellar under it. There is a chapel, vestry, and burial-ground; a common kitchen, laundry, and brew-house; thirty-nine dwellings for the apartments of the inmates, each comprising a sitting-room and bed-room, with a cellar; and those on the upper story have a small room in addition. The chaplain and treasurer have each a garden and small close, and the four senior fellows have each small garden plots. A common table is kept, and a cook, butler, and other servants are maintained out of the funds of the college. In 1828 the number of inmates was only twenty, but there are at present thirty-nine. Their income was raised to 60*l.* a-year each in 1835. The Turkey Company selected the inmates as long as it was in existence, but they are now appointed by the East India Company. The total income of the college is about 5300*l.* a-year. The chaplain has a stipend of 800*l.* a-year, 715*l.* being derived from an estate left for his especial benefit.

There are many institutions of a charitable nature which are at present chiefly dependent upon voluntary contributions, but are gradually advancing to the position of endowed establishments.



[Procession of 'Freemasons' Orphans at Freemasons' Hall. From Stothard.]

THE number and magnitude of the miscellaneous charities of the metropolis have been so often dwelt on and illustrated, that it may not be unadvisable to look at them from a somewhat different point of aspect; let us, then, see if their comprehensiveness and completeness be not equally remarkable. And as the multitude of facts with which we may have to deal will, if marshalled in all their native simplicity, be more valuable than interesting, more weighty than attractive, suppose we endeavour to give them relief and buoyancy by the aid of a little fiction, as to the form of the narration.

There was a family, originally of some respectability, but gradually reduced by various causes to indigence, the head of which, having a great admiration for our London charities, determined to show his admiration by making the most of them. And first he turned over with curious eyes the pages of his 'Guide' to see what he could do for himself. "Hospitals, Infirmaries, Dispensaries," said he; "Societies for Asthma, Ruptures, Ophthalmia, and scores of others of the same kind; I don't want any of these now. I have not had an accident lately, so I can't go to the Accident Relief Society; and I *have* had recent loans, so I can't go again as yet to the Friendly and the Philanthropic for more. Then, again, I am no poor pious clergyman of the Established Church residing in the country; no aged and infirm Protestant Dissenting minister, nor evangelical Dissenting minister of inadequate income; so it is useless to look for assistance to any of

those societies. Medical Benevolent Society: I am no doctor. Law Association: I am no solicitor, in the sense they mean. Literary Fund: I am no author. Royal Society of Musicians: I am no fiddler. Surely there must be something somewhere to suit me. Let us see what there is in connection with trade. Ah! here are Societies for the Commercial Travellers, members of the Stock Exchange, Licensed Victuallers, Master-Bakers, Cheesemongers and Poulterers, Clock-makers, Printers, and Bookbinders; but, no, I can't exactly say I belong to any of those pursuits. Alas! Why was I not a Blue-Coat boy? I see there is a Benevolent Annuity Fund of Blues for the relief, not only of themselves, but also of their wives and children. If, too, I had been a Catholic, there must have been one among this group of charities called the Associated Catholic Charities to have suited me: if a Jew, I might have gone into the Hospital at Mile End: if a Jewish convert, even, to Christianity, this 'Operative' Institution would have taken care of me while I was learning a trade, a matter, of course, in which there need have been no hurry. But I am a Protestant, and a decided Christian, and neither Catholic, Jew, nor convert. Decided Christian did I say? I have it; there's the very thing,—the 'London Aged Christian Society,' for the 'permanent relief of the decidedly Christian poor of both sexes, who have attained the age of sixty years, and who reside within five miles of St. Paul's.' This is the very thing; I'll see about it immediately." And no doubt he would have done so with his accustomed zeal and industry, for no man ever worked harder than he to avoid work; but that unexpectedly he died; characteristically observing in his last moments that at all events his death would leave his dear children orphans, and reminding his wife of the number of the Orphan Societies.

Were any of our readers ever eye-witnesses of the way in which orphan cases are got up? The rummaging through the printed Lists of Subscribers, to see if there be any names there of persons with whom one's cousin's cousin's acquaintance has at some time or other spoken; then the canvassing of all such persons, to obtain their votes; then as the election time approaches, if you find your orphan has no chance for the present, lending all those votes to some other orphan who has, to be repaid in kind, and often with interest, at another election? Well, your deceased lover of charities had taught his family his own tastes and habits; so, after due examination of the respective merits of the London Orphan, the Female Orphan, the British Orphan, the Infant Orphan, and the Orphan Working, and passing over as unsuitable the Sailors' Female Orphan, the Merchant Sailors' Orphan, the Incorporated Clergy Orphan, the Army Medical Officers' Orphan, the indefatigable widow got one of her children at last into the London; and among the whole 1400 which that excellent institution justly boasts at the present moment to have sheltered and trained during its thirty-one years of usefulness, no better specimen of the latter has been sent forth to the world. She entered into domestic service. The National Guardian Institution, whose business it is to protect the London public from servants with false characters, have in that capacity nothing to do with her, though no doubt her name is on their books in another; with the instinct of the family, be sure she trusts to them in the event of sickness or destitution, that she looks to them also for that permanent provision for her old age which the society promises to meritorious servants. Nay, it is most likely that she is already availing herself of the annual rewards for being good

given by the London Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Female Servants; and that the Provisional Protection Society are accustomed to her visits when she is out of place; for, as she used to observe during those intervals, if so many kind ladies and gentlemen desired to pay the expenses of her board and lodging, why shouldn't they?

The widow's eldest boy was unusually afflicted; he was at once deaf, dumb, and blind. The widow was a kind of optimist; how could she help perceiving the double chance those very calamities gave her of getting him provided for, either at the School for the Indigent Blind near the Obelisk, or at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in the Kent Road? The which? was a knotty question. She had heard that persons often learnt in the one, in the course of a few years, to earn from 7s. to 18s. per week, in the manufacture of thread, lines, baskets, and mats; whilst at the other reading and writing, nay, even ciphering and grammar, were successfully taught, as well as those useful arts, by which the pupils might subsequently be able to earn their own livelihood. The boy's genuine misfortunes obtained him ready admittance to the latter; and the widow is already teaching him; young as he is, to look forward to the time when he shall be fifty-five, and qualified to become one of the 500 recipients of the ten-pound yearly annuity granted by Hetherington's Charity!

Looking over the 'Guide,' the widow was astonished and delighted at the number of the Naval Charities: another son was at once picked out to be a sailor. She saw there was the Marine Society, which benevolent Jonas Hahway and the keen-sighted Justice Fielding helped to establish, ready to receive, prepare him for, and send him out to sea; that there was the Royal National Institution, to watch over and preserve his life from shipwreck; the Sailors' Home to receive him when he returned, if, laden with prize-money, he was in danger of the land-sharks; or the Distressed Sailors' Asylum, or the Destitute Sailors' Asylum, if he were in want; or the Seamen's Hospital Society if he were sick; and, in short, half a dozen other societies ready to meet any contingency of naval life. Yes, certainly, she would have one son a sailor. And again she was, in course of time, successful. But the widow began to find all this very slow, tedious, and harassing work, and that, what with her difficulty to struggle on, whilst her time and strength were so occupied, what with her increasing years, that she must now rest as contented as she could, and trust to manage with her four remaining children, by availing herself to the utmost of such societies as the Charitable Sisters', who gave relief to poor aged widows and others; and the Widows' Friend Society, the principle of which is to help those only who are endeavouring to help themselves; and so, leaving her children to shift as they might for all but food and lodging, she got along, as she thought, tolerably well. But the *laissez faire* principle is as dangerous in private as we are beginning to perceive it to be in public life; the widow's remaining children have turned out but badly. One went into business in some little way, and the last she heard of him was that he had been thrown into prison for a trifling debt, and released, months afterwards, by the Society for the Discharge of persons in his position. Another boy she heard of also from the same melancholy kind of place, but under infinitely worse circumstances; he had been a convicted felon. The first shock over, the widow fell back with a sense of comfort once more upon

the charities. The Prison Discipline Society in Aldermanbury had failed, in her boy's case, in one of its objects, that of preventing crime by inspiring a dread of punishment; but might it not succeed in another, that of inducing the criminal to abandon vicious pursuits for the future? Then there was the Sheriff's Fund, established for the very purpose of assisting such persons in a pecuniary way. Come, matters were not so bad after all. Nay, if even nothing resulted from an application in those quarters, there was the Refuge for the Destitute at Hackney, formed to make provision for criminal youth of both sexes, and thus enable them to retrieve lost characters and positions, or to obtain good ones for the first time; there was the Philanthropic in the London Road, also prepared to reform criminal boys, as well as the children of criminals. There was much enthusiasm about the widow whenever charities were concerned: she already saw her boy safe in the walls of the latter institution, and learning some one of the numerous trades there taught, printing—letter-press and copper,—bookbinding, shoemaking, tailoring, &c. &c.; unfortunately, when she applied, the numbers were full. And before she could run the round of the others, a new and more appalling event to a mother's mind occurred—her favourite daughter's absence and fall. The poor widow! even then charities—Charities alone in her mind, alone suggested where she should seek the runaway. So, half-distracted, she ran from one society to another of those who make it their care to tempt the unhappy wanderers back to the paths of virtue from which they have strayed; she ran from the Asylum in Westminster to the Guardian Society in St. George's East, from the London Female Penitentiary at Pentonville to the Magdalen in the Blackfriars Road; and from that again to the Maritime Penitent Female Refuge. It is to be hoped the poor widow was only too early in her applications, and that she will yet find her daughter within one of these admirable institutions. In the mean time, she is growing reconciled to her troubles,—the charities again are luring her on,—she has got a strange fancy for a pension from one of the three societies; the General Annuity, the East London Pension, or the City of London; and in order to have still another string to her bow, was busy, when we last heard of her, inquiring about the National Benevolent Institution in Great Russell Street; which, as it relieved distressed persons of the middle classes without regard to sex, country, or persuasion, must have an opening for her, she thought.

But if in tracing the views and lives of such a charity-seeking family (whose prototypes, however, in a somewhat less concentrated shape, surround us on all sides) we have borrowed pretty largely from the general list of London charities, we have by no means exhausted the list; which, in its sphere of operations, embraces one extensive division of charities to which we have not yet even alluded, those whose operations are based upon a local principle, such as the county or country of the subjects of relief; neither have we yet referred to another division of charities designed for the assistance of the most wretched of all classes of our poor, the homeless, bankrupts alike in heart and hope, in health and fortune. As to the former we have Yorkshire Society Schools, the Cumberland Benevolent Institution for indigent natives and their widows and children, Herefordshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire societies for apprenticing poor children of natives of those shires. From these we pass to the countries of Great Britain. For Scotland we have the Highland Society to relieve distressed highlanders, and establish Gaelic

schools among their native hills, the Caledonian Asylum in Copenhagen Fields, to support and educate children of indigent Scotchmen, and the Scottish Hospital, originally founded by Charles II. For Ireland there is the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, educating, clothing, and apprenticing children born in London of poor Irish parents; and the Irish Charitable Society for relieving the parents themselves, or, at least, distressed natives of the country. For Wales there is the Welsh school, which maintains as well as educates the children of poor natives born in or near the metropolis. The circle still widening, our charities now include the Society of Friends of Foreigners in distress, the Polish Society, the—but no, strange to say, our list is nearly exhausted in that division; so turn we now to the other. There have been several associations in existence for a considerable period aiming either to relieve the lowest class of social unfortunates, or to divide from that class the impostors who merely profess to belong to it; or, as in the Mendicity Society's instance, undertaking both those duties. The affairs of this institution, by far the most important of its kind in London, are of great magnitude. In the year just closed it has received and answered no less than 38,734 applications, many of them from large families; it has given to mendicants under urgent circumstances, without setting them to work, above five hundred pounds; it has given 167,126 meals (each consisting of ten ounces of bread and one pint of good soup, or a quarter of a pound of cheese), at a cost of above 1300*l.*; it has employed at its own mill, or in the oakum-rooms, or at the stone-yard, 4790 men and 1187 women, at a cost of nearly 1000*l.* Then, further, it has investigated 4481 begging-letter cases, and reported thereon to the respective subscribers concerned, in consequence of which, in deserving cases, considerable sums have been given by the latter. Lastly, it has apprehended 1573 vagrants, of whom 1018 have been committed to prison, and the remainder discharged with an admonition from the magistrates. One might almost think such an institution was able to cope successfully with the destitution and mendicancy of the metropolis; but if so, the first half-dozen yards we walk in the streets is quite sufficient to disabuse the mind of such mistakes; there, on the contrary, one would suppose, but for actual knowledge to the contrary, that there were neither mendicity nor any other charitable societies existing for the relief of the poor within fifty miles, such is the truly awful amount of misery exhibited in them to those who can venture to look out of their comfortable capes and coats these wintry days with an observing eye upon the realities that surround them. Seldom, perhaps, has such a story been heard of in any country, savage or civilized, as that which shocked all persons, even the most selfish, a short time ago, when it was publicly made known, but so accidentally that, for aught we can tell, there may be many such stories yet unrevealed, that on an average there were fifty persons, men, women, and children, in the last stages of hunger, nakedness, and disease, sleeping in the parks the whole year round! The parks, with their palaces, range after range! with their warm luxurious drawing-rooms and chambers! their soft beds of down, their well-furnished tables, the very remnants of which, to those poor shivering creatures a few yards distant, were a luxury, too high even to be dreamt of! The recent or rather present movement suggested by the disclosure of this appalling fact, is, of course, familiar to most of our readers, the result seems to be a strengthening of the capacities and increas-

ing the number of the former houses of Nightly Relief for the Poor, and the formation of an entirely new association. The former comprise, under one management, the central asylum, in Playhouse Yard, Whitecross Street; the eastern asylum, East Smithfield; and a western asylum, just about to be opened, in Foley Place; there is also the West-End Nightly Institution in the Edgeware Road, which appears to be a private speculation, and which boasts in its advertisements to have relieved nearly 90,000 poor within five years. The new institution referred to seems to be partly founded on the idea of the Strangers' Friend Society, founded so long back as 1785, for the express purpose of finding out the distressed poor, by visiting them at their habitations, instead of assisting as usual the more obtrusive and clamorous, and leaving the sensitive and retiring to their fate. The new society, however, is established under the sole auspices of the Bishop of London and the clergy of the Established Church, and sets out with the object of improving the condition of the poor by means of parochial and district visiting; and as the objects of relief are not to be selected according to their creed, why perhaps it is as well that the cordiality ensured by men of kindred views working together should be obtained by such divisions of the labourers in the broad field before them. We presume that the clergy and religious of all denominations will follow the example set them, and be no less active and liberal in the charitable than in the educational rivalry now going on. Glorious rivalry! happy may be its results! It is one of the essential features of the pursuit of the good in anything, that with whatever motives we commence it, we can hardly end without loving it at last simply for itself.

The press occasionally gives us some pleasant peeps into the operations of our other charitable societies: here is one:—"Yesterday a deputation from the Humane Society, consisting of Sir E. Codrington, Captain Codrington, M.P., Mr. Hayes, M.P., &c., presented to Jean Gerret, a sailor on board the French frigate 'Cuvier,' lying off Blackwall, a silver medal, for having, at the risk of his own life, saved a gentleman of the name of Turner from drowning, on Christmas-eve: the gentleman had fallen into the river from Blackwall pier." This shows us one of the objects of the Society, namely, to honour those who have exerted themselves in the cause of humanity; but it also holds out pecuniary reward to those who are more sensible to that kind of inducement for exertion in saving the lives of apparently drowned persons. The Society itself has no less than eighteen receiving-houses in the metropolis, all properly supplied with apparatus; and at one of these, the principal station, by the side of the Serpentine river, a medical attendant is always at hand during the bathing and the skating seasons; and an immense number of persons have been saved on that single piece of water in consequence. To be sure, if the Park authorities should ever happen to perceive that the part in question might be drained, the bottom levelled, and the whole depth afterwards kept at something like four or five feet, all the expense, and anxiety, and loss of life that does now occur would be obviated, and the Humane Society's exertions happily rendered unnecessary there: but authorities don't generally perceive these abstruse truths; and, besides, it would be a bad precedent; there's no saying how many of our London and all other charities might not be got rid of entirely, if we once begin the dangerous process of tracing evils to their source, once commit ourselves to those presumptuous attempts at prevention for

the future to which such processes are sure to lead. As a slight notion of the valuable character of the Humane Society's labours, we may mention that during the past year 170 cases of recovery from drowning came under the committee's notice; and that it distributed rewards among 156 persons. Its total receipts for the year exceeded 2500*l.* With a notice of two other societies we may conclude miscellaneous charities of the metropolis.

At one of the annual dinners of the Literary Fund—we believe it was that of 1822—when the Duke of York was in the chair, and an unusually brilliant assemblage present, among them Canning, and the French Ambassador, Chateaubriand, an incident occurred which strongly marked the valuable nature of this charity. The ambassador in question, who had looked with deep interest on the proceedings of the day, subsequently addressed the audience, and in the course of his speech related the following story. During the time of Napoleon's supremacy, while so many French emigrants were in England, one of them, connected with literature, suffered great distress, in consequence of the pressure of a small debt. The case was represented to the Literary Fund by a friend (understood to be Peltier, whom Napoleon unsuccessfully prosecuted in our law courts) and the result was his obtaining the relief he desired, which completely saved him from ruin. At the restoration he returned to his native country; he was employed by the state, rose from office to office, at last he came back to the very country where he had been thus assisted, as ambassador, "and, gentlemen," concluded he, "*I am that man!*" It is one of the most valuable features of the society that it preserves the greatest possible secrecy as regards the recipients of its bounty. But let us glance, as far as we are permitted, at the operations of a single year, the one ending February 28, 1843. In that year 46 cases were relieved, in 8 of which grants of 10*l.* each were made; in 6, grants of 15*l.*; in 8, grants of 20*l.*; in 3, grants of 25*l.*; in 8, grants of 30*l.*; in 4, grants of 40*l.*; whilst in no less than 9 there were grants of 50*l.* each assigned. Of these 46 grants, 3 were to female authors, 11 to widows of authors (amounting to 400*l.*), and 16 to or for the orphans of authors. The classes of authors included history and biography, 5 cases; theology and biblical literature, 6; topography, 5; medicine, 3; classical learning and education, 6; science and art, 5; poetry, 3; drama, 2; fiction, 4; miscellaneous literature, 7. The rooms of the society, at the corner of Russell Street and Bloomsbury Square, contain two small glass cases not undeserving mention. In one are kept the daggers used by Blood and Parrot, at the time of their daring attempt on the crown deposited in the Tower, and which were bequeathed by Mr. Newton, a great benefactor to the society, who believed himself (erroneously, we understand) to be the last descendant of Sir Isaac Newton, and in consequence thought it only fitting that the Literary Fund should be the recipient of his bounty. The other glass case contains a part of an original MS. of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' in the Icelandic tongue. Our readers will recollect Byron's lines—

"Still must I hear? Shall hoarse Fitzgerald bawl
His creaking couplets in a tavern hall,
And I not sing?"

in which he refers to the poetical addresses with which the gentleman in question used frequently to regale the Literary Fund members, according to the custom

then in use ;—and some of the Literary Fund Festival Odes, by the way, have been by men of mark ; there was one by Crabbe, another by Allan Cunningham. This Fitzgerald, as he himself takes care to tell us in a note to an Ode, introduced the case of the author of the *Icelandic MS.* to the Literary Fund as that of a clergyman, whose entire income amounted to about 6*l.* 5*s.* yearly, and who in the midst of great privation had had the spirit to undertake, and the ability to accomplish, a translation of the great Englishman's greatest work. The Fund immediately sent him a sum of money, and the poor poet-minister in his gratitude sent back this *MS.* as the most appropriate acknowledgment that it was in his power to offer. We understand that the translation is really a noble performance, Miltonic in its spirit and tone. There is a very meritorious society allowed to meet in the rooms of the Literary Fund—the Society of Schoolmasters. If the following letter (never before we believe correctly transcribed from the books of the Society), should but be the means of aiding the Society ever so slightly, we are sure none would rejoice more heartily than the writer of it, the present King of the French : “ The Duke of Orleans presents his compliments to Dr. Kelly, and is very sorry that his note remained so long unanswered. It was his intention to have expressed sooner how much he was flattered by Dr. Kelly's very obliging intimation of the motives for which the Duke of Orleans ought to feel a particular interest for the schoolmasters. The Duke of Orleans has in fact more motives for being attached to that useful and respectable class of men than he believes Dr. Kelly can be aware of ; since it is not probable he should know that among the many vicissitudes of fortune which fell to the lot of the Duke of Orleans is to be found that of having been a schoolmaster. It is, however, a matter of fact that, at a time of severe distress and persecution, the Duke of Orleans had the good luck of being admitted as a teacher in a college, where he gave lessons regularly during the space of eight months. The Duke of Orleans hopes, therefore, that the Society for the Relief of Distressed Schoolmasters will permit him to tender his mite as a fellow schoolmaster. *Twickenham, Dec. 10, 1816.*”



["Highflyer not to be Sold." Richard Tattersall. ob. 1795, et. 72.]

CXLVIII.—TATTERSALL'S.

THE regulations which hang over the fire-place in the counting-house at Tattersall's bear the date of 1780. There are few States in Europe whose laws can boast of so respectable an antiquity as the code of this horse-auction establishment. The laws of most Continental Governments have been entirely new cast since that time—France has, during the interval, had its old laws, and its no law, and its new law—and even at home here, where revolution has been best kept at bay, the innovators have been nibbling; sometimes mashing up whole cart-loads of penal statutes, or navigation laws, into one statute, sometimes beating out a simple act of parliament of the olden time into half-a-dozen. Amid all these choppings and changes the little empire of the Horse-mart, at the back of St. George's Hospital, has retained its constitution unaltered.

Such were our musings a few days ago, as with one foot on the fender, enjoying the genial warmth of the fire, we stood perusing the above-named regulations, not that they were new to us, but because we had no better way of whiling away time at the moment. Everything about Tattersall's is in keeping with the stability indicated by the Mede-and-Persian unchangeableness of its laws. There is the simple unpretending finish of English aristocracy about it. There is nothing of the lath and plaster smell about it which characterises newly run-up American hotels and erections on our great railway lines—none of the frippery of a continental mart

for horses. Above all, there is not a suspicion of *slang* about the buildings or any of the persons connected with it. Everything is neat, well-kept, and in good condition, but nothing looks new (except the new subscription room). You feel in a moment that the place and its owners belong to the established institutions of the country—that they date from before the coronets of some titled families. And so it is.

Richard Tattersall, the founder of the family, and of the establishment, died in 1795, at the ripe age of 72. Our information about him is more meagre than we could have wished, for the maker of "Tattersall's" was a remarkable man. He was training-groom to the second and last Duke of Kingston, brother of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, husband to Mrs. Chudleigh, doomed to an equivocal immortality in the letters of Horace Walpole and the State Trials. After the death of the Duke (1773), Tattersall does not appear to have entered into the service of any other employer. Lord Bolingbroke, ex-husband of Lady Diana Spencer (for whom *vide* Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' *passim*), sold Highflyer to Tattersall, in the beginning of 1779, for "two thousand five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain"—a long sum in those days. In the contract of sale (published in 1824 in the thirteenth volume of the second series of the 'Sporting Magazine') Tattersall is described as "Richard Tattersall, of the parish of St. George-in-the-Fields, liberty of Westminster, and county of Middlesex, gentleman;" from which we infer that he had previously opened his auction-mart. A receipt of the same date is appended to the contract of sale, but we have reason to believe that credit was given—a high testimony to Tattersall's integrity. This horse was the foundation of Tattersall's fortune, who commenced a stud-farm, in addition to the auction-room for horses, to which we are now about to introduce our readers.

There is a good picture of Tattersall the First in the possession of his family—or rather two pictures, of which it is not very well ascertained which is the original, and which the copy. It is not a matter of much consequence, but were we to venture on pronouncing an opinion, it would be in favour of the one from which the engraving at the head of this article is taken. Both are clever paintings—but both have that something about them which leaves the impression that the portrait is a likeness—but if anything there is a degree of *hardness* in the face of the other, which is entirely absent from that which has been transferred to our pages. It is a characteristic picture. The rotundity of person indicates a man, who, in youth, had been accustomed to violent exercise; the hale, ruddy complexion—the almost juvenile freshness—at his advanced age, speaks of out-of-door habits. It is a thinking face: some call its expression melancholy; upon us it produced more the impression of thoughtful kindness. In the picture which we have (right or wrong) assumed to be the copy, there is introduced (a family tradition says at his own urgent request) below the "stud-book" a small label bearing "Highflyer not to be sold." This attachment to the fine animal by which he had made his fortune is expressed also by giving the name "Highflyer Hall" to a house he built in the Isle of Ely. Take him altogether as he appears in his portrait, Tattersall looks the ideal of a substantial yeoman, or better class farmer of his day.

Though we have been unable to learn any incidents of Tattersall's early

history, his personal appearance, his high character for integrity, and his sterling sense and benevolence, have always led us to fancy him a kind of counterpart to John Watson, training and riding groom to Captain Vernon, in whose service Holcroft, author of the 'Road to Ruin,' spent two years and a half as stable-boy about 1757-60. What we know of John Watson is contained in the commencement of an auto-biographical sketch by Holcroft—the best thing he ever wrote—inserted in his *Meinors*, published in 1816. A few extracts will convey a more lively idea than anything else can, of the respectable grooms of that period—the Watsons and Tattersalls:—

"In the very height of my distress I heard that Mr. John Watson, training and riding groom to Captain Vernon, a gentleman of acute notoriety on the turf, and in partnership with the then Lord March, the present Duke of Queensberry, was in want of, but just then found it difficult to procure, a stable-boy. To make this intelligence the more welcome, the general character of John Watson was, that, though he was one of the first grooms in Newmarket, he was remarkable for being good tempered: yet the manner in which he disciplined his boys, though mild, was effectual, and few were in better repute. One consequence of this, however, was, that if any lad was dismissed by John Watson, it was not easy for him to find a place. * * * * It was no difficult matter to meet with John Watson: he was so attentive to stable-hours, that, except on extraordinary occasions, he was always to be found. Being first careful to make myself look as much like a stable-boy as I could, I came at the hour of four (the summer hour for opening the afternoon stables, giving a slight feed of oats, and going out to evening exercise), and ventured to ask if I could see John Watson. The immediate answer was in the affirmative. John Watson came, looked at me with a serious but good-natured countenance, and accosted me first with, 'Well, my lad, what is your business? I suppose I can guess; you want a place?'—'Yes, Sir.' 'Who have you lived with?'—'Mr. Woodcock, in the Forest: one of your boys, Jack Clark, brought me with him from Nottingham.' 'How came you to leave Mr. Woodcock?'—'I had a sad fall from an iron-grey filly that almost killed me.' 'That is bad indeed!—and so you left him?'—'He turned me away, Sir.' 'That is honest: I like your speaking the truth. So you are come from him to me?' At this question I cast my eyes down, and hesitated, then fearfully answered, 'No, Sir! No!' 'What, change masters twice in so short a time?'—'I can't help it, Sir, if I am turned away.' This last answer made him smile. 'Where are you now, then?'—'Mr. Johnstone gave me leave to stay there with the boys a few days.' 'That is a good sign. I suppose you mean little Mr. Johnstone at the other end of the town?'—'Yes, Sir.' 'Well, as you have been so short a time in stables I am not surprised he should turn you away: he would have everybody about him as clever as himself, they must all know their business thoroughly. However, they must learn it somewhere. I will venture to give you a trial, but I must first inquire at my good friends Woodcock and Johnstone. Come to-morrow, at nine, and I'll give you an answer.' * * * * I ought to mention, that though I have spoken of Mr. Johnstone, and may do of more Mist'ers among the grooms, it is only because I have forgotten their christian names: for, to the best of my recollection, when I was at Newmarket, it was the invariable practice to denominate each groom by his christian and surname,

unless any one had any peculiarity to distinguish him. * * * * I know not what appellations are given to grooms at Newmarket, at the present day, but at the time I speak of, if any grooms had been called Misters, my master would certainly have been among the number: and his constant appellation by everybody, except his own boys, who called him John, was simply John Watson."

Another incident or two will complete the picture of John Watson:—"The stables are again open at four, and woe to him who is absent! I never was but once, when unfortunately Captain Vernon himself happened to arrive at Newmarket. I never saw John Watson so angry with me before, or afterwards; though even then, after giving me four or five strokes across the shoulder with an ashen plant, he threw it away in disgust, and exclaimed, as he turned from me, 'Damn the boy! On such a day!'" His last appearance on Holcroft's pages is as follows:—"Having taken my resolution, I had to summon up my courage to give John Watson warning; not that I in the least suspected he would say anything more than very well: but he had been a kind master, had relieved me in my distress, had never imputed faults to me of which I was not guilty, had fairly waited to give my faculties time to show themselves, and had rewarded me with no common degree of praise when accident brought them to light. It was, therefore, painful to leave such a master. With my cap off, and unusual awkwardness in my manner, I went up to him, and he, perceiving I was embarrassed, yet had something to say, began thus—'Well, Tom, what is the matter now?'—'Oh, Sir, nothing much is the matter; only I had just a word to say.' 'Well, well, don't stand about it, let me hear.'—'Nay, Sir, it is a trifle; I only came to tell you I think of going to London.' 'To London?'—'Yes, Sir, if you please.' 'When do you mean to go to London?'—'When my year is up, Sir.' 'To London! What the plague has put that whim in your head?'—'I believe you know my father is in London.' 'Well, what of that?'—'We have written together, so it is resolved on.' 'Have you got a place?'—'I don't want one, Sir. I could not have a better place than I have.' 'And what are you to do?'—'I can't tell that yet; but I think of being a shoemaker.' 'Pshaw, you are a blockhead, and your father is a foolish man.'—'He loves me very dearly, Sir, and I love and honour him.' 'Yes, yes, I believe you are a good boy, but I tell you, you are both doing a very foolish thing. Stay at Newmarket, and I will be bound for it, you will make your fortune.'—'I would rather go back to my father, Sir, if you please.' 'Nay, then, pray take your own way.' So saying, he turned from me with very visible chagrin, at which I felt some surprise; for I did not imagine it would give him the least concern, should any lad in the stables quit his service."

The traits of John Watson, which appear in these extracts from Holcroft's simple narrative, convey a lively notion of the character and appearance of the first-rate grooms of that day, and no one can look at the picture of Richard Tattersall, and recollect that it was his integrity that originally made his establishment at Hyde Park Corner, without feeling convinced that he belonged to the class of John Watsons. There is one very striking feature of their common character—what Holcroft calls the serious look of John, and the thoughtful (or, as many will have it, melancholy) expression of Richard's face. The truth is, that the responsibility of the training-groom is very heavy. The animals intrusted to

his care are of themselves extremely valuable, and, from their high breeding and keeping, delicate and liable to a thousand accidents. The sums of money, too, dependent upon the state of their health, increase the constant anxiety of their keeper. And none but a man who has a keen and ever-wakeful sense of his responsibility can be intrusted with so valuable a charge. He must be a man, too, who has the sense to know that honesty is the best policy; he must value his reputation for integrity as that upon which his existence depends. It requires both sound and deep feeling, it requires sagacity, and the power of self-control, which constitutes force of character, to make a first-rate training-groom—the man to whom a nobleman can confide, in perfect confidence, at once the care of a property valuable, liable to casualties, and a source of pride to the owner. Such a man cannot fail to know his own value, and this knowledge lends a sturdy independence to his character. His good sense teaches him at the same time his subordinate position, and impresses a deferential character on his manners. Constant intercourse with the aristocracy communicates much of their refinement to him, and his native good sense teaches him to adopt precisely those peculiarities which are in keeping with his station. It is a fine character that is formed in such a school—and the veterans of the latter half of the last century were perhaps the finest specimens of it.

But while prattling of old Tattersall and his class, who are favourite heroes of ours, we are keeping our readers waiting too long in the counting-room. If they will have the goodness to step up the length of Grosvenor Place with us we will introduce them in form.

At the south-east angle of St. George's Hospital, there is an unobtrusive arched passage,—down that lies our way. At the bottom of the pretty rapid descent we have before us a tap, designated "The Turf," on the left hand, an open gateway leading into a garden-like enclosure, with a single tree in the centre rising from the middle of a grass-plot, surrounded by a circular path of yellow sand or gravel. Immediately beyond the gateway is a neat small building, with an entry from the passage or court in which we stand, and another from the enclosure just described. This is the subscription-room. The interior is remarkably well-proportioned, lighted, and ventilated: it is from a design by Mr. George Tattersall—the ingenious author of "Sporting Architecture"—a gentleman who combines the hereditary tastes of his family with a high talent for architectural art. The room contains merely a set of desks arranged in an octagonal form in the centre, where bets may be recorded or money paid over. A cartoon of Eclipse is over the fire-place. The low flight of steps at the entry to the grass enclosure is intended and well adapted for a station whence to watch the action of the horses shown off in it.

On our right hand (we are still standing in the passage) is a covered gateway through which we enter into the court-yard. The engraving at the end of this paper conveys a tolerably just notion of its appearance as seen from under the gateway, except that the perspective produces the impression of too extensive a space. The point of view, from which the drawing has been taken, is on the west side of the gateway. At the back of the spectator is the old subscription-room (the new one has only been erected about a year), which deserves a visit for the sake of an excellent and characteristic portrait of Reay, many

years clerk to the establishment. It is one of those faces which one so often meets with among the respectable portion of traders in horse-flesh in his rank in life. What stamps this common expression upon them it were hard to say: perhaps the favourite square massive crop of the hair above the forehead helps. Standing at the door of the old subscription-room, the door of the dwelling-house is on the left hand. In the parlour is that portrait of Richard Tattersall, already mentioned, which has the inscription so honourable to his heart—"Highflyer not to be sold." The other, from which our engraving is taken, is in an apartment upon the first floor, entering from the other side of the gateway. In the parlour, which contains the "not to be sold" portrait, is an excellent likeness (by Stubbs, we believe) of Highflyer himself, with Highflyer Hall in the back-ground. These are historical portraits of value in the annals of the turf. Another picture in the room will come to be equally interesting as a memorial of the past in time—but remote may that time be. We speak of the portrait of the present worthy representative of Richard Tattersall, riding after the Derby stag-hounds.

We return to the court-yard. The counting-house, where we commenced these rambling recollections, is on the opposite side of the gateway from the old subscription-room, and like it facing to the yard. The quiet, gentlemanly character which, at the outset, we attributed to the whole establishment, is here felt in its full force. The air of the place is precisely that of the counting-house in the City of some old "firm," which has weathered the changes of time, passing from father to son since the days of Queen Elizabeth. It is the pride and peculiarity of this country, that we of the middle classes—of the industrial middle classes—have this kind of aristocracy within our order as imposing, though more homely, as the coroneted order itself. The appearance of the clerk of the counting-house at Tattersall's would be quite in place in the Bank of England; and, indeed, the very grooms and stable-boys catch the air of the place, and without being a whit less like their business than others of their class, are entirely free from slang and swagger. The books of the establishment, which appear in a safe in one of the corners, might almost furnish forth a history of the English thorough-bred horse, for the last sixty years, of themselves. The advertisements relative to breeding and sporting matters, and, perhaps, samples of the latest improved patent bridles, suspended against the wall, are the only indications of the kind of business transacted in this counting-house.

But now for the court-yard in good earnest. The domed structure in the centre surmounts a pump. The watering trough has an elegant classical figure, and from its side runs the pump itself—in form, a truncated cone, surmounted by the appropriate emblem of a fox. The bust over the dome is a likeness of George IV., in his eighteenth year, at which period he was a frequent visitor at Tattersall's. Thus well nigh half a century later than the breach between the Prince and Charles Fox, the "guide, philosopher, and friend" of his wild days, is one reminded of their alliance by a juxta-position that forces an involuntary pain upon the beholder.

A covered way runs round three sides of the court-yard. The alley at the further end serves as a kind of *remise* for vehicles of the most miscellaneous description. That which is on our left hand, looking from the gateway, calls for no particular remark: that on the right hand, where our artist has introduced a

horse and one or two human figures, has the counting-house at the one end, and the auctioneer's box—the simple throne of the dynasty of Tattersall—on the other. A door near the end of the side-wall, next the counting-house, admits into a spacious, well-ventilated and lighted stable, where the horses to be disposed of are kept in readiness on the days of auction. An open passage, to which the entry lies between the dwelling-house and the covered way on that side of the court-yard, has ranges of stabling on either side—every stable constructed on the most approved modern principles, every improvement being adopted that experience recommends as conducive to the health of horses. Indeed, the stables at Tattersall's are in some sort for the Houyhnhnm race what the crack hotels of London are for their masters—more comfortable homes than home itself, and the difference there is in favour of the horse—that *he* pays nothing extra for his accommodation.

The reader has now a tolerably correct notion of the arrangement of the premises. If his visit is not on a public day, a stillness reigns throughout the premises, very different from the bustle through the medium of which most casual visitors are accustomed to behold it. A few grooms are standing about. A few buyers may have dropped in, and perhaps the head or managing groom is in the ring—the enclosed grass-plot adjoining the new subscription room—with a light strapper breaking a horse selected from the stalls of the stables set apart for private sales. A small knot of subscribers is gathered on the steps of the room, eyeing the horse, and the intending purchasers, in the intervals of their talk about past and coming matches—the progress of the education of some colt of “high and far descent”—or reminiscences of the two and four-footed heroes of the turf of the golden time. There is a quiet about the place at such times that is almost rural. The imagination, prompted by the sight and smell of stables, wings its way to the country. The quadrangles of Oxford have not an air of more profound repose and isolation.

Very different from this tranquillity is the appearance on public days. The days of sale are Mondays throughout the year, and Thursdays in the height of the season. Monday, however, is always the great day. On Friday the horses come in from the country, on Saturday all the preliminary arrangements are made, and on Monday the sale takes place. There is generally a pretty numerous gathering on the Saturday afternoon—a still larger on Sunday immediately before the hour for resorting to Hyde Park—and on Monday comes the throng or confusion of business. The throng of carriages, cabs, horses, grooms, and tigers, in the vicinity of the arched passage, leading from Grosvenor Place, is immense. About noon the stream of professional and amateur dealers in horse-flesh rolls down the passage like a river in flood—“*frae bank to brae,*” as a Scotchman might express himself. There is a clatter of pewter in the tap, for grooms are thirsty customers, and the beer is good. But the main crowd precipitates itself into the court-yard—their paces hastened on hearing the crack of a whip, or the words “Lot 1 is up.” A horse is already running his trot between the auctioneer's box and the counting-house door. Biddings commence—“*crack*” resounds the whip, urge the spurs, and up he comes well on his haunches, with his nose under the hammer.

But there are days in comparison with which this animated scene is a mere still-

life picture. Let us suppose that the 2000 guinea stakes have been run for, and the winner is up as a favourite for "the Derby." It is a day for re-modelling, or for making "a book." There is flutter and bustle and excitement even in the penetralia of the subscription room, but the hubbub in the court defies description. All are eager—excited—in earnest—even savage. Short and sharp are their exclamations, and in a language which the disciples of Irving might have been excused had they mistaken it for one of the unknown tongues. "Hedging"—"levanting"—"a hundred ponies to one"—and a triple-bob-major rung on all the devil-may-care names of the whole list of horses entered for the Derby. This is the augury of coming events, but what passes when "the struggle is over, the victory won?"—why, in the words of an older and better song, "there's nobody knows"—at least nobody but the initiated. On the awful "settling day" the doors are shut on the *profanum vulgus*, and the betters pay, receive, or make themselves scarce, among themselves. It is quite useless for any one who has not the *entrée* to attempt to catch a notion of what passes. But scandal-mongers do say that a peculiar school of philosophers, great observers of life, may be observed on such days hovering in the neighbourhood—the sheriff's officers for the county of Middlesex.

The attendants, both on show and sale days, are a motley group; for though the owner of the premises is a gentleman, and though it may be charitably hoped that most of his customers deserve the same character, yet a horse-mart, like a court of law, must admit all sorts of company. And, if all tales be true, the comparison between a horse-mart and a court of law runs on all fours, which similes very rarely do. The nucleus of the company at Tattersall's consists of the regular supporters of the establishment—subscribers to the rooms—gentlemen on the turf, and frequenters of Melton Mowbray—parties who frequently have horses to buy or sell—runners of horses, betters on horses, or breeders of horses. Some there are who merely keep a running horse or two, but rarely bet—though it is impossible to withstand at times the desire to nibble; and betting is like tipping—it is easier to be a teetotaller than a rational temperance man. Some merely back and bet on their *friends'* horses: these are of two classes—the men who never had horses, and the men who can keep them no longer. It is among these chiefly that the moss-troopers of the Turf are found—the dwellers in the debateable land between the blackleg and the gentleman. Still they are decidedly on the daylight side of the hedge, though often in sad danger of slipping through its gaps. The owner (or lease-holder) of your stud-farm for thorough-breds comes here too—not that he runs horses, or even bets upon them, but he likes to keep the progeny of his farm in view through life. He takes an almost parental interest in their fortunes. These are the men to whom to apply for information respecting the pedigree and character of horses: they know more of these matters than the men of action on the course, or in the field—partly because it is their interest to know the results of crossings and breedings, and partly on the principle that the bystander sees most of the game. Among the class we are now describing, there is also a sprinkling of what may be called imaginative amateurs of horse-flesh. At the utmost one of this set never owned more at a time than a three-fourths bred pony—what cattle-dealers would call "a shot," not fit for the field, or even for a roadster if the rider is very particular, to

and which therefore has lost caste, though it retains enough of the marks of its origin to give it a superior air among hackneys. But though this animal constitutes our friend's whole stud at any given moment, he may be called the proprietor of numerous horses, for he is continually changing his beast. The only pleasure he appears to find in his horse is in buying or selling him. Then he knows all the latest gossip of the subscription-room, though he never bets; and he is continually looking at horses, and giving his opinion of them, which is civilly listened to, but never taken. He reads the Sporting Magazine regularly, has some book of farriery, and the Useful Knowledge Society's book on the horse by heart. In short, he is perfect in the theory of sporting. He is mild and gentlemanly in his manners, and rather a favourite than otherwise; his usual dress is a surtout of some shade of green, approaching in its cut and fit to the "pink" of the hunter, cords, and top-boots.

Next in consequence to these are the trustworthy jockeys and grooms, a set which still retain many of the characteristics of John Watson, but, according to their place in the scale, are marked by various peculiarities. Some of the most mercurial are constantly run away with by strong animal propensities, and it requires strong pulling up from time to time to enable them to avoid losing caste altogether. Nothing could save some of them occasionally but their unrivalled skill in riding, their passionate love for the horse, which renders them incapable of cheating it, though they might have less scruple about its master, and a fund of practical drollery. They are your "chartered libertines," and not a few of them look the character—for sometimes what an artist would call defects in structure are the making of a jockey. A long fork, and scarcely any body, are not the *ideal* of the human form divine, yet they give the man who owns them great advantages on horseback, and he may carry weight naturally in the shape of a hump, or have nose and chin meeting like nutcrackers, and be never the worse rider. We have known in our day not a few of these whom their better qualities kept in employment, while their foibles, continually getting them into scrapes, prevented them from rising. One tiny individual, with bandy legs, we do remember in his old age, sitting by the door of the cottage his master had assigned him, listening to the tuncful cry of the pack he was never again to follow as it died away in the distance; and another scarcely so old—still able to act as huntsman to a pack of harriers, who could never, even when the hare was on foot, pass a tempting bunch of water-cresses without slipping off to pick a salad. Marry! his overnight potations might render some such cooling necessary.

Around these two essential constituent parts of the assembly gather the non-descripts—the casual visitors, some of them pretty frequent in their attendance too. Young guardsmen not on guard—clerical fox-hunters come up to pay their respects to the Bishop and see Tattersall's—the bagman, whose habit of travelling in a gig has necessarily rendered him learned in horses—the butcher, who rode his rounds to his master's customers as apprentice, and thus contracted a taste for cantering—publicans who find Derby Clubs and news of the turf sure baits to draw in customers—staid shopkeepers who go to Epsom once a year, and to Tattersall's occasionally of a Sunday to recal the pleasures of the last trip, or anticipate the glee of the one that is coming—and the concentrated pertness and glib impudence of the tiger world.

Tattersall's gives the tone to the sporting world, and has long done so. The confidence reposed in the integrity of the founder went far to establish it, and its situation helped not a little. At the time when it was first opened, Tattersall's was in a manner in the country. It stood on the townward verge of an open and uninclosed space of ground sloping down to the stream which carries off the superfluous waters of Hyde Park, and now rolls dark and turbid, more a sewer than a rivulet, down by the back of the houses in Sloane Street. It was a lonely place, "the five fields," and where Belgrave and its adjoining squares now stand—celebrated for nightingales and footpads. The visitations of "the minions of the moon" made one feel as far out of town there as at Finchley, Bagshot, or Hounslow. And at the same time it was centrally situated for the gay world. The mansions of the nobility from Piccadilly to St. James's were at an easy distance; a chain of villas stretched out towards Kensington; the region round Grosvenor Square was filling up; and the proximity of the mart almost invited a visit from the idlers in the Parks.

The Prince of Wales was one of the earliest, and, for a considerable time, one of the most regular visitors at Tattersall's. This was enough to stamp it the *ton*. But the name of the proprietor was a still greater attraction to the real earnest admirers of a good horse. From the day that the emporium was opened down to the present, there has not been a single eminent character in the racing and hunting world who has not made this his lounge. And a taste for these sports is so intimately interwoven with the habitual tastes of all classes, that we may say there has scarcely been a man of any note in any line during that time, who has not been found here on some occasion or another. Even gallant Admirals have been attracted hither, and Bishops and Wilberforces have not disdained to look in, in search of good carriage-horses. A strange variety of personages are associated within these walls: let us take a few of the first that offer. First, in virtue of his station, and of his bust over the cupola in the centre of the court, constantly reminding us of him, comes "the first gentleman of Europe." We are here reminded not of the elderly gentleman with shattered nerves and a troublesome wife, who mounted the throne after the hopes of young life had long withered, and hid himself from his subjects ever after, but of the frank, handsome, and fascinating "rascalliest sweetest young Prince," of blooming eighteen. Next rises to our memory Old Q., of equivocal reputation. There are many still alive who remember his appearance at the bow-window of the house in Piccadilly now inhabited by Lord Rosebery. Haggard he was, and feeble, as if a breath of wind could have blown him to pieces like a spider's web; yet the nice tact of Hazlitt selected him to illustrate what he meant by the look of a nobleman. Samuel Whitbread has been at Tattersall's many is the time and oft, that sturdy representative of the cross between the feudal and trading aristocracy of England—that compound of the patriot, theatrical amateur, conventicle-saint, fox-hunter, and brewer of "good ale." Lord Wharncliffe was a frequenter of Tattersall's in his day, the tremendous Rhadamanthus of the Jockey Club—at least so poor Mr. Hawkins, who fell under the ban of that Court of Honour, appears to have felt him. Lord Wharncliffe, as Mr. Stuart Wortley, did good service on one occasion to the country gentlemen. When about the year of grace 1819 Henry Hunt had made the white hat the distinguishing mark of the radical, sore was the dismay among the magnates of quarter-sessions as the dog-

days approached, and not one of them dared indulge in the luxury of a white hat, lest his principles should be suspected. But Mr. Stuart Wortley relieved them by appearing at a county-meeting in a white hat: his politics were above suspicion, and the unsaleable stock of all the hatters in the neighbourhood was disposed of before nightfall.

“What tower has fallen? what star has set?
What chief come these bewailing?”

There has one passed away from among us within these few days—almost without exciting a passing question, whose death would at one time have struck a chill wide through the land. Sir Francis Burdett had disappeared from public life, and become almost forgotten before his death. By accident it was at Tattersall's that we heard the first mention of the event, and a fitter place for receiving such intelligence could scarcely be. Whatever men may think of the wisdom of Sir Francis's public career, his character stands high as a warm-hearted, honourable, and accomplished English gentleman—thoroughly English. Enthusiastically attached to field-sports, he too was a frequenter of Tattersall's, and perhaps he would have been a happier man had he contented himself with dividing his life between them and the social or the studious hour, instead of plunging into the political struggle to which he brought, after all, more ambition than talent. But we must break off, for shadowy figures do so environ us—the Seftons, Osbaldestons, Berkeleys, and what not—that our pages would be over-filled did we pay to each only the passing tribute of a name.

The opening of Tattersall's marks an era in London life. About 1779 it appears to have been opened, and the regulations bear the date of 1780. It was in 1780 that Crabbe first came to London to establish his character as a man of genius, and then to withdraw for a long silent interval into the country, there to mature the works that were to render his name lasting. In 1780, Philip Astley was coming into vogue, exhibiting feats of riding and sleight of hand, and teaching Lord Thurlow's daughters to ride the horses that Tattersall had sold them. In 1783 Samuel Johnson, who has recorded his admiration of his namesake, who was Astley's precursor, and of Astley himself, passed from this scene of struggles. Gilray's earliest caricature that has been preserved is a likeness of Lord North, in 1782. It was a period when old men in literature, in fashion, and in catering to amusement of the gay world were passing away, and new ones hurrying in to supply their place. In none of these departments is the change from things as they were before 1780, and things as they have been since, more marked than among the amateurs of the turf. We have heard the period which has since passed called by many names; but, in so far as London and its gay world are concerned, the age of Tattersall's might be more truly descriptive than most of them.

These retrospects almost supersede the necessity of remarking that the rank which Tattersall's took immediately on its first establishment it has retained to the present day. Almost the only change it has undergone is an extension of the range of business, under the direction of the present proprietor. Edmund Tattersall is the principal—we might almost say the only—dealer whom the princes and nobles of the Continent employ to procure for them the thorough-bred English horses, which are the pride of their studs. The arrangements on Mr. Tattersall's stud-farm at Willesden are among the most perfect of the kind.

We have noted already the death of the first Tattersall: it may not be without interest for our readers if we wind up the history of the establishment with a chronology of the establishment. The auction-mart was originally instituted by Richard Tattersall, in what year is uncertain, but apparently on or before 1779, for in the contract of sale by which he became master of Highflyer, he is described as "Richard Tattersall in the parish of St. George and liberty of Westminster, Middlesex, gentleman." He died on the 20th of February, 1795. He is said by a contemporary to have "died as he lived, as tranquil in his mind, as benevolent in his disposition." It is added that "from his indefatigable industry and the justice of his dealings, he acquired a degree of affluence which was exercised for the general good without ostentation." Richard was succeeded by his only son Edmund I., who walked in his father's footsteps, and maintained the reputation of the establishment. He died on the 23rd of January, 1810, at the age of fifty-two. He was, in turn, succeeded by Edmund II., by whom the connections of the house abroad were first formed, and the foreign trade in thoroughbred horses conducted on a scale of unprecedented extent, which it would have gladdened the heart of the great Sully to contemplate, who, of all the historical characters with whom we are acquainted, appears to have trafficked the most, and most profitably, in horse-flesh, as may be seen in his "*sages et royales économies.*"

We are not writing a history of the Turf, or the Hunting-field, but simply taking a stroll with our readers through the greatest and most respectable horse-mart in England, that is, in the world, and touching as we go upon the associations of the place. We have avoided, as much as possible, the technical language or slang of the stable, and that for two sufficient reasons. The first is, that stable-slang can only be correctly spoken by professional gentlemen: the merest stable-boy could detect our imperfect acquaintance with it at once. But the second is a far more powerful reason: it is that we love and venerate the horse and all the sports and employments in which he and man are yoke-fellows, and that we loathe everything that vulgarises him or them, and slang, of course. Slang we can somewhat more than tolerate in Holcroft's '*Goldfinch*,' for there was originality in the character—it was the first of the kind brought upon the stage. We can more than tolerate it in the pages of '*Pierce Egan*,' for there is truth and nature in them; and slang is so incorporated with his style, with his very thoughts, that it is, in a manner, natural to him. But everywhere else it is nauseous. The lawyers have got rid of their slang; the conventicle has got rid of its slang; it is high time that the Turf and Hunting-field should get rid of their slang also.

Tattersall's, it has been remarked more than once, has given a tone to the sporting world, and in this respect it has, probably, had a more beneficial effect than the Jockey Club itself. That representative of the power of the organised turf can only deal with overt acts of an ungentlemanly or dishonest character. But Tattersall's—"the glass of fashion and the mould of form"—has set the whole sporting-world to "assume a virtue," even when they have it not. Its influence in this way has been materially promoted by the institution of the subscription-room, which took place at a very early date subsequent to the opening of the mart. For a while, at first, the court was the only place of meeting for all parties; but as soon as it became a place of resort for the news of the sporting-world, it was soon found advisable to fall upon some means to keep at a distance

the crowd of questionables. With this view the subscription-room was opened for the accommodation of gentlemen, as the Tap had been opened for the accommodation of their servants. The regulations of the room have not undergone any material alteration since. Its frequenters are, in a manner, the natural aristocracy of Tattersall's, and the lower orders frame their manners "ad exemplar regis," as like those of the subscribers as possible. This has contributed in no small degree to diffuse a recognition of the point of honour (in theory, at least) through all ranks of sporting characters. The influence which has achieved this might effect more; and it is to be wished that the subscription-room at Tattersall's would throw itself with all its weight into the scale of those gentlemen who are exerting themselves so strenuously to purify the provincial race-meetings.

This is the more desirable now that horse-racing is, and ought to continue to be, a passion with all ranks of England. There are three tastes which an Englishman carries with him wherever he goes: he must have his newspaper, he must have his cup of tea, and he must have his race-course. Of the two first-mentioned we have discoursed under the head of newspapers. In proof of the last, it only requires to be stated that Calcutta has its race-course; the capital of Western Australia (Swan River) has its race-course; nay, that Sierra Leone has its race-course. For a people who could indulge in horse-racing in that universal sepulchre, the "white man's grave," it must indeed be a necessary of life.

With the dog we contract friendship—for the horse we have a passion. Both can and do serve us well; but the former is a conversible associate, the other wins our love by its stately elegance. One of the first impulses of boys is to scramble on a horse's back—to ride the cart-horse to the water, if no better may be—or even where a horse is not to be had, to practise the art equestrian on some luckless, bridle-less, and saddle-less donkey grazing on a common. The father's earliest wish for his son is to inoculate him with his own taste for horses. Holcroft's father was a poor shoemaker, yet contrived to gratify his love of horses by keeping one or two for hire. He had a favourite pony which "required all my father's strength and skill to hold it," and yet he was determined that the child should mount it, and accompany him whenever he took a ride. "For this purpose my petticoats were discarded; and as he was fonder of me than even his horses, nay, or of his pony, he had straps made, and I was buckled to the saddle with a leading rein fastened to the muzzle of the pony, which he carefully held. These rides, with the oddity of our equipage and appearance, sometimes exposed us to the ridicule of bantering acquaintances." The wild high-spirited boy contrives by scraping acquaintance with ostlers—by engaging to *hold* horses—by all out-of-the-way shifts to get the handling of horses, and at times leave to mount one. In this way Philip Astley (founder of the amphitheatre that bears his name) commenced his career; and a passage in one of Philip's prefaces (for he was an author as well as a performer and *entrepreneur*) expresses the sentiment which familiarity with the horse awakens, as well among us nurslings of civilised routine, as among the unsophisticated children of the desert. "I am extremely fond of such kind of horses, if good tempered, and well put together, with eyes bright, resolute, and impudent, that will look at an object with a kind of disdain." Could he say more for the saucy tenderness of a mistress? The poor man with us loves horses as dearly as the rich. Some gratify their predilection by seeking service as stable-helps, or in any way that will keep them among horses. Some

enlist for the same purpose in a cavalry regiment. And they who are obliged to seek their livelihood by less congenial pursuits have their inborn tastes annually revived by the races—for what district of England is without its race-course? Ten days or a fortnight before the races the horses begin to drop in—at least this has been the case, though railroads are altering the arrangement—and take their evening and morning exercise on the course. The stately elegance of their forms, their glossy coats and beaming eyes, their elastic gait and powerful action, attract a concourse of spectators. The tiny generation of the new-breeched who see them for the first time, skulk after them to the stables, and are happy if they can catch a peep, see how their body-clothes are managed, how they are curried and brushed, how carefully their beds are prepared, their oats sifted and re-sifted. The novelty of the operations, the furtive glimpse obtained of them, are among the things that make an impression for life. Then there is the evening gossip, in which the grown-up exchange reminiscences of former races, and the young crowd round to hear the names of famous runners, and tales of terrible accidents—the amazing cunning of sharpers, and the wild justice exercised on them by the crowd when detected—the tumult of the crowd, the eager cries of the betters, the difficulty of keeping the course clear, the danger of being too near it, the gaming and drinking in the booths, and the whole variety of delightful commotion. And when the great day comes, the reality exceeds even these high-coloured retrospects and anticipations. The holiday in the free air is itself a delight. The gliding, glancing equipages dashing up to take their station—the curvetting and prancing of the high-bred horses beneath their happy riders—the concourse of all possible kinds of hacks, donkeys, coaches, chaises, gigs, and market-carts, with their gay and grinning occupants—the interchange of greetings—the wonder who is who—the throng and the hubbub succeeded by the gathering hush as the bell rings, and sinking into the eager breathless concentration of the multitude's thought and sense on the horses when the start is given, to break out again in a jubilant hurra when the winner comes in, followed by a crossfire of brief hearty ejaculations, angry, joyous, and grieving from winners and losers.

Such scenes keep alive and increase a natural taste to a universal passion; other field-sports give happiness to a select few, but races are our national jubilees. Who that has seen all London jumping out of the windows on the morning of the Derby-Day—or towards evening the thronging groups congregated in the streets to receive the “express” news of victory or loss—but must feel that, though the Porter's man in Henry VIII. was mistaken when he spoke of sleeping on May-day morning as a thing “which will never be,” yet there can be no mistake in prophesying that there will be races as well as cakes and ale, and ginger heating the mouth, while Englishmen and England exist. And the people of England, in these days of drudgery, will be all the better of it.

“But then the gambling and immorality.” Thank you, most long and sour-visaged sir, for the interruption: it is the very point we wished to touch upon. The gambling—that is the systematic traffic in betting—the “making of books”—is no natural or necessary part of horse-racing. It is not a “national institution,” did not come in with William the Conqueror. We can place our finger on the date of its introduction. “One anecdote,” says Holcroft, speaking of the year 1761 or 1762, “which John Watson, who was no babbler, told his brother Tom, and which Tom was eager enough to repeat, struck me for its singularity and

grandeur; as it appeared to me, who knew nothing of vast money speculations, and who know little at present. In addition to matches, plates, and other modes of adventure, that of a sweepstakes had come into vogue; and the opportunity it gave to deep calculators to secure themselves from loss, by *hedging* their bets, greatly multiplied the betters, and gave uncommon animation to the sweepstakes made. In one of these Captain Vernon [his master] had entered a colt or filly; and as the prize to be obtained was great, the whole stable was on the alert, it was prophesied that the race would be a severe one; for, though the horses had none of them run before, they were all of the highest breed; that is, their sires and dams were in the first list of fame. As was foreseen, the contest was, indeed, a severe one; for it could not be decided—it was a dead-heat; but our colt was by no means among the first. Yet so adroit was Captain Vernon in hedging his bets, that if one of the two colts that made it a dead-heat had beaten, our master would, on that occasion, have won ten thousand pounds: as it was, he lost nothing, nor would in any case have lost anything. In the language of the turf he stood ten thousand pounds to nothing." This systematic gambling was new in the beginning of the reign of George III. It is an excrescence on racing. It is only another form of gambling—that spirit which can find vent in any way—in swimming sticks on a stream, or drawing straws from a rick. "Book-making" is no more a necessary part of racing than South-Sea Bubbles and Mississippi Schemes are of finance—time-bargains in the funds of honourable commerce—or rouge et noir tables of a modern London club. All these, and book-making among them, are varieties of the pursuits of trading gamblers, a numerous and permanent body in European society. Some respectable men are, and have been, of this class, but taken in the lump, they are a moral nuisance, and it were well if they were "quitted" from society—sent to Coventry *en masse*. They inveigle and corrupt the young and unwary of the upper classes, and the poison of their example contaminates the low. The example of the steady-going "book-making" gentlemen corrupts the whole menial circle: nor does the evil stop here. It lends a colour to one of the worst features of pot-house life—the Derby clubs. Taking up on chance the nearest at hand sporting newspaper, we find in its first page no less than fifteen advertisements of these abominations. They emanate from public-houses in all parts of the metropolis—West Smithfield,* High Holborn, the Strand, Pimlico, Hoxton, and the London Road—from Manchester, and from Sheffield. They are illegal lotteries or little-goes—baits set by the cunning publicans (the Duke Hildebrands of modern Alsacias) to catch tippling gulls—traps for the unfledged apprentice and journeyman—the desolation of many a tidy fireside. Why are these filthy and sottish gambling-houses overlooked more than the hells of Regent Street?

But the root of these evils—the corruption of domestics, the conversion of our mechanics into thieves—is in the book-making system which has been engrafted upon horse-racing. This can be put down. Gambling at the clubs and in private houses has, since the days of Charles James Fox, been restricted within comparatively narrow limits: the same may be done, by a resolute effort, with gambling on the turf. Most praiseworthy—and, to an extent which in so

* A house in West Smithfield announces—"A juvenile Derby sweep at 10s. 6d. each." We recommend it to the attention of the police.

short a period could scarcely have been looked for, most successful—efforts are making to purify our provincial race-courses: the attempt should be extended to the whole sporting world of England. And it is in the metropolis that the beginning must be made. The Jockey Club can do little or nothing: it has allowed itself to become the Court of Law in which the “book-makers” carry on their litigation. But the subscription-room at Tattersall’s is frequented by the *élite* of the amateurs of the turf: it sets the fashion. If its members were to pass a resolution, and enforce it, that no systematic gambling was to be allowed among them—that the book-makers were to be told to betake themselves to Crockford’s and Jonathan’s, the proper resorts of gentlemen of their profession—the example would in no long time spread, through the medium of the motley squad which throngs the auction-mart to catch a glimpse of the subscribers and learn to imitate their deportment. Racing would become the pursuit of admirers of the horse exclusively—for the gambler cares not for the horse more than for his dice, or scrip and omnium. There is enough of pleasurable employment—of excitement—in the breeding or acquisition and training of fine horses, and the uncertain contests of the course, without the spice of gambling. The patrons of the turf can keep it, what it has always been, a source of pleasure to themselves, a means of improving the national breeds of horses for all purposes, an annual festival to the whole people of England, and prevent it from continuing what it has been allowed in too great a measure to become, a source of demoralisation to thousands. If they by their example will but diffuse a healthy distaste for gambling through the bulk of sportsmen, the police will deal with the flash Derby-houses: but so long as they allow undetected blacklegs—trading book-makers—buyers and sellers of chances—to associate with and be in common estimation confounded with themselves, there is no possibility of checking the mischief.



[Court Yard, Tattersall's.]



[Royal Institution, Albemarle Street.]

CXLIX.—LEARNED SOCIETIES.

WHEN the character of the present era shall be judged by that calmest and most unerring of tribunals—posterity, there can be little doubt that one especial glory will be assigned to it, enhancing all its other merits, and doing much toward extenuating all its faults; it will be said that then, for the first time in this country, was it practically acknowledged that science, art and literature were no mere appanages of a class, but the common birthright of all; that their mission was not to solace a student's lonely hours, or to sharpen the dulled edge of a rich or a great man's satiety, but, in a word, to make life universally wiser, happier, nobler, more worthy of Him in whose image we are made, and for which lofty object alone religion, philosophy, and common sense, alike teach us such mighty agencies must have been bestowed. The nineteenth century will probably have much to answer for, but if some such epitaph as this may be inscribed upon its tomb, all else will be ultimately forgiven and forgotten. To mark the progress of the mighty revolution thus accomplished were indeed a task of the highest interest, and one for which there were no need to depart from the path marked out by our present subject. We see, for instance, at first

the several streams of knowledge flowing calmly along to one common receptacle—the Royal Society, which, up to the latter half of the last century, may be said to have confined within the circle of its own little but distinguished knot of members a monopoly of the cultivation of learning in England; the only noticeable exceptions being the study of antiquities, which was left to the Society of Antiquaries, and the study of medicine, anatomy, and surgery, which naturally belonged to the College of Physicians, but which was at the same time included among the multifarious and discursive researches of the Royal Society. Then as those streams grow wider and deeper, we see them shaping out new channels and reservoirs; one forming to itself a Society of Arts, another a Royal Academy, a third a Linnæan Society. And thus matters remain up to the close of the century. But within the next forty years the movement progresses with a vastly accelerated pace, and mighty are the changes consequently exhibited. The waters of knowledge, increased and increasing from all quarters, overflow and roll along in directions scarcely less numerous. The Royal Society may now confine itself to matters of science alone, but not the less is it found necessary to let every department of science have its own independent band of disciples: hence the societies—Astronomical, Geographical, and Geological; Zoological, Ornithological, and Entomological; Botanical, Horticultural, and Agricultural; Engineering, Mathematical, and Statistical; Legal and Philological. Next surgery, we perceive, must have its College as well as physic; and when that is obtained, both departments of the healing art demand in addition their Harveian, and Hunterian, their Medical, and Medico-Botanical, and Royal Medical and Chirurgical Societies. The Society of Arts finds a helpmate in the Royal Institution. The Royal Academy branches off into various artistical bodies, whilst architecture establishes its own independence in the Architectural Society and in the Royal Institute. Then again, if we may look upon the Antiquarian Society as the oldest literary body, we may compliment it upon an extensive list of successors, of varying degrees of power and usefulness, from the Royal Society of Literature down to the Parker Society for printing the works of the early fathers of the Church, from the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge down to the bodies which rejoice in the prenomens of the Percy, the Camden, the Granger, or the Shakspeare. Lastly, clustering round these bodies, and drawing nourishment from them, we find a whole host of societies whose business it is rather to diffuse acquired than to seek new information: such are our London and Russell Institutions for the higher and middling classes of society, our Mechanics' Institutes for the middling and lower; of which last species, since the establishment of the chief one by the excellent Dr. Birkbeck, the growth has been so rapid, that scarcely a metropolitan parish or district of any size is now without its "literary and scientific" institution.

The history of the first of these bodies that we select for separate notice, the Royal Society of Literature, is at once painful and interesting. It originated in a conversation between Dr. Burgess, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and an eminent person of the household of George IV., which took place in 1820, and when it was agreed that among the numerous existing societies one seemed to be wanting for the encouragement of general literature. The substance of this conversation soon reached the King, and his conduct on the matter forms one of

the most honourable features of his life. Bishop Burgess was summoned to the royal presence, and received full powers to make the necessary arrangements for the formation of a society of the kind desired. The first part of the plan that was determined upon, and made public, was the offer of prizes; namely, of a King's premium of one hundred guineas for the best paper on the Age, Writings, and Genius of Homer; of a Society's premium of fifty guineas for the best poem on Dartmoor; and of another Society's premium of twenty-five guineas for the best paper on the History of the Ancient and Modern Languages of Greece. We need only mention the result of the poem-premium: five compositions were sent in, and referred to a sub-committee of seven members, who, at a meeting in the British Museum, adjudged the prize to the poem with the motto "Come, bright Improvement," which was then found to be the production of Felicia Hemans. Many difficulties still attended the permanent settlement of the Society, though friends of the highest rank and influence were numerous. At last, on the 2nd of June, 1823, the promoters were repaid for three years of struggle and doubt by the royal sign-manual being affixed to the constitution and regulations. Subsequently a royal charter was granted, which stated so clearly and simply (most unusual charter-characteristics) the views of the Society that we cannot do better than transcribe the passage. Its object, it appears, is the advancement of literature "by the publication of incedited remains of ancient literature, and of such works as may be of great intrinsic value, but not of that popular character which usually claims the attention of publishers; by the promotion of discoveries in literature; by endeavouring to fix the standard as far as practicable, and to preserve the purity of the English language, by the critical improvement of English lexicography; by the reading at public meetings of interesting papers on history, philosophy, poetry, philology, and the arts, and the publication of such of those papers as shall be approved of; by the assigning of honorary rewards to works of great literary merit, and to important discoveries in literature; and by establishing a correspondence with learned men in foreign countries, for the purposes of literary inquiry and information." This was indeed a goodly programme to put forth to the world, and George IV. showed that he was in earnest when he stamped it with his approval. He placed at the disposal of the Society a sum of 1100 guineas yearly, to be bestowed on ten Associates of the Society for life, each receiving a hundred guineas per annum, and the remaining hundred to be expended in the purchase of two gold medals to be bestowed yearly on persons whose literary merits the Society might consider the most deserving of honour. The choice of persons both for the pension and the medal was a task of serious and delicate responsibility; but it appears to have been performed with justice and discrimination. Among the recipients of the medals have been Mitford, the historian of Greece, Dugald Stewart, Southey, Scott, Crabbe, Archdeacon Coxe, Roscoe, Hallam, and Washington Irving. The ten Associates selected to enjoy the premium of one hundred guineas a-year for life were Coleridge, the Rev. J. Davies, author of 'Celtic Antiquities;' Dr. Jameson, the Scottish lexicographer; T. J. Mathias, author of 'The Pursuits of Literature;' the Rev. J. R. Malthus, the well-known founder of the population theory; Mr. Millengen, of classic fame; Sir William Ouseley, the Persian traveller; Roscoe; the Rev. H. J. Todd, the editor of

the well-known 'Todd's Johnson's Dictionary;' and Sharon Turner. And now comes the painful part of the story. There was certainly no obligation on the future royalty of England to continue the munificent support voluntarily tendered by George IV., but, under all the circumstances, most persons must have considered such support would be continued; and certainly no one could suppose that it would be stopped in the life-times of any of the Associates. But so it was. On the death of George IV. the whole of the pensions ceased. "King William, on his accession, had too many and urgent claims upon his privy purse to continue the grant; and during the present reign, so friendly to literature and the arts, it has not been recommended, nor has it occurred to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to follow, in this way, the illustrious example of the founder, whose 'earnest' endeavour to patronise the literature of England, and conciliate foreign sympathy for pursuits confined to no country, thus, as far as the throne was concerned, concluded with him."* It is to Lord Melbourne's honour that, some years later, he caused the pensions to be indirectly resumed, in connection with the ordinary state pension-list: but, of course, only so far as concerned the existing, not future Associates. In other respects the society enjoys a steadily increasing prosperity. George IV. made them a present of a piece of land opposite St. Martin's Church, and the members voluntarily subscribed 4300*l.* to build a house on it. The ordinary funds have been increased by a legacy of 5000*l.* bequeathed by Dr. Richards. A valuable library has been formed; three quarto volumes of papers read at the meetings have been published; and at the present moment the society has in progress a work of great magnitude, 'The Biography of the Literary Characters of Great Britain,' arranged in chronological order.

It is curious that at the present moment the most important of the works published by the other great and still more useful literary society, that for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, should also be a work of general biography, but not confined to our own country, nor arranged in the same manner. In this, which is intended to rival, if not to surpass, the great Biographical Dictionaries of the Continent, all the important lives are of course on a large scale; but the very universality of the work must still render it unable to discuss at such length as Englishmen must occasionally require the memoirs of Englishmen, consequently the two works may with propriety range side by side on the same shelves. Of the other important and admirable works of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, its Almanacks, its Maps, its Libraries of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, its Penny Magazines, and Penny Cyclopædias, all are too well known to require any lengthened comment upon them here. The success of these publications forms an epoch in the history of literature. The society has proved that high excellence and great expenditure in production may proceed simultaneously with an exceedingly low charge on distribution; and the effects of its success on the trade of bookselling generally, and consequently on the state of English literature, have been of the most important character. The founder of the society was Mr., now Lord, Brougham, who called the first meeting in 1826. The charter was not obtained till 1832. At first the society was supported by the subscriptions of its members; but these were gradually discontinued, as some

* Edinburgh Review; Royal Society of Literature, Oct. 1843.

of the publications became profitable, and afforded means for the preparation of others which were not.

Let us now without ceremony pay an Asmodeus-like visit to two or three of the other societies we have named, stopping with each just so long as we see fit, or think their doings of any interest to us. Here is the Linnæan in Soho Square, held in the house bequeathed to it by Sir Joseph Banks, and in which Sir Joseph himself resided. The society was formed in 1788 by Sir J. E. Smith, and incorporated in 1802, with the object of studying natural history, and more particularly that branch of it for which the great Swede from whom it derives its name was so celebrated. But the society does not possess the name only of Linnæus, but his library and herbarium also, purchased by Sir James Smith, for 1000*l.* The herbarium occupies three small cases, and is as valuable for the determination by its means of the synonyms of the writings of the philosopher, as it is interesting from being the personal relic that was of all other relics of him the most desirable to be preserved. But what are the members doing? Admitting new members, or Fellows, as they are called. This over, the essential business of the evening commences. A flying fish is presented by one member. Another reads a letter giving an account of a flight of locusts recently witnessed in India, that literally darkened the air, and which, though moving at the rate of four miles an hour, took a party travelling in an opposite direction two or three hours to pass through. A paper follows on the echinidæ (sea-eggs, or sea-urchins, as our unphilosophical fishermen call them) of the Ægean Sea, one of which, we learn, delights in waters of some 70 fathoms deep, and climbs up the corals by means of its spines alone. But enough of the Linnæan; let us see what they are doing at the Royal Astronomical Society. Nothing, apparently, of great interest this evening, so let us mention a noticeable anecdote connected with it, and pass on to the Royal Geographical. To ensure accuracy in the calculation of some important astronomical tables, separate computers were employed; and when they had performed their task, two members were chosen to compare the results, when so many errors were detected, that one of the examiners expressed his regret that the labour could not be executed by a machine. The other replied that it *was* possible. The speaker was Mr. Babbage, who, setting to work to develop the idea thus suggested, at last produced one of the most remarkable of scientific wonders, the Calculating Machine.

The evening's business of the Royal Geographical Society is of considerable interest, relating chiefly to that land of romance and terror to all travellers, Africa. During some recent explorations on the north-east coast of Africa, a new and important river has been discovered, rising near the foot of the southern slope of the great Abyssinian plateau, and winding through a country of the richest soil, "well cultivated by a *happy* and hospitable race," where grain ripens all the year, and yields from 80 to 150 fold. Well done, gentlemen travellers! go on, you will no doubt be able to find us the veritable Happy Valley of Rasselas itself, before long! A portion of a letter is also read, to which recent circumstances give still higher value; it comes from Macao, and gives an account of Hong Kong, that new lodgment of the British, from whence our merchants begin to look upon the vast Chinese empire before them, newly opening to their industry

and enterprise, with something like the feeling of the followers of Cortez as expressed in Keats' sonnet, when they—

“Look'd at each other with a wild surmise,
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.”

The history of the Royal Geographical Society is of a noticeable character, as may be readily supposed when we state that such expeditions as Captain Alexander's to the Cape of Good Hope, M. Schomburgk's to British Guiana, and Captain Back's to the Arctic Regions, were all sent out by the Society. Then, again, the facilities which our naval officers have of procuring information in all parts of the world, and who are of course happy to communicate it to such a Society, and the number of enterprising and intelligent travellers, who also make it the recipient of their experience by sea and land, combine to render its publications of the highest character for originality and value. The annual contribution of members is but trifling, considering the amount of good effected; each pays two pounds. Leaving the investigations of the Geographers, with the entire surface of the world before them, for examination and discovery, suppose we now step into the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street, and hear one of the greatest chemists of the present day, concentrate genius and the learning of a life-time, upon no larger a portion of that world than he can hold in his own hands. That is all he wants to explain and illustrate the new views he is promulgating, “touching electric conduction and the nature of matter,” and which lead him to the conclusion that matter consists of centres of fires, around which the forces are grouped; that particles do touch, and that the forces round those centres are melted; that wherever this power extends, there matter is; that wherever the atmospheres of force coalesce, there the matter becomes continuous; lastly, that particles can penetrate each other. Not only in this discourse by Mr. Faraday, but in others announced after its conclusion, by such men as Professors Brande, Owen, and others, we perceive that the Royal Institution desires to keep up the chemical reputation which was raised to so high a pitch by Sir Humphry Davy's exertions in its laboratory. A large portion of that philosopher's history may be called also the history of the Institution, so intimately have they been connected. In 1799 Southey, in a letter to William Taylor of Norwich, thus writes of Davy, whom he had previously praised for his poetry:—“Davy is a surprising young man, and one who, by his unassumingness, his open warmth of character, and his all-promising talents, soon conciliates our affections. He writes me that two paralytic patients have been cured by the gaseous oxyd of azote—the beatific gas, for discovering which, if he had lived in the time of the old Persian kings, he would have received the reward proposed for the inventing a new pleasure.” It was in 1801 that Davy came to London at the request of Count Rumford, who had just founded the Institution, and who offered him the appointment of assistant lecturer on chemistry, which was ultimately to be exchanged for that of the sole professorship of chemistry, “with an income,” says Davy in one of his letters, “of at least 500*l.* a-year.” His principal motive in coming to London was, it is stated, the ampler scope that would be afforded to him in the laboratory of the New Institution, where all the apparatus was to be at his sole and uncontrolled use for private experiments. And seldom has apparatus been kept in more active operation than Davy kept it from

the time of his arrival in London, seldom has laboratory been made memorable by more truly valuable discoveries, than that of the Royal Institution by him. He might well love that laboratory as he did: he might well make it his real home. His brother and biographer has given us a view of the place and of the master spirit's movements in it, which we are tempted to extract:—"The room was spacious, well ventilated, well lighted from above, and well supplied with water. It was divided into two compartments, nearly of equal dimensions; one the laboratory proper, the other provided with rows of seats to be used as a theatre for the accommodation of the students of practical chemistry. The apparatus most conspicuous, and most in use, were a sand-bath for chemical purposes, and for heating the room; a powerful blast-furnace; a moveable iron forge, with a double bellows; a blow-pipe apparatus, attached to a table, with double bellows underneath; a large mercurial trough, and two or three water pneumatic troughs, and various galvanic troughs; not to mention gasometers, filtering stands, and the common necessities of a laboratory of glass or earthenware, &c.; and not to mention the delicate instruments liable to be injured by acid fumes which were commonly kept in another room, as air-pumps, balances, &c. In brief, in regard to its equipment and appearance, it was altogether a working laboratory, designed for research; there was no finery in it, or sitting up for display; nothing to attract vulgar admiration, no arrangement of apparatus in orderly disposition for lectures, and scarcely any apparatus solely intended for this purpose. It was, indeed, an almost constant scene of laborious research; and the preparation for the weekly lecture, or lectures, was considered not the most important matter, but rather as an interruption to the ordinary course of experimental investigation. In the laboratory, where my brother spent a great portion of every day that he was in town, and at leisure, he was unremittingly engaged in original experiments; and even in his absence the operations were not suspended; they were continued by his assistants, according to the directions which he had given; and, when he returned, he finished the experiments, and examined the results. Nothing was left to memory; an entry was made in a large book, kept for the purpose, of all that had occurred, written either by himself or by an assistant from his dictation; not, indeed, in minute detail, for that would have occupied too much time, but briefly, for aiding the memory, and minutely only in regard to weight and measure, and what was most important and characteristic. In his inquiries there never was any mystery or concealment, but the most perfect openness. The register of experiments was left open; he received his friends in the laboratory, and conversed with them on the objects of inquiry in progress; and however intensely engaged he was always accessible. I can never forget his manner when occupied in his favourite pursuit; his zeal mounted to enthusiasm, which he more or less imparted to those around him. With cheerful voice and countenance, and a hand as ready to manipulate as his mind was quick to contrive, he was indefatigable in his exertions. *He was delighted with success, but not discouraged by failure*; and he bore failures and accidents in experiments with a patience and forbearance, even when owing to the awkwardness of assistants, which could hardly have been expected from a person of his ardent temperament. And his boldness in experimenting was very remarkable: in the operations of the laboratory danger was very much forgotten, and exposure to danger

was an every-day occurrence. Considering the risks run, and the few, if any, precautions taken against accidents, it is surprising how small a number of injuries were received. The only two serious wounds I recollect he sustained, were in the hand and eye; the one from receiving on his hand a quantity of melted potash; the other from the explosion of a detonating compound. Had his constitution been bad, the use of both hand and eye would probably have been impaired; indeed, the eye ever after retained the mark of the wound inflicted on the transparent cornea, and never perfectly recovered its strength.”*

Davy gave his first lecture in the Institution in the year 1801, the subject being that which from a very early period had most deeply interested him—galvanism; and in connection with which some of his greatest future triumphs were to be achieved. Sir Joseph Banks, Count Rumford, and other distinguished men were present, and highly pleased with the new lecturer. Dr. Paris speaks of his uncouth appearance; whilst, on the other hand, the ladies, it appears, remarked that his “eyes were made for something besides poring over crucibles.” In 1807 he announced that discovery in the Institution of which Dr. Paris says, “Since the account given by Newton of his first discoveries in optics, it may be questioned, whether so happy and successful an instance of philosophical induction has ever been afforded as that by which Davy discovered the composition of the fixed alkalis,” through the power of decomposing them by galvanism.



[Sir Humphry Davy.]

But to some the history of the Royal Institution presents a feature of greater attraction even than Davy's connection with it. It was within its walls that Coleridge delivered his famous lectures on poetry, and among many other important services rendered to the art and faculty divine, through their medium promulgated those views on Shakspeare which have since spread far and wide, and entitle one to hope the great bard will be at last esteemed as *justly* in his own as in foreign countries. From what we have written, the objects of the Royal Institution will be tolerably apparent; in official language, they are “to diffuse the knowledge and facilitate the introduction of useful inventions and improvements; and to

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 256.

teach, by courses of lectures and experiments, the application of science to the common purposes of life." The Institution possesses quite a staff of professors; two of the professorships have been endowed by the munificence of a single individual, and are called by his name, Fullerian. Besides the laboratory, there is a museum and a noble library. Members are admitted by ballot and on payment of an entrance-fee of six guineas, and five guineas yearly.

From the Royal Institution, where Davy fulfilled so long and so honourably the post of Chemical Professor, to the Royal Society, of which he became the President, the thoughts pass by a natural transition. And now, like the traveller who has ascended to the source of some magnificent river, along the banks of which, far away on either side, he has seen the evidences of the fertility that those waters have done so much to create, we rest content, and look upon our literary, as he upon his actual, journey as essentially finished, and resign ourselves to the reflections naturally suggested by such a position. In glancing over the history of the Royal Society, it is this consideration of its relative situation as regards all the other learned bodies of the Metropolis that even more than the intrinsic value of that history, great as it is, makes, and must ever make it most deeply interesting. Boyle, in a letter of the date of 1646, speaks of the Invisible or Philosophical Society, and there can be little doubt but he refers to the meetings from which the Royal Society sprang, and which, being held in all sorts of places, now at the lodgings of one of the members, now at the Gresham College, and now somewhere in the neighbourhood of the latter, were practically *invisible* enough to all but the initiated. Among these members were Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, the author of a 'Discovery of a New World' in the Moon, and of suggestions as to the best way of getting to it; Dr. Wallis, the eminent mathematician; and Dr. Goddard, a physician in Wood Street; all of whom during the Commonwealth obtained appointments at Oxford, and there formed a similar society. In 1659 most of the members of the two societies found themselves met together once more in London, and then, joining with the two Gresham professors of astronomy and geometry, Christopher Wren and Rooke, who were at that time delivering lectures in the college, and with several persons of distinction, the whole met after the lectures in an adjoining room for philosophical conversation. And so matters went on very pleasantly till the resignation of the Protectorship by Richard Cromwell, when the apartments occupied for scientific purposes were converted into quarters for soldiers, and the members of the society for a time dispersed. On the Restoration, however, they met again, and began to form themselves into a regular society. An address was presented to the king, who gave it a very flattering and promising reception; and, two years later, something better still, namely, a charter of incorporation under the name of the Royal Society, also granting the usual privileges of holding lands and tenements, suing and defending in courts of law, having a coat of arms and a common seal. The noble spirit in which the Society commenced operations is attested by the resolutions drawn up at the time, in which it was "agreed that records should be made of all the works of nature and art of which any account could be obtained; so that the present age and posterity might be able to mark the errors which have been strengthened by long prescription, to



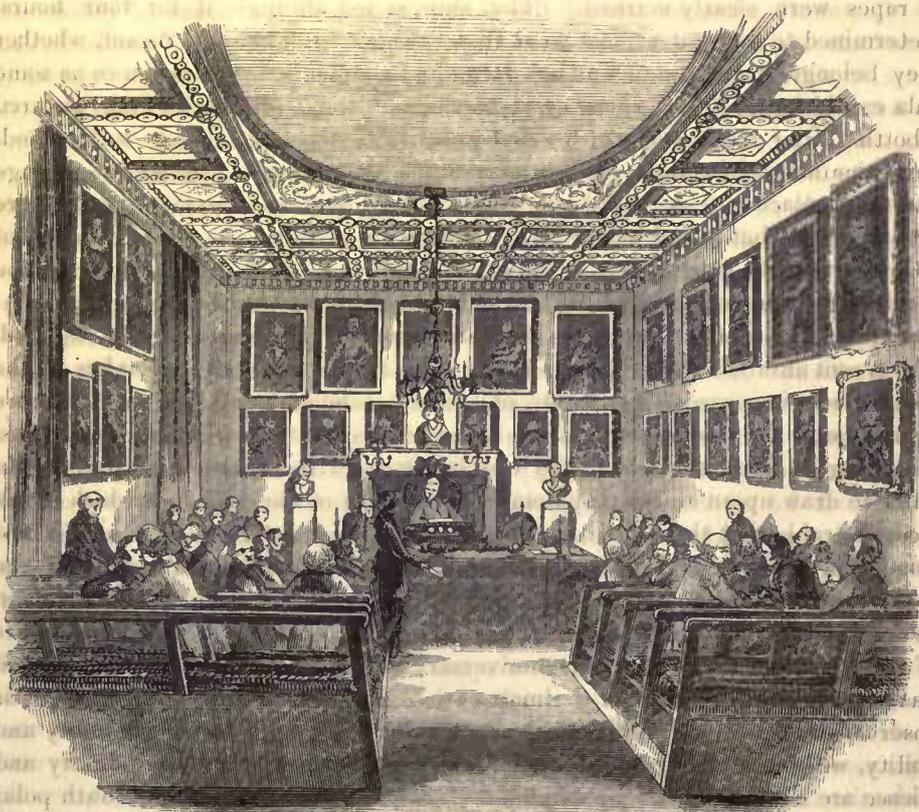
[Seal of the Royal Society.]

restore truths which have been long neglected, and to extend the uses of those already known; thus making the way easier to those which were yet unknown. It was also resolved to admit men of different religions, professions, and nations, in order that the knowledge of nature might be freed from the prejudices of sects, and from a bias in favour of any particular branch of learning, and that all mankind might as much as possible be engaged in the pursuit of philosophy, which it was proposed to reform not by laws and ceremonies, but by practice and example. It was further resolved that the Society should not be a school where some might teach and others be taught, but rather a sort of laboratory where all persons might operate independently of one another.* We have already seen what an immense amount of good, direct and indirect, has flowed from the Royal Society; we may now see in this brief outline of its original views that such admirable results have been but the natural consequences of admirable principles. The combined objects and effects of all the learned societies of the present day could hardly be more accurately described than they are in this important document dated nearly two centuries back. And it was no mere flourish of the pen, but a genuine preparation for downright hard labour. The world of knowledge was before the members to choose what paths they would, and with characteristic ardour they chose all, or something very like all; but that was in consequence of the universality of their minds, not through conceit, or presumption; and they went to work with a full consciousness of what would be demanded from them. They divided themselves into committees. In March, 1644, we find no less than eight of these in operation; one to consider and improve all mechanical inventions, a second to study astronomy and optics, a third to study anatomy, a fourth chemistry, a fifth geology, a sixth the histories of trade, a seventh, to collect all the phenomena of nature hitherto observed, and all experiments made and recorded; an eighth, to manage the correspondence; whilst

* 'Penny Cyclopaedia,' article Royal Society.

later in the year we find a ninth constituted, it having been "suggested that there were several persons of the society whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, and particularly for philosophical purposes;" which can hardly be questioned when we know that among the members of the society were such men as John Dryden and Edmund Waller, both of whom, with Evelyn and Sprat, were included in the committee then voted. Among the other members of the society at the same time were Dr. Ent, the friend and defender of Harvey; Boyle, the great cultivator of experimental science; Sir Kenelm Digby; the poets Denham and Cowley; Ashmole, Aubrey, Isaac Barrow, Hooke, the distinguished chemist and mechanic, who professed to have anticipated Newton, a somewhat later member of the society, in his grandest discoveries; Spratt, another poet in his way, afterwards Bishop of Rochester; and many others of scarcely less distinction. It is pleasant to have even the driest description of the meetings of such men; and such is afforded to us by an eye-witness, Sorbière, historiographer to Louis XIII., who came to England in 1633, was elected a member of the society, and published a narrative of his adventures, including a tolerably full account of the body he had joined. He notices first the beadle, "who goes before the president with a mace, which he lays down on the table when the society have taken their places." This mace, still in the society's possession, was the gift of Charles II.; it was *the* mace referred to by Cromwell, when he turned the Commons out of the house of Parliament, and bade his soldiers "Take away that bauble." "The room," continues Sorbière, "where the society meets is large and wainscotted; there is a large table before the chimney, with seven or eight chairs covered with green cloth about it, and two rows of wooden and matted benches to lean on, the first being higher than the others, in form like an amphitheatre. The president and council are elective; they mind no precedency in the society, but the president sits at the middle of the table in an elbow-chair, with his back to the chimney. The secretary sits at the end of the table on his left hand; and they have each of them pen, ink, and paper before them. I saw nobody sit in the chairs; I think they are reserved for persons of great quality, or those who have occasion to draw near the president. All the other members take their places as they think fit, and without ceremony; and if any one comes in after the society is fixed, nobody stirs, but he takes a place presently where he can find it, so that no interruption may be given to him that speaks. The president has a little wooden mace in his hand, with which he strikes the table when he would command silence; they address their discourse to him bare-headed till he makes a sign for them to put on their hats; and there is a relation given in a few words of what is thought proper to be said concerning the experiments proposed by the secretary. There is nobody here eager to speak, that makes a long harangue, or intent upon saying all he knows; he is never interrupted that speaks, and differences of opinion cause no manner of resentment, nor as much as a disobliging way of speech; there is nothing seemed to me to be more civil, respectful, and better managed than this meeting; and if there are any private discourses held between any while a member is speaking, they only whisper, and the least sign from the president causes a sudden stop, though they have not told their mind out. I took

special notice of this conduct in a body consisting of so many persons, and of such different nations." And it was worthy of notice, as showing how truly the many remarkable men congregated upon those "wooden and matted benches" had imbibed the calm philosophical spirit in which alone truth can be successfully sought. At the same time one must acknowledge that some of the occupations of this august assembly must excite a smile. Boyle was at one time requested to examine the truth of the notion, that a fish suspended by a thread would turn towards the wind. At another the members of the Society tested by direct experiment the truth of the opinion that a spider could not get out of a sphere enclosed within a circle formed of a powdered unicorn's horn! We should like to have marked the progress of that experiment, carried on, as we may be sure it was, with all the usual formalities and decorum so circumstantially described by Sorbière. As a contrast to this picture suppose we look in upon the Society now. Let us step in here beneath Sir William Chambers's sumptuous archway at Somerset House, and passing through a door on the left, ascend the circular staircase to the apartments of which it enjoys the use through the liberality of the crown. We must not expect to find the vigour that characterised its youth. It was no doubt a consciousness



Royal Society's Apartments, Somerset House.

of some little fallings-off that first prompted Davy, when he became its president, to propose his magnificent scheme of making the Royal Society "an efficient establishment for all the great purposes of science, similar to the college contemplated by Lord Bacon, and sketched in his 'New Atlantis;' having subordinate to it the Royal Observatory at Greenwich for astronomy, the British Museum for natural history in its most extensive acceptance, and a laboratory founded for chemical investigation, amply provided with all the means requisite for original inquiry, and extending the boundaries and the resources of this most important national science." But government was lukewarm, and before Davy could collect funds from the fellows to carry out the scheme in part at least among themselves, he died. Well, if there be, as we have observed, less of the original activity of the Society exhibited now than of yore, we have at all events got rid of the fish-weathercocks and the circle-charmed spiders: but stay; the business of the evening commences, and we shall hear what subjects do now engage attention. A most interesting paper in the form of a letter is read, on that matter which has so often, and hitherto so fruitlessly, engaged attention—the luminous spots occasionally visible on the sea. Captain F. E. Wilmot, it seems, on a recent voyage home from the Cape, observed one of them during a night in spring, when the sea was covered with so brilliant a surface of silver light, that the persons in the ship could see to read, and the shadows of ropes were clearly marked. The ship sailed through it for four hours. Determined to find out at last what these oceanic illuminations meant, whether they belonged to philosophy as but so many animalcula, or to romance as some gala exhibition of the mermaids and mermen of the depths below, they secured a bottle full of the water, which was carefully corked, and brought to England. On examining the water, Mr. Faraday found that though considerable change had taken place in it, so that organic forms could no longer be recognised, there was no doubt that it had been rich in animals or animalcula. But we need not follow farther the proceedings of the evening, which of course depend much upon accident for their value; and will, therefore, instead, notice one of the more important of the matters in which the Society has of late been actively engaged. The recent antarctic expedition under Captain James Ross was undertaken by the Government in consequence, chiefly, of its recommendation. Before the departure of the vessels the Council of the Society formed itself into five distinct committees, consisting of members practically conversant with the sciences in question, in order to draw up an elaborately detailed statement of the inquiries which it was most desirable that the expedition should undertake, so far at least as circumstances permitted; and which embraced the determinations of points of the highest importance in physics, meteorology, mineralogy, geology, botany, and zoology. The results of that expedition formed one of the most gratifying topics of the President's address at the anniversary meeting in November last, when it was stated to have achieved "almost entire success;" and that the "magnetic observations made by Captain Ross and his officers, with so much assiduity and ability, will be the enduring monument of their fame as long as industry and science are held in honour by mankind. The magnetic maps of the South polar regions will be a result which all philosophers must hail with delight, while the

geographer will rejoice in the advancement of our knowledge so far to the southward of all former navigation, and in our acquaintance with a new polar volcano, compared to which Hecla sinks into insignificance." It is at once pleasant and pertinent to be able to add that science on this occasion, whilst requiring so much from the discoverers, did almost everything that was most important for them during their labours, as regards health, comfort, and safety. So admirable were the preparations for the voyage that, during the three years of its duration, but one man of the crews of both ships suffered from disease and died.

At the yearly anniversary to which we have referred, gold medals are conferred upon the authors of the best papers on experimental philosophy, written in the preceding twelve months, and who are often personally present to receive them from the hands of the President, with some suitable remarks on the occasion made in the course of his general address. One honourable feature characterises the grant of these medals—they are conferred indifferently on foreigners and Englishmen. At the last anniversary, for instance, M. Jean B. Dumas received one for his *Recherches in Organic Chemistry*. In former years we find still more distinguished foreign names, such as MM. Biot and Arago. Among the Englishmen who have received this honour at the hands of the Society may be mentioned Dr. Priestley, Mr. Dalton, Mr. Ivory, and Sir John Herschel. But of all the meetings connected with the Royal Society, those of which the public hear the least are by far the most attractive; we allude to those private re-unions of the members for social enjoyment and conversation. During the presidency of Sir Joseph Banks these were of a very brilliant description; and while Sir Humphry Davy resided in Lower Grosvenor Street they were continued with no less spirit under his. His brother gives a graphic account of them. Here were "brought together," he says, "not merely men of science, but also literary men, poets, artists, country gentlemen; and they were very attractive to foreigners. The subjects of interest of the day were there discussed, and curious information obtained from the best source, and knowledge exchanged between individuals, as in a great mart of traffic, each giving and receiving according to his acquirements and wants. There the physiologist and naturalist might collect curious particulars from an African traveller, or Arctic navigator, respecting many objects of his particular inquiries, and give hints for further investigation, or solve questions which might have perplexed the original observer. An evening seldom occurred without some novelty in art, science, or nature being brought forward—as the bones from the Kirkdale cave, or a new chemical compound, or a magnetical experiment, or a recently discovered mineral or some new instrument or apparatus; and a great zest was given by the presence, as was generally the case, of the inventor or discoverer, who was always willing to offer explanation, and to give detailed information to those who were desirous of receiving it. And, moreover, a stimulus was thus imparted—a fresh excitement to the mind to continue and perfect useful investigations; and aids were often given which greatly contributed to the successful termination of scientific labours. In these parties the distinctions of society seemed very much to be lost in the distinctions which science and merit confer. Men of the highest rank in the country mingled with men without any claim to notice, excepting that high one of superior knowledge; and it was a noble thing

to see how much more attractive it was, and more honoured than the highest nobility destitute of this qualification. I remember one evening, when the company was reduced to a small number by the lateness of the hour, and those who remained had collected round the fire, one of the party, I believe it was Dr. Young, observed in playful remark, 'All I perceive here are doctors;' and so it proved; there being two or three doctors of physic—one, I believe, of divinity, and three of civil laws: and of these last, two were baronets, and one was an earl, who, though distinguished for his high bearing on ordinary occasions, on this occasion, seemed pleased to be considered of the same grade as the rest.* The number of members or Fellows of the Royal Society is now about 500; these are only admitted by ballot, and after the preliminary recommendations of at least six Fellows, and on their admission ten pounds as entrance-money and four pounds for the first year's subscription are paid. The original regular payment was one shilling weekly, and some very curious matter is recorded in the books of the Society in connection with this point. In 1681-2 we find the advice of counsel taken as to whether an action might not be brought for arrears, who decided in the affirmative. The Society, however, does not appear to have resorted to that expedient, but kept up, instead, a close system of dunning. The poet Waller was among the defaulters, who sent to say that the plague happening some time after the Society was established, and he being perpetually in parliament, had never been able to attend the Society, either to serve them or to receive any advantage thereby; that he was then of a great age, had lost half his fortune for the king, and having a great charge of children, hoped that he should be considered as well as others who had not been able to wait on them any more than himself, and he humbly took leave to consider how he might be able to serve them. Another striking case is that of Newton, afterwards President of the Society; on the 28th of January, 1674-5, he was excused from making the customary payment "on account of his low circumstances, as he alleged." Besides the general advantages attending the right of witnessing and sharing in all the proceedings of the body, Fellows receive a direct return for some portion of their subscription in the current yearly volume of the great publication of the Society, the *Philosophical Transactions*, of which above 130 volumes have now been issued, and which, in Sir Humphry Davy's words, "remain monuments of all the country has possessed of profound in experimental research, or ingenious in discovery, or sublime in speculative science, from the time of Hooke and Newton to that of Maskelyne and Cavendish."

Of the Society of Antiquaries, which holds its meetings in apartments adjoining those of the Royal Society, and on the same evenings, but at an earlier hour, we need say very little. It was in existence as early as the reign of Elizabeth, when a few distinguished scholars, headed by Archbishop Parker and Sir Robert Cotton, formed themselves into a body for the preservation of our national antiquities. From thence to 1617 various attempts were made to obtain a charter of incorporation, but ineffectually, and the society then died away. In 1707 a new body was constituted, comprising Peter le Neve, Madox the Exchequer anti-

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 133.

quary, and others, who met first at the Bear in the Strand, then at the Young Devil in Fleet Street (a rival, we presume, of the famous Old Devil of poetical memory), and then at the Fountain over against Chancery Lane. Here Stukeley, Samuel and Roger Gale, and Browne Willis joined them, and a little later George Vertue, the illustrious engraver, became a zealous member. Many other removals took place; but at last, in 1750, a charter was obtained, and since then of course all has gone on very smoothly. Numerous publications have appeared, some of great value, more particularly the 'Archæologia,' which is to the Antiquarian Society what the 'Philosophical Transactions' are to the Royal, a place of deposit for all the more important communications submitted to its notice. Its members are nearly as numerous as those of the Royal Society, which in all its arrangements for admission, government, &c., it closely resembles.



[Lord Chancellor's Court, Westminster Hall]

CL.—COURTS OF LAW.

THE ancient practice of particular trades confining themselves for the most part to one spot, as in old London, would, in many instances, be about as convenient in London of the present day as a whole street of post-office receiving-houses, or the crowding together of all the members of the medical profession in one neighbourhood. The old custom may, however, still be traced faintly in some cases, and stronger in others; and in a great capital this will always be the case. So long, for instance, as the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange and the Royal Exchange shall exist, their vicinity will necessarily be the centre of the great monetary and commercial interests. Not less distinct and well defined, perhaps even more so, is the law quarter of London. Of the nine thousand attorneys in England who practise in the superior Courts of Law and Equity at Westminster, above two thousand seven hundred reside in London, and one thousand three hundred of them have their offices within half a mile of Lincoln's Inn. Five thousand four hundred and fifty-five country attorneys employ four hundred and eighty out of the above-mentioned one thousand three hundred London attorneys, to transact their court business; and two-thirds of the four hundred and eighty practise within a quarter of a mile of Lincoln's Inn. Again, fifty-one legal firms act as agents for above three thousand country attorneys,

which is not very far from one-half of the whole business of the country attorneys in the kingdom; and these fifty-one firms are all within about four hundred yards of Lincoln's Inn. Or, taking the London attorneys and those of the country for whom they act in the superior courts, their geographical distribution is as follows:—In the district of the Inns of Court, London attorneys, one thousand three hundred and sixty-five; country, five thousand two hundred and thirty-one; making together six thousand five-hundred and ninety-six. Within the boundary of the City, east of the law district, London attorneys, eight hundred and three; country attorneys, one thousand three hundred and twenty-one; together, two thousand one hundred and twenty-four. Allotting to Westminster a district larger in extent than either of the above, there are one hundred and twenty-four attorneys; London, ninety; country, thirty-four. There are less than six hundred London attorneys and their legal country clients to be accounted for out of the total number in England, and these are to be found scattered in the north-east and north-west of London, and on the Surrey side of the river. In whatever part of London an attorney may reside, the law-offices draw him almost daily to the law quarter of the metropolis; and hence, both for convenience and dispatch, it is an important object with him to have his chambers in their vicinity. The offices attached to the Courts of Law are principally in the Temple and Lincoln's Inn; and those of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer chiefly in Chancery-Lane. Not a step can be taken in suits of law without resorting to one or other of these offices. The Judges' chambers, where very important business is transacted before the Judges of each of the superior Common Law Courts, are in Rolls' Gardens, Chancery Lane.

The Courts of Law, though for ages they have sat at Westminster, have not had the effect of drawing the law-offices after them, because it was absolutely necessary that these offices should be situated in the midst of the law district, that is, in or about the Inns of Court. Still, the fact that nine-tenths of the whole court business of the country is conducted in offices a mile and a mile and a half from the Courts at Westminster Hall is a remarkable one. In one respect nothing can be more appropriate than the situation of the Courts of Law at Westminster, the ancient seat of the Kings of England. The origin of these Courts may be traced to a period when the elements of the constitution were in their simplest state, and when legislative, administrative, and judicial functions were discharged more immediately by the Sovereign, assisted by the "wittena-gemote," or assembly of the wise, whom he consulted in each of these departments indiscriminately. After the conquest the King was assisted in a similar way by the Great Council. The Aula Regis, so called from being held in the Hall of the King's Palace, was the great court for dispensing justice and punishing crimes committed against his power. When the Great Council sat in their judicial capacity, they were assisted by the great officers of state, who held situations in the King's household, and the one who, in modern phraseology, is called the Lord High Steward, was not only at the head of the King's Palace, but of all the departments of the state, civil and military, chief administrator of justice, and leader of the armies in war. In the course of time the judicial functions were committed to an officer styled the Chief Justiciary; but to the office of Lord High Steward there still pertain remnants of his ancient authority, and it

is his duty to preside at state-trials in the House of Lords. The Chief Justiciary presided in the Aula Regis, which was the only superior Court of Law. The functions of this tribunal had become gradually separated from the general business of the Great Council. It maintained the former power of the Great Council in punishing offences against the public, in controlling the proceedings of inferior Courts, and in deciding on questions relative to the revenue of the Sovereign, and engrossed besides a great portion of the "common pleas," or causes between party and party. The different nature of the causes of which it took cognizance are styled by our earlier legal writers as pleas of the King, common pleas, and pleas of the Exchequer. The jurisdiction of the Chief Justiciar extended over each class of causes. In the reign of Edward III. (fourteenth century), the Great Council became essentially a legislative body, and as it now exists it is styled the High Court of Parliament, and is the Court of ultimate appeal. The office of Chief Justiciar was abolished in the same reign, and thus not only the connexion of the Aula Regis with the Great Council was destroyed, but the unity of that Court was broken in upon, and separate jurisdiction was given to the three Courts of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. One of the articles of Magna Charta was, that common pleas should not follow the King's Court, but be held in certain places. Previously the poorer class of suitors in cases which concerned neither the King's revenues nor his prerogative of prosecuting offenders on behalf of the public, were compelled, in civil actions between man and man, to attend the frequent and distant progresses of the Court, or to lose their remedies altogether. The Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer still retain their peculiar jurisdiction, the former enjoying superiority as the remnant of the Aula Regis, and, the latter having cognizance of all cases relating to the revenue. So recently as 1830 the appeal from the judgment of the Court of Common Pleas was by writ of error, to the Justices of the King's Bench. The Court of Exchequer is the lowest in rank of the superior Courts, although formerly one of the first in importance. The Judges are the Chief Baron and four other barons, who are so called from having been anciently chosen from such as were barons of the kingdom or parliamentary barons. Another relic of the original constitution of the superior Courts, before they were carried out of the Aula Regis, appears in the appellation of "My Lord," which is always given to the Judges in their official character. In 1832 an Act was passed for assimilating the practice of the Common Law Courts. Before this time, besides the peculiar jurisdiction exercised by the Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas had the exclusive right of trying all causes which related to freehold or realty. The right of practising in this Court in term time was and is confined to Serjeants-at-Law, the attempt to deprive them of this privilege having failed. The great mass of causes may now, therefore, be tried in any of the three courts. The Court of Exchequer consists of two divisions, one having jurisdiction in matters relating to the revenue; and the other is sub-divided into a Court of Common Law, where all personal actions may be brought, and a Court of Equity, where suits in equity may be commenced and prosecuted. In the reign of Edward III. (in 1358) a court was erected, called the Court of Exchequer Chamber, to determine causes upon writs of error from the Common Law side of the Exchequer. An appeal may now be made from each of the three Courts to

this Chamber; and from whichever Court it is brought, it is the Judges of the other two Courts who decide upon it; but an ultimate appeal may be made to the House of Lords. The number of the Judges of England since 1830 has been fifteen, a Chief Justice and four puisne Judges in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and a Chief Baron and four other barons in the Court of Exchequer. There were previously only four Judges in each Court.

The Courts of Equity, which have jurisdiction in cases where an adequate remedy cannot be had in the Common Law Courts, are not confined to Westminster Hall. The Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and the Vice-Chancellor, have their Courts there; and they sit at Westminster in term-time; but in the intervals, the Lord Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor sit at Lincoln's Inn, and the Master of the Rolls, the second equity judge in point of rank, at the Rolls in Chancery Lane. In 1841 two additional vice-chancellors were appointed by Act of Parliament; and the first vice-chancellor is now distinguished by the title of Vice-Chancellor of England. The Lord High Chancellor was originally a sort of confidential chaplain, or, before the Reformation, confessor to the King, and keeper of the King's conscience. In his capacity of chief secretary he was the adviser of his master in various temporal matters; he prepared and made out royal mandates, grants, and charters, and, when seals came into use, affixed his seal. The appointment to the office takes place by the delivery of the great seal. The authority of Lord Chancellor and Lord Keeper were made the same by an Act passed in 1563; and the last Lord Keeper was Lord Henley, in 1757. From a small beginning the office of Lord Chancellor became one of great dignity and pre-eminence, and he now takes rank above all dukes not of the blood-royal, and next to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Before the Reformation the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper was usually an ecclesiastic. The last churchman who filled the office was Williams, Archbishop of York, who was Lord Keeper from 1621 to 1625. In the same century the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was neither an ecclesiastic nor a lawyer, was appointed Lord Chancellor. The jurisdiction with which the Lord High Chancellor is invested originated in the discretionary power of the King, whose special interference, as the fountain of justice, was frequently sought against the decisions of the Courts of Law, and also in matters which were not cognizable by the Common Courts. The Lord Chancellor also exercises important political functions, and has a seat in the cabinet. He resigns office with the party to which he is attached. The Court of Chancery is a name which properly belongs to the Lord Chancellor's Court and the Vice-Chancellor's Court together, but it is most frequently applied to all the Courts of Equity. The office of Vice-Chancellor is only of recent origin, having been created in 1813, and in 1841, as already mentioned, two additional vice-chancellors were appointed. The Master of the Rolls, another of the Judges in Equity, who has a separate Court, is an officer of great antiquity. He takes precedence next to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and before the Vice-Chancellors. The Master of the Rolls has the power of hearing and determining originally the same matters as the Lord Chancellor, with a few exceptions; but his orders or decrees must be signed by the Lord Chancellor before being enrolled. The Vice-Chancellor has nearly the same powers. Appeals (strictly speaking re-hearings) are made both from the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellor's Court to the Lord Chancellor, whose court of late years

has chiefly been occupied with such appeals. The property "locked up" in the Court of Chancery amounts to the enormous sum of 40,000,000*l*.

The public entrance to the Courts at Westminster is at the northern end of Westminster Hall. First is the Queen's Bench, next the Court of Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas, the Lord Chancellor's Court, and the Rolls Court. Few strangers omit paying a visit to the Courts of Law. The Courts themselves are very far from possessing any imposing architectural character; but the interest of the scene is independent of factitious circumstances. This spot has been the seat of justice for nearly a thousand years; and the history of our judicial tribunals, from the period when the sovereign dispensed justice in his great hall to the present time, is full of instruction as well as of interest. But strong as may be the *religio loci* which a visit to the courts may excite, the associations connected with the administration of justice will command respect wherever the tribunal may be fixed. The purity and dignity of our judicial procedure is no longer sullied by the vulgar abuse and clamour of a Jefferies to beat down the defence of an innocent man. The time has gone by since the sovereign (Queen Elizabeth) could say of a criminal that "she would have him racked to produce his authority;" for the practice then existed, even in England, of obtaining confession or evidence by means of torture. In the present day a prisoner, in the language of Erskine, "is covered all over with the armour of the law." Lastly, the judges are completely independent of the sovereign or his ministers. The Courts of Law, therefore, apart from the living realities which they present, exhibit a systematic spirit of tenderness and humanity, united with firmness and the absence of corrupt influence, which constitute the perfection of a judicial tribunal. The ordinary scenes witnessed in a court of justice are so well known as scarcely to need description. In their general appearance the Courts at Westminster do not very much differ from each other. The Lord Chancellor's Court is the smallest, and the Exchequer Court the largest. The Queen's Bench is inconveniently small. Nothing can be worse than the absence of accommodation for counsel, attorneys, jurymen, suitors, and witnesses. A witness has to make his way into the witness-box through the crowd, and, after he has struggled through this difficulty, it is possible that the excitement may have given him the air of a culprit rather than of a witness. There are no waiting-rooms for witnesses attached to any of the Courts, and no means of obtaining refreshment, except from the hotels and coffee-houses at the foot of Westminster Bridge. Scarcely any arrangements exist for facilitating consultations, and they are often held in the passages and avenues, or at one of the adjacent coffee-rooms, where five or six consultations are possibly taking place at the same time.

The profession of the law is one by which a man may rise to the highest stations in this country; and not a few of those who have at last succeeded have been on the point of retiring from the contest, when fortune has unexpectedly smiled upon them. Lord Camden and the Earl of Eldon both experienced a lucky turn in their affairs when they had almost abandoned the hopes of advancement. Some, again, have enjoyed an almost uninterrupted career of success. The sudden illness of a leader has given them an opportunity for the display of their abilities, while but for such an occurrence they might long have remained in obscurity.

Earl Camden, the son of Chief Justice Pratt, was called to the bar in his twenty-fourth year; and continued to wait in vain for clients for nine long years, when he resolved to abandon Westminster Hall for his College Fellowship; but at the solicitation of his friend Henley, afterwards Lord Chancellor Northington, he consented once more to go the Western Circuit, and through his kind offices received a brief as his junior in an important cause. His leader's illness threw the management of the case into Mr. Pratt's hands, and his success was complete. After eight years' lucrative practice he was made Attorney-General, and, three years after, in 1762, raised to the Bench as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He had entered Parliament in 1749, being then in his forty-sixth year, but did not gain much distinction. The honours of the Senate flowed in upon him at a later period of his life, after he was made Lord Chancellor, in 1766, and raised to the peerage. In 1770 he voted against his colleagues, on Wilkes's case, a circumstance which necessarily led to his removal from the woolsack. During the remaining twenty-four years of his life he was entirely a political character, and upon every occasion the right arm of Lord Chatham, after whose death, in 1778, he rarely took any part in debate. In 1792, when above eighty, he addressed the House in an able and energetic speech on the celebrated measure of Lord Erskine, commonly, though erroneously, says Lord Brougham, called Mr. Fox's Libel Act, which established the right of juries in libel cases in opposition to the slavish doctrines of the day. "Two years after he descended to the grave, full of years and honours, the most precious honours which a patriot can enjoy, the unabated gratitude of his countrymen, and the unbroken consciousness of having through good report and evil firmly maintained his principles, and faithfully discharged his duty." *



[Earl Camden. From a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.]

Mr. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, and Earl of Rosslyn, owed much of his success to the manœuvres of faction, though he was one of the few lawyers who have shone at the least as much in political affairs as in Westminster

* Lord Brougham's 'Statesmen of the Reign of George III.,' i. p. 180.



[Lord Loughborough.]

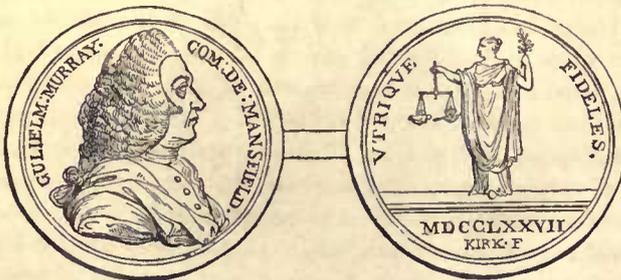
Hall. He entered parliament as a fierce opponent of Lord North's administration, and joined it when their policy, at the commencement of the war with America, was most questionable. Lord Brougham ascribes to his influence "the fancy respecting the coronation oath which so entirely obtained possession of George III.'s mind, and actuated his conduct during the whole discussion of Irish affairs." The cabinet to which he belonged was broken up, and he was made an earl and laid on the shelf. In the hope of regaining his ascendancy, he took an uncomfortable villa, which had only the recommendation of being in the vicinity of Windsor Castle, and here for three years he was to be seen dancing attendance on royalty, unnoticed and neglected by the king, who, when he heard of his late chancellor's death after an illness of a few hours, having cautiously inquired of the messenger if he were really dead, coldly observed, "Then he has not left a worse man behind him," though the phrase which the king actually used was, says Lord Brougham, less decorous and more unfeeling than the above.



[Lord Thurlow.]

Lord Thurlow's name is much more familiar with the greater part of the public than Lord Loughborough's, from the anecdotes which are current of the surliness of his character, his eccentricities, and his general disregard of judicial decorum. He was called to the bar in 1754, and, according to professional tradition, the circumstance which brought him into notice (the arrangement of the evidence in

the great Douglas cause before the House of Lords) was the result of mere accident. His support of the policy of the government respecting America procured for him a degree of confidence, and even of personal regard on the part of the king which continued undiminished for above twenty years. In 1778 Thurlow was made Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage. When the Rockingham ministry was formed in 1782, he remained in possession of the Great Seal at the express command of the king, who, however, in vain endeavoured to retain him when the coalition ministry was formed between Lord North and Mr. Fox. At the end of the year, when the coalition was dissolved, and Mr. Pitt became prime minister, the Seal was restored to Thurlow, and he held it for nine years afterwards. In 1788 he actively intrigued with the Whigs on the Regency question in opposition to his colleagues; but suddenly discovering from one of the physicians the approaching convalescence of the royal patient, he at one moment's notice deserted the Carlton House party, and, says Lord Brougham, "Came down with an assurance unknown to all besides, perhaps even to himself not known before, and in his place undertook the defence of the king's right against his son and his partisans;" adding, in conclusion, "And when I forget my sovereign may my God forget me!" When, however, Thurlow attempted, in 1792, the same trick with Pitt, whom he cordially hated, which he had played off under a former administration, by voting against his colleagues, the king, on Mr. Pitt's application, at once consented to Lord Thurlow's removal, "without," says Lord Brougham, "any struggle, or even apparent reluctance." As a judge he was accustomed to give his decisions without the reasons on which they rested, a habit much censured by succeeding chancellors. Lord Brougham says Lord Thurlow's place among lawyers is not amongst the highest; but his judgments for the most part gave satisfaction to the profession. It was perilous to try experiments on the limits of his patience by prolixity or endless repetition. Fox was accustomed to say that no man could *be* so wise as Lord Thurlow *looked*. In council he was far from being firm and vigorous, as might have been expected from the character of the man.



[Lord Mansfield.]

Few lawyers have been more tempted than Lord Mansfield to quit their profession for politics. But, either from prudence or timidity, he avoided the dangers of political life. Lord Brougham states that Mansfield's powers as an advocate were great, though not first-rate. He possessed an almost surpassing sweetness of voice, and it was said his story was worth other men's arguments, so clear and skilful were his statements. The very defects which he had betrayed as an advocate

were, says the same authority, admirably calculated for his more exalted station. "His mind and his habits were eminently judicial; and it may be doubted if, taking both the externals and the more essential qualities into the account, that go to form a great judge, any one has ever administered the laws in this country whom we can fairly name as his equal." The regulations which he made for the dispatch of business were calculated to diminish expense and delay. "He restored to the whole bar the privilege of moving in turn, instead of confining this to the last day of the term. He almost abolished the tedious and costly practice of having the same case argued several times over, restricting such re-hearings to questions of real difficulty and adequate importance. . . . The cases were so speedily and so well dispatched, that the other Courts of Common Law were drained of their business without the channels of the Court of King's Bench being choked up or overflowing."* During the thirty-two years which he presided over this great Court, there were not more than half-a-dozen cases in which the judges differed, and not so many in which the judgments pronounced were reversed. He presided regularly on the bench until his eighty-second year, and finally retired from it in 1788, being then in his eighty-fourth year, having continued, says Lord Brougham, to hold his high office for two or three years longer than he ought to have done, or could discharge its duties, in the hope of prevailing with the ministry to appoint his favourite, Judge Buller, his successor. He lived five years after his retirement. Lord Mansfield's leanings were not towards the popular side. "There is little room for doubt," observes Lord Brougham, "that in trials for libel he leant against the freedom of discussion, and favoured those doctrines long current, but now cried down by statute, which withdrew the cognizance of the question from the jury to vest it in the Court."

Among all the great names who have been the ornament of the Courts of Westminster, few are more popular than that of Erskine. His parliamentary talents have, in Lord Brougham's opinion, been underrated; but it is, he remarks, to the Forum and not the Senate that we must hasten if we would see, in his element and in his glory, this great man, "beyond all comparison the most accomplished advocate and the most eloquent that modern times have produced." † "Juries have declared that they felt it impossible to remove their looks from him when he had riveted and, as it were, fascinated them by his first glance; and it used to be a common remark of men who observed his motions, that they resembled those of a blood-horse; as light, as limber, as much betokening strength and speed, as free from all gross superfluity or incumbrance. Then hear his voice of surpassing sweetness, clear, flexible, strong, exquisitely fitted to strains of serious earnestness, deficient in compass, indeed, and much less fitted to express indignation, or even scorn, than pathos, but wholly free from either harshness or monotony. All these, however, and even his chaste, dignified, and appropriate action, were very small parts of this wonderful advocate's excellence. He had a thorough knowledge of men, of their passions and their feelings; he knew every avenue to the heart, and could at will make all its chords vibrate to his touch." Lord Brougham's sketch of Erskine is so admirably drawn, and presents so completely the *beau ideal* of an advocate, that we are tempted to continue the quotation. "Erskine's argumentative powers," his Lord-

* 'Statesmen,' vol. i. p. 105.

† Ib. 236.

ship observes, "were of the highest order; clear in his statements, close in his applications, unwearied and never to be diverted in his deductions, with a quick and sure perception of his point, and undeviating in the pursuit of whatever established it; endued with a nice discernment of the relative importance and weight of different arguments, and the faculty of assigning to each its proper place, so as to bring forward the main body of the reasoning in bold relief, and with its full breadth, and not weaken its effect by distracting and disturbing the attention of the audience among lesser particulars. His understanding was eminently legal: though he had never made himself a great lawyer, yet could he conduct a purely legal argument with the most perfect success; and his familiarity with all the ordinary matters of his profession was abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of the Forum. His memory was accurate and retentive in an extraordinary degree; nor did he ever, during the trial of a cause, forget any matter, how trifling soever, that belonged to it. His presence of mind was perfect in action, that is, before the jury, when a line is to be taken upon the instant, and a question risked to a witness, or a topic chosen with the tribunal, on which the whole fate of the cause may turn. No man made fewer mistakes; none left so few advantages unimproved; before none was it so dangerous for an advocate to be off his guard, for he was ever broad awake himself, and was as adventurous as he was skilful, and as apt to take advantage of any the least opening as he was cautious to leave none in his own battle. But to all these qualities he joined that fire, that spirit, that courage, which gave vigour and direction to the whole, and bore down all resistance. No man, with all his address and prudence, ever ventured upon more bold figures, and they were uniformly successful; for his imagination was vigorous enough to sustain any flight; his taste was correct and even severe, and his execution felicitous in the highest degree. . . . His acquaintance with the English tongue was so perfect, and his taste so exquisite, that nothing could exceed the beauty of his diction, whatever subject he attempted." To this admirable account of Erskine's oratorical powers, Lord Brougham appends a notice of his qualifications as a *Nisi Prius* advocate:—"His speaking was hardly more perfect than his examination of witnesses, the art in which so much of an English advocate's skill is shown; and his examination-in-chief was as excellent as his cross-examination,—a department so apt to deceive the vulgar, and which yet is, generally speaking, far less available, as it hardly ever is more difficult than the examination-in-chief or in reply. In all these various functions, whether of addressing the jury, or urging objections to the Court, or examining his own witnesses, or cross-examining his adversary's, this consummate advocate appeared to fill, at one and the same time, different characters; to act as the counsel and representative of the party, and yet to be the very party himself; while he addressed the tribunal to be also acquainted with every feeling and thought of the judge or the jury; and while he interrogated the witness, whether to draw from him all he knew, and in the most favourable shape, or to shake and displace all he said that was adverse, he appeared to have entered into the mind of the person he was dealing with, and to be familiar with all that was passing within it. It is by such means that the hearer is to be moved and the truth ascertained; and he will ever be the most successful advocate who can approach the nearest to this lofty and difficult position." But the deeds which Erskine did

cast into the shade even his transcendent eloquence. He upheld the liberty of the press and the rights of the people at a time when, but for his dauntless energy and courage, both were endangered. His noblest and most successful efforts were made in behalf of defendants in political prosecutions, which, but for him, would perhaps have ended in persecutions and proscriptions. Like most men of great minds, Erskine was "simple, natural, and amiable; full of humane feelings and kindly affections." The egotism with which he is chargeable was of the best-natured and least selfish kind. Erskine was called to the bar in Trinity Term, 1778, and in the same term at once established his reputation in a prosecution for libel, which was, in fact, instituted by Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, who, it appeared, had abused the munificence of Greenwich Hospital by appointing landsmen as pensioners, to serve his own electioneering purposes. It is said that such was the effect of Erskine's indignant speech, that, before he left the Court, thirty retainers were presented to him. In 1806, on the formation of the Grenville ministry, Erskine was appointed Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage. On the dissolution of this ministry in 1807, he retired from public life, and died in 1823.



[Lord Ellenborough.]

Lord Ellenborough, son of Law, Bishop of Carlisle, first distinguished himself as the leading counsel for Mr. Hastings in his famous trial, and soon after rose to the lead of the northern circuit. He entered parliament as Attorney-General in his fifty-first year. In Westminster Hall he never rose into the first lead, having to contend, amongst other eminent rivals, with Erskine. During eighteen years he presided over the Court of King's Bench. Of his judicial qualifications Lord Brougham, who must have had opportunities of knowing them minutely, thus speaks:—"The chief defect of Lord Ellenborough's judicial character, not unconnected with the hastiness of his temper, also bore some relation to the vigour of his understanding, which made him somewhat contemptuous of weaker men, and somewhat overweening in reliance upon himself. He was not sufficiently patient and passive, as a judge ought habitually to be. He was apt to overlook suggestions, which, though valuable, might be more feebly urged than suited his palate. He was fond of taking the case prematurely into his own hands. He dispatched business with great celerity, and, for the most part, with success. But causes were not sifted before him with that closeness of scrutiny, and parties were not suffered to bring forward all they had to state with that fullness and freedom,

which alone can prevent misdecision, and ensure the due administration of justice. But in banc, where full time has been given for preparation, where the Court can never be taken by surprise, where, moreover, the assistance of three puisne judges is ever at hand to remedy the chief's defects and control his impatience, this hasty disposition and warm temperament were comparatively harmless, and seldom produced mischievous effects to the suitor. At *Nisi Prius* it is far otherwise; for there a false step is easily made, and it may not be easily retraced."



[The Earl of Eldon.]

One of the most remarkable men who ever filled the office of chancellor was Lord Eldon, the peculiarities of whose professional life, as sketched by Lord Brougham, will be read with interest by every one. His lordship says:—"That he had all the natural qualities, and all the acquired accomplishments, which go to form the greatest legal character, is undeniable. To extraordinary acuteness and quickness of apprehension he added a degree of patient industry which no labour could weary, a love of investigation which no harshness in the most uninteresting subject could repulse. His ingenuity was nimble in a singular degree, and it was inexhaustible; subtlety was at all times the most distinguishing feature of his understanding; and, after all other men's resources had been spent, he would at once discover matters which, though often too far refined for use, yet seemed so natural to the ground which his predecessors had laboured and left apparently bare, that no one could deem them exotic and far-fetched, or even forced. When, with such powers of apprehending and of inventing, he possessed a memory almost unparalleled, and alike capable of storing up and readily producing both the most general principles and the most minute details, it is needless to add that he became one of the most thoroughly learned lawyers who ever appeared in Westminster Hall, if not the most learned; for, when it is recollected that the science has been more than doubled in bulk, and in variety of subjects has been increased fourfold, since the time of Lord Coke, it is hardly possible to question his superiority to the great light of English jurisprudence, the only man in our legal history with whom this comparison can be instituted."* Lord Brougham afterwards adds:—"It would be no exaggeration at all to assert that Lord Eldon's judgments were more quickly formed, and more obstinately adhered to, than those of any other judge who ever dealt with such various, difficult, and complicated questions as he had to dispose of." The author of the chapter on 'Constitution, Government, and Laws,' in the 'Pictorial History of England'

* 'Statesmen,' ii., 64.

(George III., vol. iv. p. 642), doubts the accuracy of this opinion, and quotes several cases in proof of the case being quite otherwise, in one of which Lord Eldon surpassed himself by beginning a decision with the remark that "Having had doubts upon this will for twenty years," &c. In another instance he observed that he had "not doubt enough" to postpone the judgment.



[Lord Stowell.]

Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell) was probably more eminent in his department (the Consistorial Courts) than his better-known brother, Lord Chancellor Eldon. Lord Brougham observes that "his judgment was of the highest cast; calm, firm, enlarged, penetrating, profound." His Lordship adds:—"They who deal with such causes as occupied the attention of this great Judge have this advantage, that the subjects are of a nature connecting them with general principles, and the matter at stake is most frequently of considerable importance, not seldom of the greatest interest. The masses of property of which the Consistorial Courts have to dispose, are often very great; the matrimonial rights on which they have to decide are of an interest not to be measured by money at all; but the questions which arise in administering the law of nations comprehend within their scope the highest national rights, involve the existence of peace itself, define the duties of neutrality, set limits to the prerogatives of war."



[Sir William Grant.]

During a part of the time that Lord Eldon sat in the Court of Chancery, the office of Master of the Rolls, the second Judge in Equity, was filled by Sir William Grant. While, generally speaking, the most successful lawyers are little

known in Parliament, the public character of Sir William Grant rested entirely on his successful parliamentary career until he was raised to the Bench. Lord Brougham's notice of him as a parliamentary speaker is as follows:—"His style was peculiar; it was that of the closest and severest reasoning ever heard in any popular assembly; reasoning which would have been reckoned close in the argumentation of the Bar or the dialectics of the schools. It was, from the first to the last, throughout, pure reason, and the triumph of pure reason. All was sterling, all perfectly plain; there was no point in the diction, no illustration in the topics, no ornament of fancy in the accompaniments. The language was choice, perfectly clear, abundantly correct, quite concise, admirably suited to the matter which the words clothed and conveyed. In so far it was felicitous, no further; nor did it ever leave behind it any impression of the diction, but only of the things said; the words were forgotten, for they had never drawn off the attention for a moment from the things; those things were alone remembered. No speaker was more easily listened to; none so difficult to answer. Once, Mr. Fox, when he was hearing him with a view to making that attempt, was irritated in a way very unwonted to his sweet temper by the conversation of some near him, even to the show of some crossness, and (after an exclamation) sharply said, "Do you think it so very pleasant a thing to have to answer a speech like THAT?" Lord Brougham's picture of the Rolls Court, in Sir William Grant's time, is interesting as a legal reminiscence, besides conveying in the most skilful manner a correct idea of the presiding Judge:—"The Court in those days presented a spectacle which afforded true delight to every person of sound judgment and pure taste. After a long and silent hearing—a hearing of all that could be urged by the counsel of every party—unbroken by a single word, and when the spectator of Sir William Grant (for he was not heard) might suppose that his mind had been absent from a scene in which he took no apparent share, the debate was closed—the advocates' hour was passed—the parties were in silent expectation of the event—the Hall no longer resounded with any voice—it seemed as if the affair of the day, for the present, was over, and the Court was to adjourn, or to call for another cause. No! the Judge's time had now arrived, and another artist was to fill the scene. The Great Magistrate began to pronounce his judgment, and every eye and every ear was at length fixed upon the bench. Forth came a strain of clear unbroken fluency, disposing alike, in most luminous order, of all the facts and of all the arguments in the cause, reducing into clear and simple arrangement the most entangled masses of broken and conflicting statement; weighing each matter, and disposing of each in succession; settling one doubt by a parenthetical remark; passing over another difficulty by a reason only more decisive that it was condensed; and giving out the whole impression of the case, in every material view, upon the Judge's mind, with argument enough to show why he so thought, and to prove him right, and without so much reasoning as to make you forget that it was a judgment you were hearing, by over-stepping the bounds which distinguish a judgment from a speech. This is the perfection of judicial eloquence; not avoiding argument; but confining it to such reasoning as becoms him who has rather to explain the grounds of his own conviction than to labour at convincing others; not rejecting reference to authority, but never betokening a disposition to seek shelter behind other men's names, for what he

might fear to pronounce in his own person ; not disdaining even ornaments, but those of the more chastened graces that accord with the severe standard of a Judge's oratory." Sir William Grant was a man of simple habits, and somewhat remarkable for his taciturnity and reserve. As a politician he was more narrow-minded than even several other most distinguished lawyers. With him originated the phrase of "The wisdom of our ancestors." In his time the Rolls Court sat in the evening from six to ten ; and Sir William dined after the Court rose ; his servant, it is said, when he went to bed, leaving two bottles of wine on the table, which he always found empty in the morning. Sir William Grant lived in the Rolls House, occupying two or three rooms on the ground-floor ; and, when showing them to his successor in the Rolls, he said, "Here are two or three good rooms ; this is my dining-room ; my library and bedroom are beyond ; and I am told," he added, "there are some good rooms up-stairs ; but I never was there."

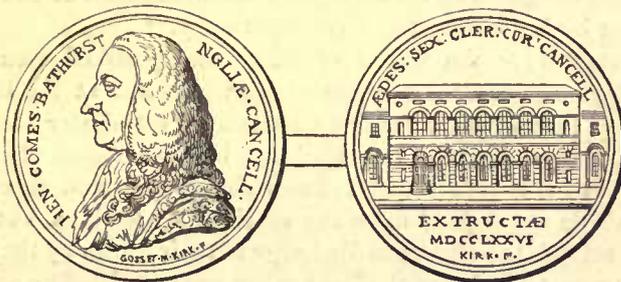
The name of Romilly at once commands respect and admiration. His career and merits are too well known to require notice here ; but the contrast which Lord Brougham has drawn between the technical and what was contemptuously called the "speculative lawyer," is rendered doubly striking by a reference to Romilly. His Lordship says,—“The great triumph of Sir Samuel Romilly was a sore stumbling-block to technical minds. A free-thinker upon legal matters, if ever any existed ; accomplished, learned, eloquent, philosophical ; he yet rose to the very head of his profession, and compelled them to believe what Erskine had failed to make them admit—that a man may be minutely learned in all the mere niceties of the law, down to the very meanest details of Court Practice, and yet be able to soar above the higher levels of general speculation, and to charm by his eloquence and enlighten by his enlarged wisdom, as much as to rule the Bench and lead the Bar by his merely technical superiority.”*

We have passed over the names of many distinguished men—Hardwicke, Kenyon, Dunning, and others—who have been illustrious at the bar and on the bench, and whose field of fame was the Courts at Westminster Hall. No doubt there would be some violation of the *religio loci* by the removal of these courts to any other site ; but it is satisfactory to know that respect and veneration for our judicial tribunals do not depend upon any sentimental feelings, but on the moral influence which attends the righteous discharge of their duties by the judges. Lord Langdale, the present Master of the Rolls, when examined before a parliamentary committee, said,—“I have seen the Vice-Chancellor of England sitting in a dense crowd in the council-room of Lincoln's Inn ; I have seen him sitting in the auction-room above the Masters' offices, and in different committee-rooms of this house. I have seen the Chief Baron of the Exchequer sitting in a kind of hut erected in Westminster Hall on the site of what was the Court of King's Bench ; but I have never known that there was any want of respect for the Judges, nor do I think that the place in which they sit can have any material effect upon their dignity.”

Three sites have been mentioned as suitable for a building which should contain under one roof all the Courts of Law and Equity. Each of these sites is of course in the law quarter of the town ; one being Lincoln's Inn Fields ; another the Rolls Estate, close to Chancery Lane ; and the third a space between

* 'Statesmen,' i. 212.

Bell Yard and Clement's Lane. Mr. Barry, the architect of the New Houses of Parliament, made plans at the desire of a number of gentlemen of the legal profession, for Courts adapted for the first of the above sites, Lincoln's Inn Fields, which, with the Gardens and New Square, have an area of about eighteen acres and one-third. According to Mr. Barry's plan the proposed Courts would be fifty feet high, and would cover an area of two acres and one-third, or between one-eighth and one-tenth of the open space alluded to. The accommodation would be for twelve Courts of Law and Equity, with their several appendages, and a Common Hall for the public, nearly equal to the area of Westminster Hall, on the principal floor. Each of the proposed Courts to have an attached room for the Judges, a room for the Judges' clerks, a room for barristers, a room for solicitors, a room for witnesses, and in the Law Courts the means of access to the witness-box, without interruption from the public. On the same floor would also be obtained retiring-rooms for juries, rooms for grand juries, for the grand inquest, for libraries, for refreshments, for consultations, &c. It is also proposed, according to this design, that the whole of the records of the country should be arranged on the ground floor, where sufficient space would be afforded for an increase of about one-third of the present number, and accommodation provided for record offices, examining-rooms, &c.; likewise that the Masters in Chancery should be accommodated in the upper floor of the proposed building; and that rooms should be provided for resident court-keepers, porters, &c. The cost of the proposed building would be about 200,000*l.*



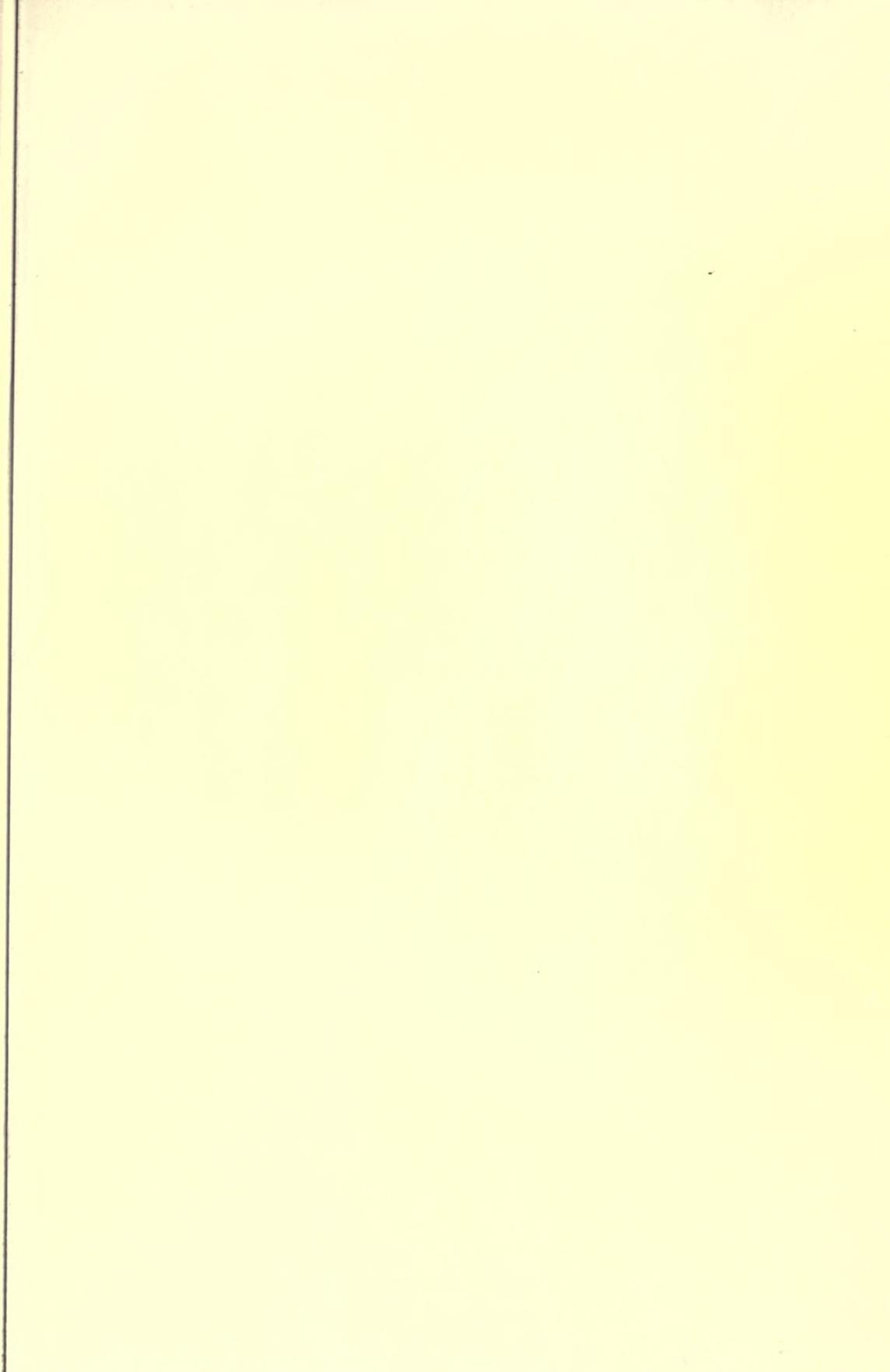
[Lord Chancellor Bathurst and the Six Clerks' Office in Chancery Lane. From Mr. Hawkins' private collection.]

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