

The Rows of Chester

AN ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THEIR ORIGIN

BY JOHN HEWITT



ALTHOUGH for the last half-century the city has been the residence of a number of Antiquarians who have studied all other local antiquities, very little has been done to discover the origin of the Rows of Chester, and it is certainly a wise course for the Chester Archæological Society to attempt to fathom the undecided question of the present paper.

With the exception of the paper which I read before this Society in 1886, being "Notes on the Mediæval Architecture of Chester, with special reference to the Rows and Crypts," no serious attempt has been made to arrive at any probable solution of their origin and development; and as I am still of opinion that my theory is very near, and possibly correct, I shall make some use of the paper which appeared in the Society's Transactions (Vol. I., New Series, 1887), incorporating such fresh information as I have gleaned since that date.

Our city has neither been built upon one general line, nor in any particular period, as was the case with mediæval Hull, Winchelsea, and Liverpool, but has been so much altered and extended, that except the line of streets, very little remains of any age in particular.

Seventeenth to nineteenth century buildings now exist (earlier ones have existed) over crypts of the thirteenth century, the latter covering the site of Roman and Ante-Roman erections, and these crypts being excavated out of or built upon the rock, no older work or antiquities have been discovered thereunder; but, where later cellars have been excavated, both Roman and mediæval remains are dug up. The Roman remains discovered in Bridge Street in 1863 (then so ably described by Dr. Brushfield) are conclusive evidence that the Roman age is too early for the origin of the Rows, as here and generally the work found *in situ* is below the present level of the streets.

The height of the made-up ground beyond Bridge Street Row was about 14 feet above the line of the natural surface; and the Roman pavements were about 18 inches below street-line, all of which "making up" buried the Roman foundations and are subsequent thereto. Dr. Brushfield reported that there were several rubbish-pits, out of which were taken large quantities of burnt wood and fragments of mediæval pottery; the rubbish of one containing a large number of broken sixteenth and seventeenth century tobacco pipes. The entire space excavated was about 128' 0" × 88' 0", the largest site containing any Roman remains that has yet been uncovered, and here, if anywhere, would be expected to appear the origin of the Rows, should they have been conceived by the Romans.

In the case of Mill Lane (now Pierpoint Lane) the Roman pavement was 3' 5" to 4' 11" below the present level of that street. In Watergate Street where crypts and the mediæval cellars predominate, can be seen the base and lower portion of a Roman column that was

found during the alterations carried out for our worthy Mayor (Alderman Charles Brown), who has retained the remains in position. This base is about 9 inches below the street-level, and here as usual they present the appearance of having been thrown down; a still more glaring instance being that of the White Friars site, where a very large stone column had been broken into several pieces, and laid buried about 7 feet below the street-level.

On the site of the new Cross premises, at the junction of Bridge and Eastgate Streets, no evidence was found that would enlighten us upon the subject, and most of the site at the corner of Bridge and Watergate Streets was in rock, and I have no record of any Roman remains being found; but there was a Norman bowl or stoup discovered, and in one of the old ashpits, dug out in rock, a mediæval or Elizabethan vessel. The rocky face of this site would no doubt become cleared away when the mediæval and eighteenth century buildings were erected.

In dismissing the Roman stage of the subject we must leap from their vacating Britain about 400 A.D., and leave undiscussed the reason why their remains have been so completely destroyed by the succeeding inhabitants, or as I fully believe, by themselves, in order to prevent the inhabitants from resisting them should a return be possible, and glance at the ravages of the Northumbrians and the Danes in later centuries, until the Anglo-Saxon period with its age of wood, mud, and thatch. It is useless to suppose that any Saxon houses or remains should be discovered in our city, unless in the form of burnt débris resulting from fires during the wars; and no possible grounds can be found to attribute the origin of the Rows to any period before the Conquest;

and the long period must have seen the Roman remains partially buried, and the centre of the city raised much above the older level—the street level would be raised but not so rapidly as the land on either side.

Probably the Normans did in the first instance what the Saxons had done at an earlier period—that is, they adopted the dwellings they found in existence, until the necessity of their removal, through decay, induced the re-erection of the buildings in an improved and more commodious form; and it was found that the repeated destruction by fire of the frail tenements of their predecessors occasioned the necessity of a change in the material. Accordingly, in the latter part of the twelfth century, the remaining old huts and buildings must have perished or been taken down, and stone walling with shingle or thatch as a roof-covering began to be employed by those who had the means of doing so; this of course tended to confine the ravages of fire to the building where it originated; but the houses thus erected were comparatively few in number.

That there was a necessity of building with stone can be proved by the dreadful fire of 1114, which consumed a great part of Chester; and other fires are recorded in 1140, 1180, and 1231.

During the visit of the Archæological Institute to Chester in 1849, the late Mr. J. H. Parker gave an opinion that “the most probable origin of these Rows is that after some great fire, it was found more convenient to make the footway on the top of the cellars or vaulted substructures instead of in the narrow street between them.” The upper parts of the houses were entirely of wood; and the whole of these being destroyed by fire, it was more easy to make the footpath on the top of the vaults, leaving the roadway clear for horses and carts.

Mr. Parker adds, "it is possible that the Rows may have as remote an origin as this; such a custom, once established, would not be easily altered."

I cannot accept this theory, as at least three of the fires are anterior to the erection of any of the crypts; and if the Rows *were* erected in 1231, they must have formed a part of the original plan, which is not very probable, as will be pointed out later on.

In the first year of Richard I. (1189) were passed the decrees of the Assize of London; and touching upon buildings, it was resolved that the walls were to be 3 feet thick, 16 feet high, and of hewn stone; upon these were to be built wooden gables, of heights irregular, and instead of thatch they were to be slated or covered with "brent" (burnt) tile; but owing to the scarcity of tiles, thatch was used for a considerable period longer.

During the reign of Henry II. and Richard I. the old plan of houses became changed as the Norman occupation had begun to produce symptoms of modification and change in the habits and customs of the people; and with that change, improvement, and it was no doubt due to this that the London Assize decrees were passed.

In smaller houses the master and his domestics had their meals in the hall, and the servants slept there at night; whilst the master used the chamber above.

In larger houses the first floor was of more importance, and in some cases the upper apartments were approached by an external staircase. This feature continued to be adopted long afterwards, both in large and small habitations in town and country, many of which remain; and beyond the border it was still more generally adopted as an essential feature, although the reverse appears in some instances, among which is the well-known Jews'

House at Lincoln, where the mode of communication between the upper and lower floor appears to have been internal.

In my notes on Chester Mediæval Architecture, I described several of the crypts, and as they are tolerably well known to your members, it will be only necessary to describe such of their points as touch upon the Row question. They belong to different portions of a period between the accession of Richard I. (1189) and the latter end of the thirteenth century, during which time the Early English style of architecture prevailed and the Decorated style became established.

Mr. Newman's Crypt, date *circa* 1189, possibly twenty years later

Messrs. Brown's Crypt, Eastgate Street, *circa* 1250 - 1275

Messrs. Roberts' Single Crypt, Watergate Street

Mr. Chas. Brown's Crypt, Watergate Street

Messrs. Roberts' Double Crypt, *circa* 1290 - 1300

These index dates are starting points for our purpose, and viewed with the known examples of Winchelsea, throw considerable light upon the subject.

Winchelsea is the best example in England of a mediæval town, founded by Edward I. on a new site, in consequence of an encroachment of the sea having almost destroyed the old town. The King sent John Kirby, Bishop of Ely, in 1277 to view the site of the town, and in 20 Edward I. (1292), the exact streets and places occur among the Ministers' Accounts, together with tenants' names.

It was laid out with straight streets, of which the remains are now very slight, consisting of several fragments. There are, however, a great number of fine vaulted cellars agreeing with the architectural features of Edward I.'s time; one of these being 50 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 12 feet high, and they appear to have

been built in pairs at one corner of the square or quarter, and then a considerable interval between these and the next pair; this shews that the quarters were not built over, but included gardens between the houses.

The remains of two old houses are valuable as shewing the original arrangement:—the lower storey is of rag-stone (very plain work); the vault of the cellar, and consequently the floor of the ground-floor, is three or four feet above the level of the ground; the entrance to the house is up a flight of stone steps, placed sideways to the street, and under this the entrance to the cellar. The existence of these vaulted cellars has led to the inference that Winchelsea was the chief port for the importation of the French wines, for which its situation rendered it very convenient, and that these vaults were the equivalent in the time of Edward I. to the London or Liverpool Docks of the present day. The same reason may be advanced to explain the greater number of Crypts in Watergate Street.

The town of Kingston-upon-Hull was also founded by Edward I. upon similar lines to Winchelsea, and no doubt vaulted cellars were provided there. The house known as Gerrard's Hall, in London, had a fine crypt, 49' 3" × 21' 3" wide, vaulted in two parallel divisions, with a range of arches between them, carried on rather slender round pillars, with moulded capitals and bases of early Decorated work. Many other examples have remained in London, and several provincial towns contained isolated specimens of this work; but in none of these instances can any trace of Rows be found; they would not be required, because the sites were practically level.

Now let us apply the typical thirteenth century house to Chester. Here, as at Winchelsea, the vaulted cellars

are below ground, mostly upon rocky sites, which would probably affect the general level of the cellar floors because of the drainage.

The rough drawings I have prepared shew what a mediæval house of Chester would be like before the Rows were formed, and I must ask you to observe more particularly the following points:—the arrangement of the steps in the twelfth century house and the *low* cellar doorway; also the typical Chester house and its higher doorway to cellar—as this will be referred to in dealing with the Rows.

The lower storey is built of stone and groined in stone, and of five crypts in Chester the following sizes may be given:—

The Crypt behind Mr. Newman's Shop in Bridge Street, 44' 6" × 15' 3", and 10' 0" high; the floor being about 2' 6" below street level. Messrs. Roberts & Co.'s Double Crypt is 44' 0' × 22' 0", and 11' 0" high; the floor being about 3' 0" below street. Messrs. Brown's Crypt in Eastgate Street is 42' 7" × 13' 10", and 13' 0" high; the depth below street being 3 feet; the average height of four Crypts being 11 feet; and the average level below the street about 3 feet. But there is a much greater factor than the excavation in rock; the "made-up" ground of the site had to be dealt with, and the section of the street shewn will illustrate the case.

To remove the large amount of excavation required to form a suitable site for a 4-feet elevated floor would have been fatal to enterprise, causing an entire excavation of the city at least 5 feet deep; and to raise the streets, then no doubt fairly well paved, would not suit the authorities, so the difficulty was overcome by making the level of the ground-floor about equal to that of the land behind, and this naturally raised the floor (usually

4 feet) to the varying heights (of average 8 feet) as just given, thus occasioning more external steps; with this exception the houses would be identical with those of Winchelsea and Kingston-upon-Hull, which, being laid out on entirely new sites, would not require the increased height.

Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., in his lecture upon "Some early Deeds of Chester," gives several very interesting particulars of property in the city—some being of buildings and others of land only—proving that the city was not built entirely up to street front, but had gardens or open spaces between each tenement.

One sale of land occurred in 1290 or 1293, the site being "in Alexander Lone Harre," which Mr. Taylor supposes to be Trinity Street of the present day, and it is remarkable for the size, being in breadth 47' × 54' in length. This would just allow two vaulted cellars, almost identical with the double Crypt of Messrs. T. Q. Roberts in Watergate Street, and it certainly proves that multiples of from 21 to 24 feet were adopted in the city so early as that date.

In 1312 an agreement was signed relating to a messuage, &c., in Eastgate Street, lying in width between the *land* of Wm. de Doncastel and the *land* of Reginald de Thlen, and extending in length from the high road to the land of Thomas de Mamcester.

Later on occurs a Deed (1330) relating to one messuage and *cellar* in Watergate Street, lying between the *land* of Wm. de Doncastel, Junior, on the one side, and the tenement formerly belonging to Robert de Macclesfield on the other.

A very important fact occurs in a Deed dated 1345, where mention is made of two messuages adjoining in Watergate Street, next the Gloverstones, with the *shops*

and *cellars* below with their appurtenances, between the Parish Church of St. Peter in width on one side, and the land formerly belonging to Robert de Macclesfield on the other.

The next property conveyed by this Deed is a messuage, with shops and *cellars* in Northgate Street, lying between the Parish Church of St. Peter and the land of Adam del Wode and Mary his wife; and other *lands* and messuages are referred to as existing in Northgate Street, west side.

In 1367 a Deed refers to a messuage and appurtenances in Brugge [Bridge] Street that lies between the Mothall lone [Commonhall Lane] and the *land* of John de Whytemore, and the *land* formerly belonging to Henry Russell on the other, and extending in length from the *land* which Henry Stapey holds for his lifetime of Roger Erneys, to the land formerly belonging to Henry Russel. This Deed is very precise as to *one messuage* being surrounded on two sides by streets, and *four plots of land*.

From the small rent paid, the land was doubtless intended to be built upon; some were leased, and the occurrence of land is greater than that of tenements or houses.

This sandwiching of lands and buildings no doubt accounts for the various periods in which the cellars (no longer vaulted) were erected—a point to be dismissed now as containing no bearing upon the origin of the Rows, except that in instances where the Rows are at a lower level there occurs evidence of more recent formation than at the points where the vaulted crypts exist.

Reference has been made to the messuage adjoining the Church of St. Peter, and as this neighbourhood has undergone several changes, it seems necessary to see what bearing it can have upon the matter.

In 1345 messuages in Watergate and Northgate Streets, having shops and cellars, occur in the old map by W. Hollar, engraved about 1650; this space is shewn occupied by the Churchyard, but with a small house adjoining the south-west angle of the Church—possibly the Rector's residence.

This area is now much built upon and Watergate Row extended up to the Church, probably many years subsequent to the date of Randle Holme's drawing of St. Peter's (taken some time after that of Hollar's), for in the latter the High Cross is shewn on the Church steps of St. Peter's with the Pentice over; whilst in the view by Hollar, the Cross is at the junction of Northgate and Eastgate Streets, and the Pentice is not shewn. The Pentice, however, was at this point as early as 1612.

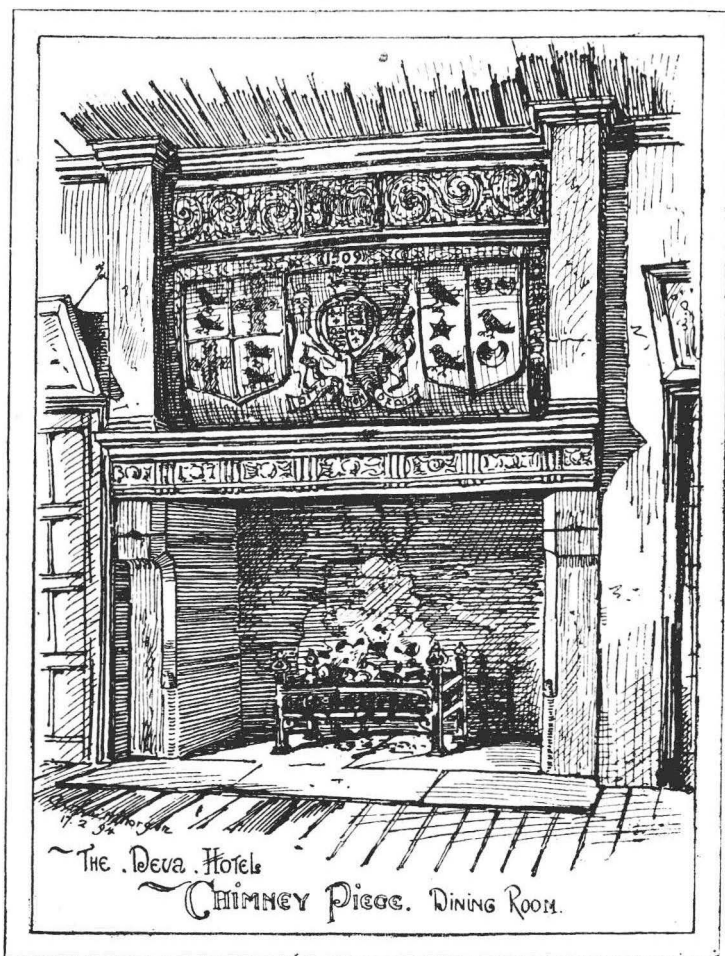
The present steps to St. Peter's Church are modern, and I should say the Rows from "the Deva Vaults" to the Church are a "make-up" of the eighteenth century.¹

Hollar's Map also shews the old Church of St. Michael's surrounded by its own graveyard, extending up to Feathers' Lane at least; and even in the last century a plan shews a passage entirely around the Church.

The old Church or Monastery of St. Michael is named as early as 1172; and Dr. Brushfield records that in the "Feathers" excavations of 1863, "portions of a gargoyle, many fragments of Gothic tracery, and a piscina" were discovered, and adds that these architectural fragments belonged in all probability to the once

¹ Since the writing of my Lecture, by the kindness of Mr. John Wiseman, I have inspected a view of Bridge Street, engraved by F. Ross, shewing Chester in 1700 from a drawing then in the possession of Rev. Mr. Prescott. In this drawing no Watergate Row exists next St. Peter's Church in 1700; a plain half-timber house being shewn, which I take to be the Rector's House, and this view substantiates my theory of the "make-up." See also Engraving of "Bridge Street and Mercers' Row, by Moses Griffith, 1777," in Canon Morris' "Chester," p. 289.

great Church and Monastery of St. Michael, which is known to have extended much further to the northward than the present comparatively modern Church. It



should be borne in mind also that the northern limit of the Feathers' Inn excavation in 1863 was the northern boundary of the ancient Parish of St. Michael.¹

¹ Arch. Trans., Vol. III., 104.

In 1850 a mediæval tile floor was discovered at a level of 4' 6" above the street pavement, and this goes to prove that the entire length of Bridge Street was raised up behind the buildings; but that, like other streets, the outer extremities of the filling up was not so great as the central portion of the city.

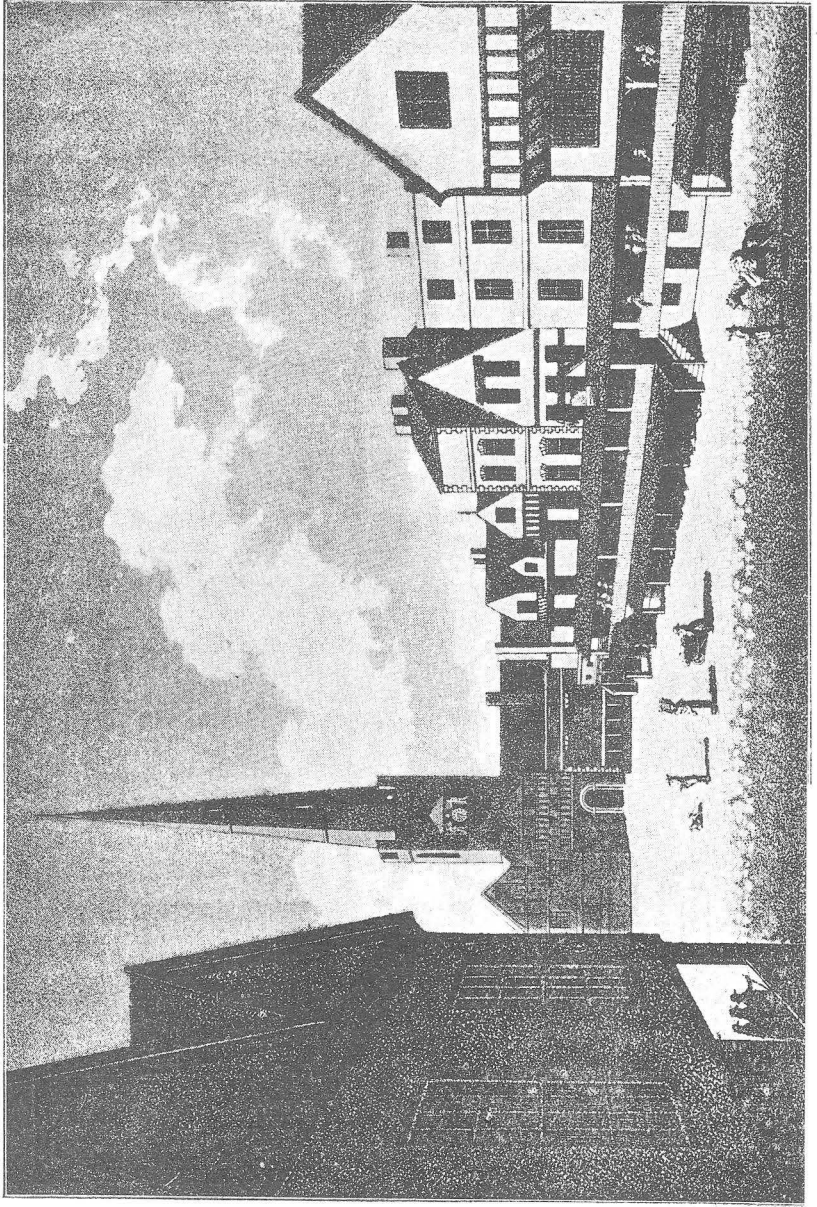
The Rows from Feathers' Lane to St. Michael's Church are no older than the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and Hollar's Plan may be correct in placing the old Church in the centre of the land instead of at the north-west corner of Pepper Street, as since the time of Randle Holme it has existed.

A plan of the city, dated last century, shews Godstall Lane as running into Eastgate Street without any Row over; and Feathers' Lane bridging does not seem to have an antiquarian look (or rather the old bridge had not) for it is now removed to improve the adjoining property; and the old Bridge Vaults when pulled down did not give much evidence of an earlier date than that just named.

Bateman's view of this portion of the Row shews three very modern houses that still exist next the Church, and two seventeenth century buildings (since removed) that very probably were erected after Hollar's print was engraved.

The limit of Eastgate Row (South) seems to have been Newgate Street, and in Watergate Street (South) up to Puppet Show entry (originally where a street is said to have communicated with Commonhall Street); and here the Rows are differently constructed, and special reference will be made of this type of house.

Northgate Row (East) was curtailed by the Abbey grounds of St. Werburgh and the Church of St. Nicholas; and the Western Row by the Churchyard of St. Peter's



Bridge Street in 1700

at the south, and by the large open space shewn in Hollar's Map, and as nearly now reformed at the northern extremity.

Why the older Rows are so limited does not appear, unless the buildings were erected more as residences than as business premises, the shop being more of a store-room. Lower Bridge Street, from the Churches of St. Michael and old St. Bridget's, contained houses on the same relative lines of section land as in the centre of the city. But here, where business was not so brisk, the premises had independent steps running from street line into the interior of the house, and the occupiers were content to retain the old-fashioned frontages—which remain to this day—except in instances where few courts were provided, forming something like individual rows.

The level of Northgate Row (West) is about correct in comparison with others; but Northgate Street has been raised up subsequent to their formation, as is proved by the nave-floor of the Cathedral (as indeed the external face of its walls) being below the level of the street several feet, and this raising would naturally reduce the difference between the street and Row level.

WHY WERE THE ROWS FORMED?

Naturally there was a reason *why* the Rows were designed, and this is certainly the greatest factor in the discussion. The houses as originally built, with elevated floors as before described, would serve their purpose for a few centuries; but as fashions change, so do the habits of a nation, and no doubt the prosperous times of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century would occasion better accommodation and facilities for the display of goods. Mr. Cutts, in his "*Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*," says: "It must be admitted that the continental towns very far exceed ours in antiquarian

and artistic interest. In the first place, the period of great commercial prosperity occurred in these countries in the middle ages, and their mediæval towns were in consequence larger and handsomer than ours. In the second place, there has been no great outburst of prosperity in these countries since to encourage the pulling down the mediæval houses to make way for modern improvements; while in England our commercial growth (which came later) has had the result of clearing away nearly all our old town houses, except in a few old-fashioned places, which were left outside the tide of commercial innovations. In consequence, a walk through some of the towns of Normandy will enable the student and artist better to realize the picturesque effect of an old English town than any amount of diligence in putting together the fragments of old towns which remain to us."

This prosperity of England certainly was assured in the middle ages, particularly in Chester, for the records of the city and its trade history prove that considerable progress was made in commerce during the early ages; and there is every reason to believe that the earlier type of a merchant's house became too old-fashioned for the refinement of the middle ages.

Formerly the tailor worked *in* his business premises; the goldsmith carried on his delicate art amongst his finished articles; the printer set-up and printed at his press under the eyes of his customers. Possibly this public view of trade was appreciated, there being nothing to conceal, as all trades were then under the guilds, subject to fines for anything that was detrimental to the various branches; but whatever the real cause was, it emanated from the desire to meet the demands of the customers, who would like to see the latest fashions

displayed, and this in such a manner as would entice the passer-by to walk into the shop.

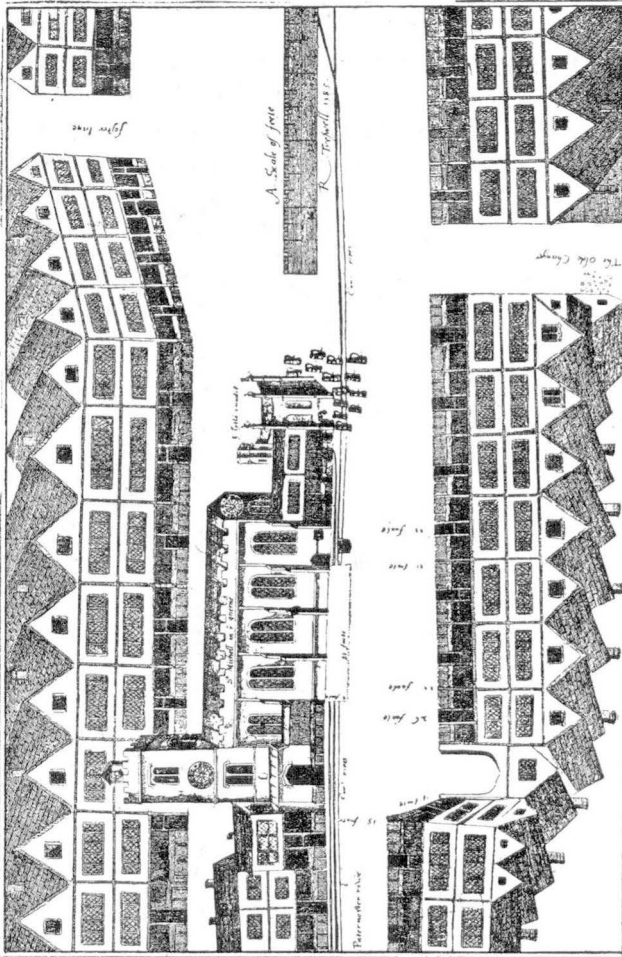
Our own country has examples of houses both of timber and stone of the fourteenth century. From the perishable nature of the material, we have probably no timber-work remaining earlier than the thirteenth century, and of that period it is rare. Although several roofs and beams with the mouldings and ornaments of that style are judged to be of that time, no perfect timber-house is known either of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. A house in the Newgate at York of this description is believed to be of the fourteenth century in its main construction, as the details of the stonework are of that period, *circa* 1380, and the timber-work appears to belong to the same construction. The upper part of this house is carried on a massive breastsummer, with upright posts from it to the tie-beam of the roof.

The view shewn will serve to prove that the ground-floor-level was not elevated above the street in the fourteenth century.

At Shrewsbury, Oswestry, York, and Coventry, the fifteenth century buildings point to the change as being required to meet the demands of the customers, who, having dispensed with the steps up to ground-floor, would doubtless avoid any shops that were elevated above street level, and upon this basis I hope to solve the mystery of the Chester Rows.

The special interest connected with the Butchers' Row, Shrewsbury, consists in the great variety of remaining veritable mediæval shop-fronts, and the Row consisted of three shops, and these fronts were entirely open and unglazed. The word Row, which does not necessarily refer to the elevated position of the floor, is common to York and London; and of the Paternoster Row I am

able to produce a view as it appeared in 1585—and here the shops are on the ground level—proving that the enterprising inhabitants had removed the earlier and

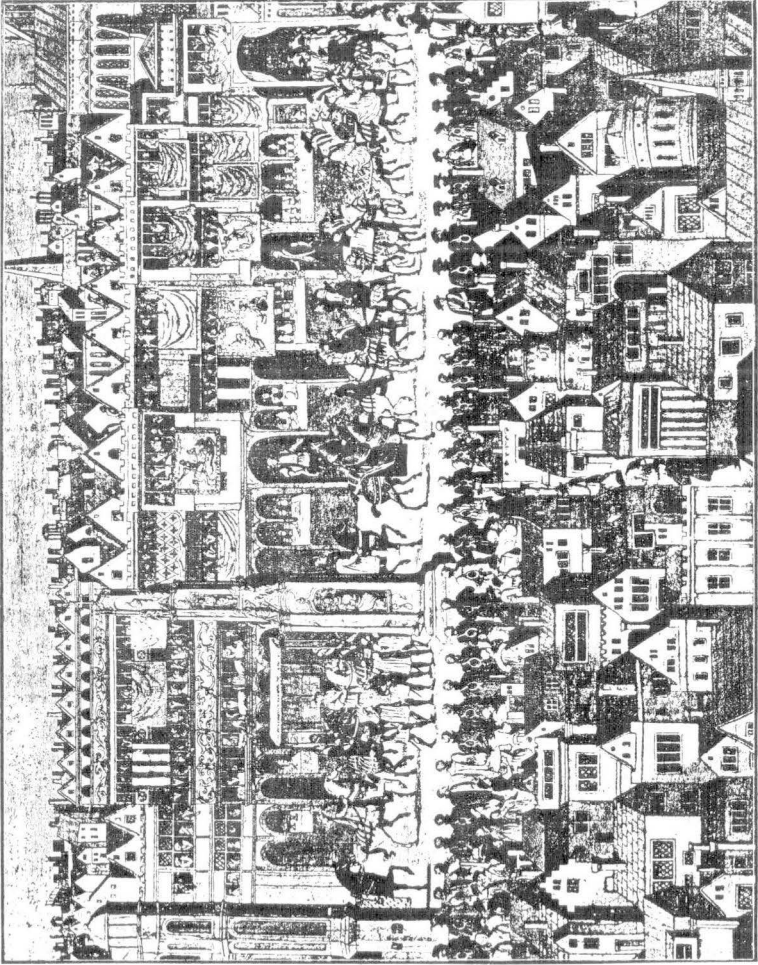


Some of the houses in this street were destroyed by the Great Fire of London in 1666, and have since been rebuilt in the style of the original houses.

WEST-CHEAP.
 AS IT APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1585.
 From a drawing by the late Mr. W. D. Howes.

The original church on the corner of West-Cheap & the Strand, the Little Church, and St. Dunstons Church, situated at the foot of the Strand, were destroyed by the Great Fire of London in 1666.

raised floors. A still earlier view of London shows the procession of Edward VI. from the Tower to Westminster on his coronation (taken in 1546-7), passing



Procession of Edward VI. to Westminster on his Coronation

through Goldsmith's Row, consisting of about eight shops. Here the goldsmiths stand at their shop-doors and point to their handiwork, exhibited in open windows without glass. The ladies and their company are upstairs and look through the glazed windows, open casemented and festooned with embroidered hangings.

These examples of fourteenth and fifteenth century work, and illustrative life, surely suggest that mediæval Chester had to cope with the times, and it became necessary to amend the approaches to the shops that were separately accessible. Fancy our ladies shopping from butcher, grocer, mercer, haberdasher, goldsmith, and all other trades. A visit to each would involve going up and coming down at least a dozen (probably more) steps to each shop, and in very bad weather these unprotected approaches would be avoided as much as possible, a loss of custom being the result.

Again, the old rule of having goods in the shop (shop windows were unknown as we understand them): so late as 1558 shops were enclosed by shutters, very few having glass; but when the modern fronts were put in (*circa* 1500) they would at once condemn those that were at least man-height above street level, as in passing these, very few, except buyers of immediate necessities, would look up to the windows. They did not advertise in those days, and sale tickets were not so ornamental as now; and so it became necessary to attract the gaze of the citizen, as also to lessen the labor of the pedestrian who was shopping.

To lower the shop floor to the level of the street would occasion the removal of the vaulted cellars, which were then, as now, of the utmost value to wine merchants, fruiterers, or butchers, and such trades as require cool and

extensive cellarage. Independently of the loss of trade space, it would mean ruin to some of the owners as the dilapidated state of the older buildings would not stand the underpinning of floors, &c.; and in the case of new premises, their owners would not wish to rebuild the entire erection; and these reasons I put down as why the Rows were formed.

When were they formed is not so easy to determine, as none of the original Rows exist. I have a recollection of reading of a building in Watergate Row with a date of the fifteenth century; I cannot remember the exact year or the reference to it, but it would be approximately about the time to which I attribute the change—namely, the latter end of the fifteenth century, or say 1490 - 1520.

One of the earliest printed references to the Rows occurs in King's *Vale Royal of England*. Though King says "the buildings are very ancient," it does not follow that the formation of the Rows formed part of the original ancient building, and the buildings that were erected during his life-time shew subsequent alterations.

The method of forming the Rows of Chester I take to be as follows, and as illustrated by the rough diagrams exhibited:—Section A shews the twelfth century house; Section B shews the change I consider took place at the end of the fifteenth century; Section C shews the change that took place in the eighteenth century.

Section B shews how the first stage was formed. By continuing the flight of steps in a straight line, the level of the Row was reached some feet within the line of the house, similar to the steps of the Falcon Cocoa House, Lower Bridge Street, and this is an example of another method of combating with the higher level of the land. The Mainwaring family had a town residence in Watergate Street, formed upon a somewhat similar line as the

Cocoa House. These steps would then be the limit of the space devoted to approaches, and in order to accommodate the customers, who as before-named would object to so many steps, the shop-fronts were set back to the line as shewn on Section B, and as now existing.

The different levels of the Rows, as at present, vary so much that it seems very possible that the original owners of the land, when building, so far studied the gradual decline of the very high cellars (the loss of shipping affecting the trade of the city), that they made the level of the shop to suit the coming change which accounts for the great difference of level in Eastgate Row South. Certainly, as time advanced, the cellars of the shipping city in Watergate Street were no longer vaulted, but were lower in height, and built with stone walls, having massive beams to carry the upper floor; and from Messrs. Brown's Crypt in Eastgate Street to Newgate Street there is no evidence of any mediæval cellars having existed. The Row for this distance seems no older than the seventeenth century, many parts being reformed since, with a lower level than formerly.

Examples of this first Row scheme do not exist, but I have advanced this theory based upon the very thick walls of the crypts below where they occur. Possibly this point will not be found feasible, but in any case it is an alternative to scheme C, which is more possible.

Evidence can be produced of the correctness of Section C in the examples now remaining in the city. Here can be seen the bringing forward of the Row and buildings over to the front line of the steps, superseding the 1490-1520 front (if it ever existed); the old entrance to the crypt being retained so as to preserve the vaulted

arching up to the seventeenth century, when the tradesmen began to form shops in the street out of the old cellars, until at length the streets were entirely formed of shops, as seen by views of last century, excepting where bonded vaults were retained.

I hope that these notes, so roughly and hurriedly prepared, have been understood, and that something substantial can be found in the views I have expressed. It is possible, however, that a more detailed examination of the Rows and Crypts may reveal some other theory.

