THE TYBOURNE AND THE WESTBOURNE.

By J. G. WALLER.

On a former occasion I gave you an account of the "Holebourne," the most important of the streams which, arising from Hampstead, pass through London to the Thames. The next in order is more westerly, and, though the smallest of these brooks, is in many respects of equal importance in London history. This is the Ty-bourne.

First, as to its name, and this is venerable for its antiquity, for, with exception of that of London and Thames, it is the oldest on record, relating to the Metropolis, which is still preserved among us. Its meaning is not doubtful, though it has been nevertheless the sport of philology. One, he must have been a wag, suggested it may derive from "Tye" and "Burn," in allusion to the species of punishment with which its name is associated. Another, with more pretensions to learning, makes it a corruption of "At-eye-bourn." I will not trouble you with their arguments, for the name is of simple Saxon elements, and means literally a duplication. Tye, or, as it is originally spelt, Teo, is no more than two—meaning a double brook, and, where first this name was applied, I shall presently show you, it most likely divided itself into two branches, as it fell into the Thames amid the

marshy delta on which the City and Abbey of Westminster stands, and which looking far into the past it must have done much to form.

It takes its rise at the south-western side of Hampstead, about a quarter of a mile south of the church, in fields known as "Shepherd's fields," or "Conduit fields," from the conduit which covered the spring, a place formerly full of rural beauty, with a (A, see map) fine prospect over the western district of London and across to the hills of Surrey. But London has now advanced up to the very threshold of the conduit, and the spring was drained off a few years ago by the tunnel which passes close by, through which the Hampstead Railway is carried. A woodcut of the conduit is seen in Hone's Table Book, 1827, just half a century ago, showing the water-carriers going to and fro; for the water was in great esteem at Hampstead, being free from the medicinal qualities which infect so many of the springs in the vicinity, and it had the reputation of being nearly of the specific gravity of distilled water. It seems but a few years since this most primitive mode of water-supply, which was that once in use throughout London, might be seen at this spot, the last at which it lingered.

Gurgling from thence, the sparkling stream flowed in a channel you might almost span with your foot, running down the hill-side, chiefly in the direction of the Dissenters' College; but leaving that on the west, midway between the garden wall of Belsize Manor, it proceeded southwards. Bending a little westwards it crossed Avenue Road just beyond St. Peter's Church, then keeping close to the west side of this road until

it reached Acacia Road, at the corner of which it received an affluent from Belsize, and then passed southwards by Townsend Road to the corner of Henry Street; it then diverged diagonally to the corner of Charles Street with Park Road. Formerly an aqueduct conveyed it across Regent's Canal into the Park, the artificial waters of which it once supplied, and continuing its course passed from the Park boundary at the upper end of Cornwall Terrace, crossing Upper Baker Street, New Street, and then Alsops Terrace, in the Marylebone Road, where a depression is to be seen marking the channel.

But we must now retrace our steps to Belsize Manor. This was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster by Henry VIII. but passed again into the possession of the crown, and was held by the Waad family, and at the Revolution was seized by the Parliament. At the Restoration it again passed into the hands of the crown, and was granted by lease to Charles Lord Wotton; at his death it became occupied in succession by several under-tenants. In 1728 it became a place of public amusement, and it is thus announced by advertisement on April 16: "Whereas the ancient and noble house near Hampstead called Bellasis House is now taken and fitted up for the entertainment of gentlemen and ladies during the summer season. The same will be opened by an uncommon solemnity of music and dancing. This undertaking will exceed all of the kind that has hitherto been known near London, commencing every day at 6 in the morning and continuing till 8 at

night, all persons being privileged to admission without necessity of expense."

You perceive that our ancestors were early risers. I am afraid now-a-days an announcement of an entertainment of any kind beginning at 6 a.m. would find very few disposed to take part in it, especially if, as at this time, Belsize was far from London, and those who got there at 6 must certainly have been roused at 4. But it was a curious feature of the time, and possibly began through the rage of going to spas and drinking at a chalybeate spring, London being surrounded by many such establishments. It was the fashion, and fashion can do anything. To appear in elegant *dishabille* and be interestingly dyspeptic may have had some charms, and the fashion really lasted a considerable time. So these other establishments, such as Belsize, may have arisen as a kind of opposition offering greater inducement. There was excitement in it too; to travel a mile or so from London, through a charmingly rural district, to your breakfast in nice society, and run the chance of being waylaid by footpads or highwaymen on your way there or back, may have added to the romance. Some protection, however, was given, as by the following advertisement may be seen:

"These are to give notice that Belsize is now opened for the whole season, and that all things are most commodiously concerted for the reception of gentlemen and ladies. The park and gardens being wonderfully improved and filled with a variety of birds, which compose a most melodious and delight-

some harmony. Every morning at 7 o'clock the music begins to play and continues the whole day through, and any persons inclined to walk and divert themselves in the morning may as cheaply breakfast there on tea and coffee as in their own chambers; and for the convenience of single persons or families who reside at Hampstead there are coaches prepared to ply betwixt the two places, which at the least notice given shall attend at their lodgings or houses for 6*d.* per passage, and for the security of his guests there are twelve stout fellows, completely armed, to patrol betwixt London and Belsize to prevent the insults of highwaymen and footpads which may infest the road." (1722.)

That the character of the entertainments and the reputation of the place was not always free from suspicion the following advertisement will show, as also that gulls and knaves are usually associated together.

"Aug. 23, 1718.

"Whereas on Saturday night last there was stolen from a gentleman at the house near Hampstead, called Bellsise, at the table in the room where the game commonly called The Fair Chance is play'd at, a Tortoiseshell Snuffbox, set in Gold, with a hinge of the same, and a double Cypher inlaid with Gold. Whoever will bring the same to Old Men's Coffee-house at Charing Cross, and deliver it to the master of the said House, shall have Three Guineas Reward and no Questions will be asked; and two Guineas if there be brought to the same Place another Tortoise-

shell Box set in Silver, with a Cypher in Gold, stolen about 6 weeks since from the same Gentleman, in the very same Room."

Another, June 7, 1722, shows us some of the entertainments: "On Monday last the concourse of Nobility and Gentry at Belsise was so great that they reckoned between 2 and 300 coaches, at which time a wild deer was hunted down and killed in the Park before the company, which gave them 3 hours diversion." We have also an account of the Prince and Princess of Wales going to witness a similar entertainment. However, as usual, these places were not entirely for innocent amusement, for we find in this same year that the Court of Justices at the General Quarter Sessions met at Hicks's Hall to consider the prevention of unlawful gaming and riots, &c. at Belsize House. It continued, however, to be a place of amusement as late as 1745.

The Park of Marybone, now Regent's Park, furnished another addition to the waters from a spring now marked by a little pool on the north-east side of the broad walk opposite the Zoological Gardens. It was originally part of the manor belonging to the Abbess of Barking, becoming crown property at the Dissolution. At what time it was imparked I cannot learn, but most likely by Henry VIII. who built the manor house as a hunting lodge. James I., who granted the Manor of Marybone to the Forsets, reserved the park, which remained in the crown until the Revolution, when it was disparked and sold to John Spencer of London on behalf of Col. Harrison's regiment as guarantee for their pay. On the Restora-

tion it passed again to the crown, who reinstated the former lessees, and so it remained to our times, when the leases were allowed to run out, and were not renewed; and the park was reconstituted under its present title during the Regency. We have several instances recorded of its use for hunting by our sovereigns.

In Queen Elizabeth's Progresses it is stated that "On the 3rd of February, 1600, ambassadors from the Emperor of Russia and their retinue rode through the City of London to Marybone Park, and there hunted at their pleasure." The manor house stood at the top of High Street, opposite the church, and was taken down in 1791. It has been several times engraved.

The ancient church of the parish, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was situated near the present court-house, in the erection of which, in 1727, they came upon the site of its churchyard or cemetery, indicated by remains of interments. In the fourteenth century it fell into a ruinous state from neglect, its lonely situation rendered it subject to dilapidations, and its bells and ornaments were frequently stolen. Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London, therefore granted a license to the parishioners, on petition dated October 1400, to build a new church near where a chapel had been erected. This was dedicated to St. Mary, and remained until May 1740, when being ruinous it was taken down. This new dedication gave a new name to the manor and parish, for being built on the near vicinity of the stream this again supplied an affix,

"Bourne," and the name Marylebone, now so well-known, is a corruption from Mary-le-Bourne; but in all earlier mention it seems to be simply Marybone, which so remained until the middle of the eighteenth century. Hampshire still has a parish called "St. Mary Bourn," having the very same characteristics, of a stream running through the village, and the church by its side. Bourn, clipped into "bone," got interpreted by some too clever people, in recent times, as meaning the French "bonne," and, shocked by the want of grammar in "le bone," it was altered to "la bonne." Happily, it did not last: Marylebone has stood; its earlier form, Marybone, has become obsolete, and the great metropolitan parish and borough will always be known by the now generally accepted term.

The old church of St. Mary was one of those humble structures which were so common in the sparsely-populated districts to the north of London. When first erected it could but have had around it a few scattered cottages or farm-buildings; and even so late as 1746 it appears in Roque's Map to have but a small nucleus of surroundings, the public gardens being the most important of them. In the Gardner Collection there are engravings, showing every variety of shape and alteration, which it took until finally demolished. But the best illustration of its interior is that given in Hogarth's picture of the marriage in the Rake's Progress, the remoteness of the church being chosen for such a ceremony. The artist does not fail to record the following lines, which, if by

any members of the Forset family, does not exalt them in a literary point of view:

> These Pewes unscrud and tan in sunder,
> In stone thers graven what is under:
> To wit, a valt for burial ther is
> Which Edward Forset made for him and his.

Immediately in the vicinity of the church were Marybone Gardens, probably first established as a place of public amusement at the latter part of the seventeenth century, and are mentioned by Pepys, who in Sept. 1668 thus writes: "Then we abroad to Marrowbone, and there walked in the Gardens; the first time I was there, and a pretty place it is." He says nothing of the amusement therein provided, but bowling greens were a staple of the place. In a work entitled "A Country Gentleman's Companion 1699," in which the stranger is warned against the various arts of the Metropolis to entrap the unwary, these gardens are specially mentioned. "Bowling (says the writer) is a Game for Diversion, Recreation, and Exercise, as well as Tennis, and was formerly a game for few but Gentlemen, as that was; but as men and things are generally grown worse and worse, so is this too, and strangely degenerated from an innocent, inoffensive diversion, to be a perfect trade, a kind of set calling and occupation for cheats and sharpers. . . . . If you please therefore (says he) we'll make a short trip to Marybone (for that's the chief place of Rendezvous), the Bowling Greens there having in these latter years gain'd a kind of Preheminence and Reputation above the rest, and thither most of the Noblemen and Gentlemen about the Town that affect that sort of

Recreation generally resort." Thus Lady Wortley Montagu, alluding to Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, says:

Some dukes at Marybone bowl time away.

And the work above quoted says further, speaking of bowling greens, "Marybone, as I told you, is the chief place about town, but, for all its greatness and pre-eminence, it lies under the shrewd suspicion of being guilty of sharping and crimping, as well as the rest."

The gardens were at this time very pleasantly situate; there were no houses near except those which constituted the village, than St. Giles, or a few scattered farmsteads. The first mention of musical performances there is in 1718, when *The Daily Courant* announces, "There having been illuminations in Marybone bowling-green on his Majesty's birth-day every year since his happy accession to the throne, the same is put off till Monday next, and will be performed with a Consort of musick in the middle green." If we are to believe the newspaper eulogiums, the gardens must have afforded a most agreeable promenade.

"Marybone Gardens, by much the pleasantest place about town (the new City Road leading to it being a pleasant airing), is now in perfect good order, the trees in full leaf and the shrubs in full bloom, which renders them more immediately sweet and refreshing in the morning, and their being so near town are thought by the nobility and gentry to be very commodious for breakfast. . . . . The proprietor offers a reward of ten guineas for the apprehension of any highwaymen

found on the road to the gardens. There will be a proper guard on the road and in the fields to protect the Company to and from the gardens." Thus our ancestors, in the pursuit of pleasure, had the additional excitement of possible encounters with highwaymen and footpads, and being eased of such cash which may not have been spent, or lost in gambling and betting with sharpers.

It was to music however that these gardens owed their greatest celebrity. Handel's name is closely associated with them; but, besides, there were Dr. Arne, Webbe, Richter, Hook, Bartholomew, Abel, Dibdin, and Banister, as well as other popular singers and actors of the day. Fireworks formed also a part of the entertainment, and about 1775 Torre, a celebrated French artist, was employed there, "who, in addition to the usual displayment of fire-wheels, fixed stars, figure pieces, and other curious devices, introduced pantomimical spectacles, which afforded him an opportunity of bringing forward much splendid machinery, with appropriate scenery and stage decorations, whereby he gave an astonishing effect to his performances, and excited the admiration and applause of the spectators. I particularly remember two (says the writer), the Forge of Vulcan and the descent of Orpheus to Hell in search of his wife Eurydice. The last was particularly splendid; there were several scenes, and one of them supposed to be the Elysian fields, where the flitting backwards and forwards of the spirits was admirably represented by means of a transparent gauze interposed between the actors and spectators."

Dr. Arnold, in 1773, purchased the lease of Marylebone Gardens, which he adorned in a beautiful style, and for which he composed the music to several burlettas. For a while the speculation proved highly successful, but at the expiration of his lease in 1777 he retired from the concern a loser to a considerable amount. The gardens were then finally closed, and the ground let for building purposes, the usual termination of all suburban places of entertainment, which thus are absorbed into the ever-increasing mass of houses and streets. Beaumont Street, a part of Devonshire Street, and Devonshire Place, cover the site, and No. 17 in the latter is said to occupy the position formerly held by the orchestra. As late as 1808 a few trees at the north end of Harley Street survived as relics of the once popular gardens.*

The course of the brook from Marylebone Road to Oxford Street is marked in no known map, but a portion of it is seen in one by William Faden in 1785, in which it is shown as taking a sweep westwards, bending round again to the east, terminating at the then stables of the Horse Guards, as near as possible that of Baker Street Bazaar. From hence it may be faintly traced towards Marylebone Lane, which it crossed twice, when it becomes again visible in the maps of Lee and Glynne and others. James Street, Manchester Square, marks its course into Oxford Street.

Here we have arrived at an important site in con-

* I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the excellent account of these gardens, by Miss Gardner, published in a number of the "Choir."

nexion with it as tributary to the ancient water-supply of the metropolis. So early as 21 Hen. III. liberty was granted to Gilbert Sandford to convey water from Tyburn by pipes of lead to the city, and there were subsequent extensions showing the early importance that the citizens of London attributed to a pure water-supply. Conduits about nine in number were here distributed, many of which are marked in the map of Lea and Glynne; one being nearly opposite South Street in a field east of Marylebone Lane; another close to what is now the police station, and some few years since still in use; another in the rear of the Banqueting House, now Stratford Place; and others on the south side of Oxford Street, one having been lately discovered and illustrated in the Proceedings of this Society.

The Lord Mayor's Banqueting House was chiefly used by the city authorities for entertainments when they came to visit or inspect the conduits in the vicinity, and this ceremony was a day of some recreation to the mayor and aldermen with their wives. It was usually held on the 18th of Sept., the citizens on horseback, their wives in waggons. On one of these occasions, in 1562, Strype relates that "The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and many worshipful persons rode to the conduit-heads to see them, according to old custom; then they went and hunted a hare before dinner and killed her; and thence went to dinner at the Banqueting House, at the head of the conduit, where a great number were handsomely entertained by their chamberlain. After dinner they went to hunt the fox. There was great cry for a mile, and at

length the hounds killed him at the end of St. Giles', with great hollowing and blowing of horns at his death; and thence the Lord Mayor, with all his company, rode through London to his place in Lombard Street."

After the establishment of the New River system the Corporation leased these conduits, which became part of a system of water-supply, called Marylebone Waterworks, and there was a large reservoir, called Marylebone Basin, north of Cavendish Square and parallel to Portland Place. The Banqueting House was pulled down in 1737. A small view of it is seen in the large map of Morgan.

The line of the brook is even now easily to be traced from Oxford Street, by the way in which buildings have avoided it, and the streets built accordingly. There are many maps which show its entire course thence to the Thames. Opposite to the Banqueting House was the Receipt House. It gave name to Brook Street, also to Conduit Street, where, at the Bond Street end, is marked the "Pump House Ground," with the house in question by the side of the stream. Hence, it bent back through the mews by Berkeley Square, passing just in the rear of the gardens of Berkeley House, round by the end of Clarges Street, by a diagonal line to the Green Park, formerly falling into a basin made early in the eighteenth century, not existing in Faithorne's map (1685). All this latter course is well shown in a plan preserved in the Royal Library in the British Museum, setting out new streets for building, in the then meadows whose names are given, with the site

of a "Ducking Pond." This plan must have been made at the end of the seventeenth century.

Faithorne's map carries the stream across the Green Park to the front of Buckingham House, where it was covered in from view. Passing in front of the palace, its original course was down what is now St. James Street, Chapel Street, Orchard Street, College Street, by the walls of the monastery of Westminster, until it fell into the Thames; and this was controlled to make a fall of water for the Abbot's mill, and thus it is we get the name of Millbank. (G)

We have now arrived at the most interesting spot in connection with the Ty-bourne; it is where it first received its name, where, could we read its history in geological times, it has helped to perform a great work in the large deposit upon which now stands the city of Westminster. Its course hence, to its outfall into the Thames, is a problem for us to unravel. It is one full of interest, as I hope to be able to show that, dividing into two branches, from which it doubtless has its name, it isolated the spot, known in ancient times as the Isle of Thorns, upon which stand the venerable Abbey, the ancient royal palace of our kings, our Houses of Parliament, with all the great associations of our constitutional history. To Englishmen it is certainly the most venerable of all our sites, nor indeed can Europe show one which can outrival it in memories which, in a more or less degree, affect the development of modern political life throughout the world.

There was another branch, which from the front of Buckingham Palace went in a bold sweep westwards,

forming the ancient boundary of Westminster, and under the name of King's Scholars' Pond Sewer it falls into the Thames. (H) But this was not the course of the ancient stream, as I shall now endeavour to show you by reciting a portion of the charter of King Edgar in the year 951, which was a confirmatory grant of about 600 acres of land to the church of St. Peter of Westminster, and which it appears was originally bequeathed to this monastery by Offa King of Mercia about 200 years before, and here is given the boundary. This boundary has been discussed three times in this Society, viz. first in a communication by Mr. Coote, secondly by Mr. Overall, and thirdly by myself; indeed the two first of these communications took place nineteen years ago. Having given the subject now the study of years, I think I am enabled to arrive at conclusions, which, differing from many who have written on the subject on some matters of detail, do not oblige me to take particular notice of what were merely suggestions, and not fortified by any local study. This is the perambulation of the Saxon charter:

"Ærest up of Temese, andlang Merfleotes to Pollenestocce, swa on Bulunga fenn; of tham fenne æft there ealdan dic to Cuforde: of Cuforde upp andlang Teoburnan * to thære wide heres-stræet; after thære

* "Teo-burna." In analysing this word the only difficulty is with the prefix "teo," the termination "burna" ("bourn" or "brook") being well-known. Whether this means a duplication in the sense of "two" or "tie," which as an enclosing stream it might imply, or must be referred to a word nearer to the primitive sense of its root, may be a matter of speculation. The Saxon verb, "teon," to lead, in imperative making "teoh" or "teo," is the nearest form to the root T—N, which contains the idea of enclosing or drawing on, &c., and

here stræet to thære ealde stoccene Sancte Andreas Cyricean, swa innan Lundene fenn: andlang suth on Temese on Midden streame: andlang stremes be lande and be strande æft on Merfleote." Thus translated: First up from the Thames, along Merfleet to Pollenstocks, so on (to) Bulunga fen, from the fen by the old dyke to Cowford, from Cowford up along Tybourne to the wide high road (military road) to the old stocks of St. Andrew's Church, so within London fen, along south on the Thames in mid stream, along stream by land and strand again on (to) Merfleet.

I confine my discussion to but a portion of this record, as my subject is not the boundary of Westminster but the course of the Ty-bourne, and its identification where its name is first on record. To begin with the position of the Merfleet. Having given the composition of this word a very careful study, I yield to the argument of our late learned friend, Mr. Black, that it means the "boundary-fleet," as this can be sustained by numerous references to similar names extant, which are compounded without doubt of the Saxon "Gemære," a boundary. But whatever opinion may be held upon this, the position which it

is the mother of a large tribe of words. (See Barne's Roots). It is at least obvious, that it is here we must seek the true meaning and application of the term; and there is nothing forced in making its analogy to be intimate with that of "tye," "tigh," or "teage," as it is variously spelt, and signifying an enclosure of land ("clausuram quam Angli vocant teage," see Cowell's Law Dictionary). The two arms of the brook enclose the island on which Westminster Abbey, &c. is situated, anciently called "Thorney"; it is, therefore, both simple and appropriate to apply a prefix that shall express a sense which is agreeable to the physical characteristics of the place.

occupied ought not to be a matter of doubt. This fleet, like all such, most likely had a wide opening into the river, extending probably from near the present outfall of the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer (H) to the ancient outfall of the Abbey mill-stream. The natural feature to which we give the name of "fleet," in Latin records "fluctus aquæ," may be well studied on the Thames, especially at those of Purfleet and Wennington. Indeed, the latter occupies a bend of the river remarkably similar to that of Westminster. In all cases, the "fleet" is a shallow through which a brook runs, and which at high water is overflown. If then, guided by the map, we proceed to mark this boundary, we should travel along, perhaps, a raised bank by the side of this Merfleet for some distance, until we arrive at Pollenstocks. We must analyse this word. Pollen, in East Saxon dialect, is identical with pollard, a topped or polled tree; stock is applied to any upright of wood, a tree-stump, or a post, or any upraised construction of wood may be called a stock. Stook, which is the same word of another dialect, means a stake-fence beneath which water is discharged, and stockle, in another dialect, means a pollard tree-stem. The evidence is thus in favour of considering Pollen-stocks as a row of polled trees, possibly willows, which may have been remarkable; for in these early boundary descriptions, trees, as well as other natural objects, play a large part. Assuming this, we proceed on as we are told to Bulinga fen,* which many persons have

* "Bulunga fenn,"—Bulunga evidently expresses a quality or characteristic. Its termination "unga" is identical with "ing," the final

identified with Tothill Fields, in which opinion I quite agree, for it comes exactly in our path and fulfils all the conditions required; and it preserved the remains of its early fenny state to very recent times. Now we are told to go along the "old dyke" or ditch to the Cow-ford. This old ditch coming thus close upon the fen, possibly made to drain it, can be no other than that which now forms part of King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, and which leads us up to Buckingham Palace. You will have observed that as yet there is no mention of the Ty-bourne, so it is clear that the stream which now forms the sewer outlet, as above described, had no existence at this time, or it would not have been necessary to appeal to other objects: there was but this old dyke. Now as this has brought us close to the Ty-bourne, to place the Cow-ford becomes easy. The former crosses our path, and we must ford it; and this ford must have been near to the end of James Street, by the Palace,

syllable of our participle, as can be shown by a numerous selection of words from our Saxon glossaries, and the final a, an inflexion due to case. "Ung" is still the equivalent of our "ing" in the German language. The prefix "Bul" of course contains the idea intended to be conveyed, and it, in various ways, forms words having a sense of swelling out, as bulge." The root B — L, signifying "what bunches short and thick" (see Barne's Roots, &c.), has from it "Boll," *i. e.* as of a tree, &c., "Balk," and numerous other words and compounds all expressive of or including the same idea. A swollen or swelling out fen is the suggestion thus given by its analysis, and has nothing in it that is improbable or unnatural in this sense. Boling-brook is evidently compounded of the same elements. In the Northamptonshire dialect "boll'd" signifies swollen, and "bula" in the Swedish is a protuberance, all members of the same Teutonic root.

(I), whence, I believe, the main course of the Tybourne, following that of James Street, Chapel Street, Orchard Street, and College Street, by the ancient walls of the Monastery, being utilised to turn the Abbot's mill, made its chief outlet into the Thames. The course along the Ty-bourne to the Here Street, now Oxford Street, has already been described.

The evidences given by Norden's Map (1585) establishes the main facts here set down, and show besides what a very watery region all the vicinity was still, notwithstanding the draining of over eight centuries; and we can easily imagine that, in earlier times, Thorney Island * may often have been isolated by large tracts of standing water. Indeed, what is now St. James's Park was a marsh, until drained by Henry VIII. (see Map), and Norden's Map shows it intersected with ditches: and thus, probably, it remained until the long canal, constructed by Charles

* "Thorney," *i.e.* Isle of Thorns. This, the long popular interpretation, I have accepted as the most probable, after a careful examination of the form in which it appears, as "Thorneia," "Thornig," "Thorneg." The thorn, that is the whitethorn, is very common still in our marshes, by the sides of ditches, and abundantly so in the vicinity of Stratford, Essex—the Stratford Langthorne of our topographers. It is also of very common reference in the perambulations of our Saxon charters, and there can be no reason why such a characteristic should not be a component of this name. The idea of Mr. A. White that it meant "through" is not consistent with the Saxon form of the word "thurh." Moreover, "thorn," as attached to other finals, is more naturally interpreted as the tree, as in "Thornden," Kent, meaning a vale of thorns, "Thorndon," Essex, &c., &c., than it could be by using a term of a subjective, rather than an objective sense, which makes up most of our Saxon words, applied to villages, &c. and indeed is a mode adopted throughout the world.

II., which in Ogilby's small maps of his Roadbook seems to have been fed in part by the Ty-bourne.

But I have yet to give some evidence in relation to the second arm of the Tybourne, and which I assert to have aided in forming Thorney Island. Norden's map again assists us, and one remarkable feature in the many ditches shown by it is that emphatically called "the long ditch." (K) If you examine its circuitous course you will find that one part nearly touches the line of the bourne, and the small portion concealed was doubtless arched over for the convenience of dwellings, &c. Also we know that it had an exit into the river a short distance west of Privy Stairs. (K) Thus we have the Abbey site isolated by a watercourse, which, divided into two, might be appropriately called the double brook or Teo-burn, its ancient name still preserving an almost modern construction.

I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to avoid unsupported hypotheses; to place before you evidence which the facts naturally point to, and to show, as far as it is practicable, that, notwithstanding all the great artificial changes which have been wrought in many centuries, we can still gather facts from various sources, which facts are coincident with local peculiarities of level, and can, by a critical eye, still be seen: then, putting them together, we arrive at a conclusion which, at least, is the most probable solution of an interesting question.

Before I conclude the subject it is impossible to pass over what has been written respecting the early state of the locality of Thorney Island by our very respected Vice-President, the late Dean Stanley, in

his interesting volume on the Abbey. "In the year 969, on the fifteenth of May, in a solemn assembly of the temporal and spiritual lords of the realm, headed by the celebrated Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, King Edgar granted a charter of endowment and privilege to the church of St. Peter at Westminster. The charter is in Latin,* and was probably drawn up by Dunstan himself, as he is specially alluded to, as well as Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, as being called on to advise the King on the state of the churches ruined by the irruption of barbarians, especially the Danes. The charter then alludes in chief to the church of its special lord, patron, and protector, our blessed Peter, which is situated *in the terrible place* (in loco terribili), which by the inhabitants is called Thorneye, on the west, that is to say, of the city of London, which formerly, that is, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 604, by the advice of the blessed Æthelbrith, first Christian king of the English, first having there destroyed the temple of abomination of the pagan kings, was by Saberth, a certain wealthy man, viceroy of London, nephew of that king, constructed, and not by any other than by Saint Peter himself, Prince of the Apostles, dedicated to his own proper honour."

In the interpretations of the passage, "in terribili loco," the Dean, as it appears to me, has fallen into an error, for he assumes that it refers to the physical character of the locality as in the midst of dreary marshes. But what is our experience of marsh land and its connection with our monasteries? Is it not

* See Thorpe's "Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici."

notorious that it was, in very many cases, especially chosen? In the fenny land of Cambridgeshire have we not Ely, Crowland, and Thorney (a name similar to that of the site of Westminster), all in marsh land? Are not some of the noblest of our churches and the richest of livings in marsh land? Romney Marsh is noted for the high price of its acreage and its great value for grazing purposes, and for fine churches. Are there not at this moment two nations on the Continent, our near neighbours and kin, both flourishing in marsh land reclaimed? It may be these lands are flat, but not necessarily devoid of some beauty, and certainly not "terrible." I have been in the fenny country, near Lynn, in the springtime, and seen the green rank herbage mingled with buttercups and daisies in such profusion as to gild the landscape with colour rarely seen out of marsh land. Then what means the Isle of Thorns? Why an island covered with our beautiful white thorn, our fragrant and delightful spring-flowering tree. An island lifted up from the marsh land covered with this, and by the side of a noble river, surrounded by a flowing stream of pure water, was surely not a "terrible place," nor is it at all probable that in a charter any reference to it, had it been so, would have been given. What then does it mean?

It means terrible or dreadful in the sense in which the last word is used in our translation of the Bible. "How dreadful is this place," Genesis, ch. xxviii. v. 17. In fact, the early legendary story of the consecration of the church is referred to in the charter, and the sanctity of the place specially mentioned,

as arising in consequence of St. Peter himself, the "Prince of the Apostles, Key-keeper of Heaven," having personally officiated in the dedication. And if we continue to peruse the charter throughout, this becomes plainly manifest, for the phrase is repeated in connection with holy—"that terrible or dreadful and holy place" (locum illum terribilem et *sanctum*). It was intended to impress an idea of great veneration and sanctity on this spot beyond all others, as its allusion in one passage to its being also the place of the kings, *i.e.* their royal residences, quite forbids us to seek an interpretation of the passage, as having any reference to its physical disabilities. And surely we, at this time, would not wish to dissever from its history this early legend, though obviously an invention for the express purpose of giving to the spot an awful feeling of veneration. Dunstan was quite equal to the task, and without doubt his influence runs through the charter. The rights of sanctuary are strongly enforced. No man whatever crime he had committed could be pursued by the hands of justice beyond the holy precincts. No power, not even that of the king or his officers, could invade it. No episcopal authority even was to be exercised over it, for it was hedged around with privileges. Often, however, these privileges were invaded as times grew, and our constitutional system developed. The potent barons, who assembled in the Chapter House, or appeared in Westminster Hall, could little brook that, perhaps, a supporter of the excessive power of the Crown should elude their vengeance by fleeing to this sanctuary. So in the reign of Richard II. Judge Tressilian was

drawn forth from it to Tyburn and there executed: an apology to the abbot being all that was required to set things right.

In later times, a place expressly called "The Sanctuary," was erected, a *strong building*, *not* easily forced, and it played a part in our history, as is shown in Dean Stanley's Memorials of Westminster. With this my subject, as connected with the Tyborne, is brought to an end, but a description of the course of the Westbourne will now follow, as it is rendered necessary, in consequence of some disputed points in the boundary to which I have referred, and which I must now take up.

The late Mr. Black having given a different interpretation to the reading of the Perambulation, it is necessary that it should not be passed over. He places the "*Merfleet*" *at the outflow of the West*-bourne (of which stream I shall presently give a full account), by the Royal Hospital of Chelsea (L), "Bulunga fen" in Hyde Park, the "old ditch," the West-bourne itself up to the road through Bayswater, and here the "Cowford." (M)

Let us examine this theory by the local characteristics. As there are no positive data, the commencement of the boundary may be fixed at pleasure in the low-lying land by the river, *but* it must be consistent. After we leave "Bulunga fen," thus vaguely placed and on high ground, the difficulties begin. The record tells us to go by the "old ditch to the Cowford." In the theory we are by a natural stream, the largest

of our London brooks, called, and with propriety, the "West-bourne," a term of great antiquity, which has given name to a large manor, of which it forms a boundary. Now the fall of this stream from the place where it thus fixes the "Cowford" to the rise of the ground *above* the marsh level is no less than 20 ft. and the distance but a mile and a half. This would be a rapid and powerful torrent; and even if the brook had been artificially embanked in Saxon times, which is not at all probable, so as to warrant the term "ditch," this embanking would be constantly torn away by the current, and would yield altogether to the first storm-flow of water. But the physical conformation of this part of the brook's course rendered all embankment unnecessary. The term "ditch" could never have been applied to a powerful natural stream. The Saxon "dic" has two meanings—it is either that which is dug out, or that which is thrown up, as an earthen wall. In the record it is feminine, and therefore means the first.*

Now let us for a moment yield to this stream being called "the old ditch," and go with it to the "Cowford," as thus placed. (M) What do we find then? Why that we are *now* on the high road, "*the wide heere street.*" But this is not according to the record, which says, "*From* Cowford *up along Tybourne to* the broad military road or *here street*," and, if Mr. Black be right, all this latter is perfectly unnecessary

* In the glossary to the Diplomatarium Anglicum, &c., Mr. Thorpe quotes Kemble as saying that "dic" in the feminine means "ditch," but when masculine "a bank."

and useless; for the record then tells you to proceed along *this street* to the stocks of St. Andrew's Church, in fact to keep straight on. But Mr. Black tells us to go on eastward and along the course of a stream close by Edgware Road, which he calls the "Teoburna," a petty rillet of no importance, which is tributary to the Westbourne, called Tyburn Brook in recent times *only*,* and this he assumes to be what is meant, ignoring even then the reach of road half-a-mile long before you arrive at it. Mr. Alfred White, however, would have us to consider the "Teoburna" of the record meant the manor. Here the divergence is still greater, for at this "Cowford" we are more than a mile from the first point of the manor, which is indeed the bourn itself, yet the words are "up along Tyborne," which implies it is close at hand, manor or bourne, for it is the boundary we are to follow.

There is indeed no possible way out of the dilemma involved. First, an important natural stream is turned into a ditch. Then you must ignore part of the record or falsify its plain directions. In either way you are in the serious difficulty of having more than you require and which you want to get rid of. At *this* "Cowford" you are already on the "military street" which by the record you have yet to seek, and Strat or Street-ford would have been a more appropriate term, than one suggestive of meadows and pasture and analogous to that of "Cowbridge" which occurs in such a position on the line of the "Holebourne."

* See account of Bridges of Middlesex.

In the course propounded by Mr. Saunders in his paper in the *Archæologia*,* and adopted in the main by me, there is no difficulty, all follows naturally as in the record. Then, the manor of Eia, which lies between the Westbourne and the Tybourn, bounded on the north by what is now the Bayswater Road, was not the property of the Abbot of Westminster at all until the Conquest, when it was granted by Geoffrey de Mandeville and confirmed by William the Conqueror. So that this fact alone would dispose of Mr. Black's theory, setting aside, what has been already shown, that in no way can it be reconciled to the plain reading of the record nor with subsequent records, which determined the boundary of the parish of St. Margaret's in 1222. An extract from one of these is conclusive as to what is meant by the Tyborne: "Ne vero super limitibus dictae Parochiae S. Margaretae questio possit suboriri; limites ejusdem Parochiae praesenti scripto duximus declarandos. *Incipit igitur* Parochiae S. Margaretae *ab aqua de Tyburne* decurrente in Thamisium ex una parte, et ex altera sicut strata regia se extendit versus Londoniam usque ad gardinem Hospitalis S. Egidii." †

It is perfectly clear from this, that Mr. Black in placing the Merfleet at the outfall of the "Westbourne" is *not only wrong*, but all his argument which follows must thus be wrong too, independent of the manifold difficulties which I have shown follow in his argument. It is the Tybourne at which the

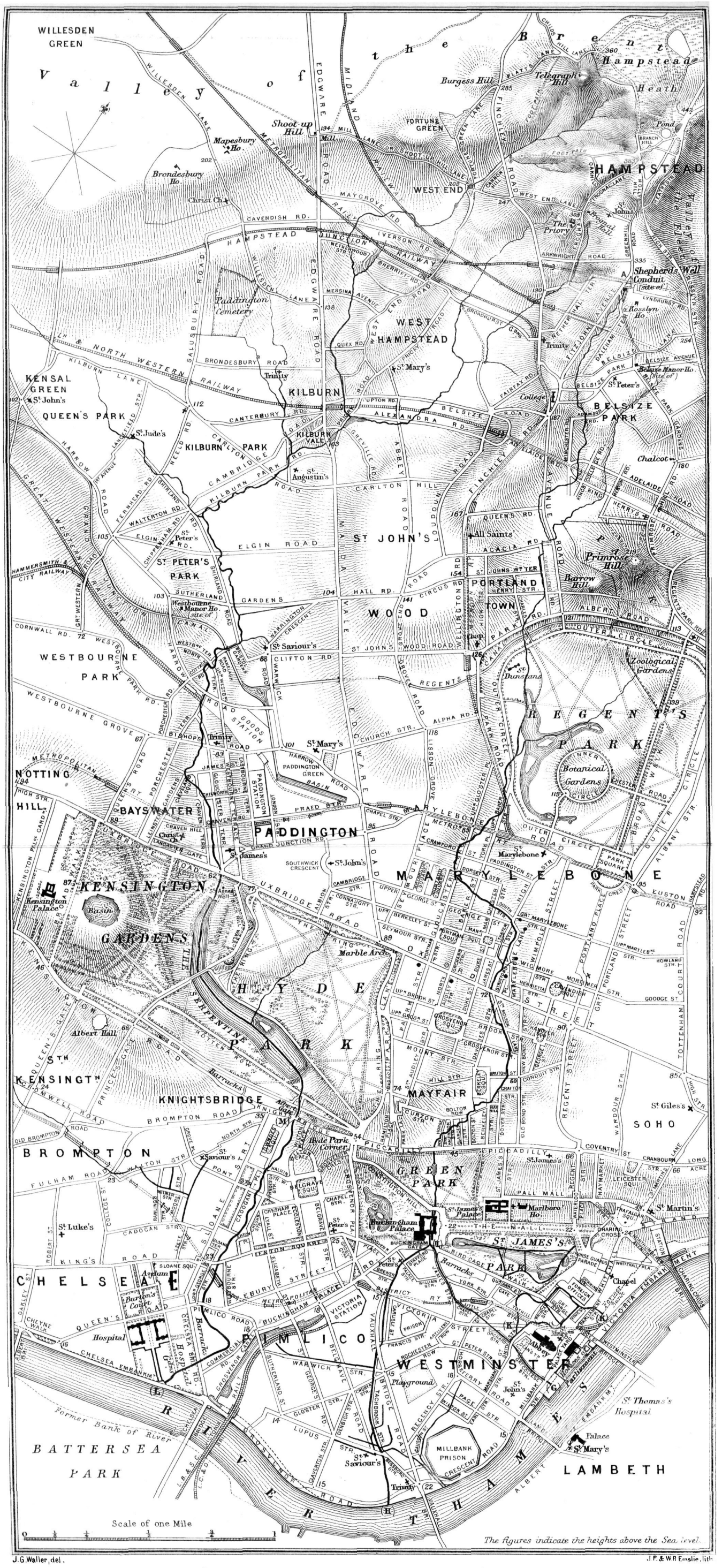
* Vol. xxxi.

† See Mr. Saunders's paper.

boundary must begin, the stream which gives name to the manor which it bounded, and through which that manor was twice named.

THE WESTBOURNE.

The West-bourne, which is properly so called, was, perhaps, for its numerous springs and course, even more considerable than the Hole-bourne. Some of its tributary springs are close to those of the Ty-bourne, and it wanted but little in the level to have made the latter merely a tributary also, and thus have altered its entire course. The farthest of its sources of supply was formerly marked by a small pond on Hampstead Heath, at its most south-western side, near to what was called the "Judges' Walk." The next was within the village near Frognall estate, and marked by an arch or conduit over it; all this has been drained off into sewers. The stream, from these united sources, flowed westward through pleasant meadows towards the great Roman road to the north by Edgware, receiving a small affluent as it turned, running parallel to it, as far as Kilburn, feeding some reservoirs artificially made for the small monastic institution here situate. But we must now turn to the affluent which gives this name. This has three sources: the first close to the side of Hampstead Church; another from West End, close by the Finchley Road; a third within a very short distance of that of



J.G.Waller, del. J.P. & W.R. Emslie, lith.

COURSE OF THE WEST-BOURNE AND OF THE TY-BOURNE.

the Ty-bourne. These three streams unite about mid-way to the site of the Priory, and continue direct to it, also aiding the supply of the fish ponds, &c., all of which existed in the last century, and are given in a plan preserved in the British Museum (Royal Library).

Some brief notice of this monastic house may now be desirable, especially as a relic of one of its occupants has recently been discovered in a fragment of a monumental brass.

Kilbourn, Keleburn, or Kuneburne, as it has been variously recorded in ancient deeds, means "Cold-brook," from the Saxon "kele," to cool. There are many analogies in the use of the term as also in its meaning. The locality of the priory was in early times a place full of rural beauty (of which it still preserves remains), being very secluded, as it was five miles from the City of London, amidst the wooded uplands which characterised the northern suburban county. Here, then, one Godwyn chose to fix his habitation in the twelfth century. His name shows him to have been Saxon, and he soon after conveyed his hermitage and lands belonging to the Abbot of Westminster. The Abbot Herebert and Osbert de Clare the Prior then settled it upon three maidens, said to have been maids of honour to the Queen Matilda, who, representing the Saxon Royal line, of whose eminent virtues much has been written, and was much beloved by the English people. Their names were Emma, Gunilda, and Christina. Godwyn was appointed warden of the house by the Abbot, and the Bishop of London exempted it from

his jurisdiction. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and soon received various additions of land for its support and allowance for the nuns of bread and wine on the day of St. Cosmas and St. Damian (Sept. 27.)

Conflicts of jurisdiction, however, arose in the thirteenth century between the Abbots of Westminster and the Bishop of London; and it was finally arranged that the Bishop was to have access to the Priory and to be received with procession to hear confessions and to enjoin penances, leaving all matters belonging to the regulation of the house unto the Abbot, but the consecration and benediction of the nuns to be in the hands of the Bishop; and so the institution run its course.

It is, however, a remarkable fact that many of these conventual establishments, notwithstanding their increasing endowments, were often complaining of want of funds. So, in 1377, a petition was sent to the Bishop, setting forth that the monastery was much decayed in rents and profits, and from its situation, near to a much frequented highway, exposed to the burthen of affording hospitality to a large concourse of people, both rich and poor. In this statement we get a picture of the times, and the obligation of religious houses which supplied the place of inns, to a certain extent, in districts distant from towns, and where hospitality, when demanded, could not be refused. So in answer to this petition they had granted to them a relaxation of tenths and subsidies, taxation, both temporal and ecclesiastical, for thirty years.

The community continued to exist in its sylvan retreat, having property assigned to it, far and wide, in London, and without; but it never seems to have been accounted rich, and never could have rejoiced in a very sumptuous surrounding, either in its church or in its conventual buildings. A moated site with fish ponds fed by the brook gave it protection, and which were visible at the end of the last century, together with some small remains of the church, possibly its chancel, which was all that was left even in 1550.

At the Dissolution the property was valued at 74*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* per annum. The prioress, in ready money, possessed 6*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* There were three bells worth 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* There was a relique of the holy cross closed in silver and set with counterfeit stones and pearls, valued at the small sum of 3*s.* 4*d.* Their books were not numerous: they consisted of two mass books, one in MS., the other printed; four processionals in parchment and paper; two legends, one in parchment, the other in paper; and there were two chests with divers books belonging to the church, but declared to be of no value.

There were two copies of the "Legenda Aurea," one in manuscript, the other printed; the two valued only at 4*d.* This depreciation must be considered to belong to the disfavour into which legends had fallen. No book of the Scriptures, or probably of any part other than passages in the breviaries, seemed to be in their possession; and indeed their literary account is remarkably small. Among their various effects is mentioned but one horse, and of a black colour.

Of the prioresses but four names have come down

to us. The earliest of these was named Joan and possibly lived in the thirteenth century. The next name is that of Emma de St. Omer, then we get Margery, of the time of Henry IV. Anne Browne was the last, and surrendered the convent to Henry VIII.

The annexed engraving is taken from a fragment

HALF SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL.

of a brass found amongst some human remains near the site of the priory during late excavations for some additions to the Railway at Kilburn. There can be little doubt but that it represents part of a memorial to one of the prioresses, but it is not possible to say

which, as we only possess the names above recorded, and it certainly was not to either of them. Judging from the peculiar treatment of the features, the date would be about 1360-70, and then the person commemorated would probably be the predecessor of the Prioress Margery above named. Memorials to female superiors of religious houses are extremely few. Elizabeth Harvey, Abbess of Elstow, Agnes Jordan, Abbess of Syon, both of the sixteenth century, are the only brasses remaining in England to any of the order, so this fragment has increased interest as the earliest in date. It, although but a veiled head, has a peculiarity which has never before come under my notice, viz.: a small cord attached to the veil for the purpose, as it appears, of sustaining the wimple. Generally, however, the wimple was affixed to the head independently. It is satisfactory to know that this relic is well preserved in the adjoining church of St. Mary, Kilburn.

The course of the main stream, which may be now called the "Westbourne," leaving the Priory, crosses the Edgware Road, beneath an ancient bridge of the thirteenth century, into extensive flat low-lying meadows, receiving an affluent from Willesden Lane, which runs parallel to the great road until it joins. The stream then goes for some distance in a direct, but sinuous course, until it receives an addition to its waters from a source north-east of Kensal Green, when it bends, almost at a right angle, and continuing a short distance is then again turned in the same abrupt manner and passes beneath the canal, which possibly rendered this artificial change necessary, and then proceeds as before, mainly parallel to the Edge-

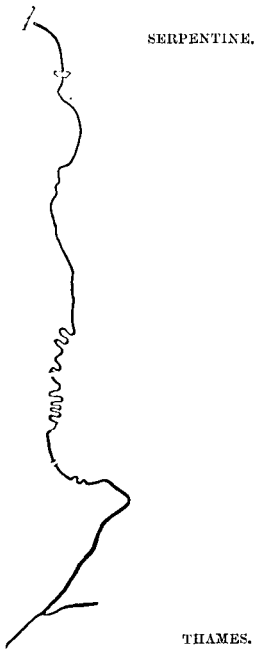
ware Road, leaving its name at Westbourn Green, then passing Craven Hill on the west where formerly stood the "Pest House," removed from its primitive site by Golden Square. It then forms the great body of water of the Serpentine, the largest artificial ornamental piece of water in the metropolis. A small stream called Tyburn Brook here made a small affluent, running in a well-marked depression and emptying by the Magazine. Wheatley's paintings in the last century have recorded the use made of small reservoirs on its course, by mothers to come and bathe their children, a testimony to the quiet seclusion of the park, as also to the then not easy access to places more fitted. As a testimony to the habits of our London forefathers, these paintings, which have been well engraved, have an interest they otherwise would not possess.

The Serpentine, that magnificent piece of water, was made by carefully damming up the stream and gathering together some springs in the reign of George II. It was a work of magnitude, and arrests the waters before falling into the low lands.

As it issues from the Park a bridge of three arches, which covered its stream, gave name to the locality of Knights-bridge. By a course nearly direct, but full of sinuous bendings, it passed through the low meadows of Chelsea, and gives name to many of the localities on its course, as well as to the manor of Westbourne itself, just as the Ty-bourne named the manor, and subsequently the parish of Marylebone, as has been stated. Near to its outlet it bent a little eastwards, and then by an abrupt angle went directly

into the Thames, near Ranelagh Gardens, through which it now rejoices in the title of Ranelagh Sewer.

The annexed is a more minute and accurate plan of this latter course, taken from a survey of the Grosvenor estate, of which it forms one of the boundaries, made in 1724.



Some tributary streams may have aided the flow of waters in this part of its course, but they have not been sufficiently recorded to have their place in maps, though they possibly may exist in private plans of estates. But in the large surface drained the Westbourne was the most considerable of all the brooks which flowed through London, though its part in its history is but small.