

ANGLO-SAXON LONDON AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

SECOND PAPER.

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IN my former paper I drew the attention of the Society to several phases of life in and around London in the time of the Saxons, and to the evidence which points to the Anglo-Saxon Settlement in and around this city having been that of Goths and Frisians, the people who, under the name of Jutes, were the original settlers in Kent. No period of our history is so little known as the Saxon, yet none is so important in regard to the origin of many of those customs, customary laws and usages, which have survived in an altered form until our own time. In a great city changes follow each other from age to age more rapidly than in country places, but we can trace in London and in Middlesex many survivals of Anglo-Saxon customs and social life, some of which still exist, and others have become extinct only within comparatively modern time. It is to the Anglo-Saxon period also that the origin of the English race is

traced, and that origin is of as much interest to the newer English speaking nations as to ourselves. *London played an important part in regard to the consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon tribes and kingdoms into one nation, probably a more important part than has hitherto been assigned to it.*

The question what was the size of Anglo-Saxon London in reference to population and area constantly arises, and although it is not possible to answer this absolutely, yet relatively some considerations which are of considerable interest can be stated. First, London in the Saxon period was the largest English city, and we read of exceptional circumstances and special laws in reference to it at various times. The reference I made in my former paper to the payment of $10\frac{1}{2}$ thousand pounds by London while the remainder of the country paid 72 thousand pounds, in the time of Cnut, as a redemption tax on the conquest of the kingdom by the Danes, shows that relatively it was far and away the largest of English cities—by far the richest—and that its wealthy merchants had to pay very heavily in this great tax. That they were able to pay this large sum shows that it must have been the seat of the greatest commerce in the country, otherwise its wealth could not have been created. The more we consider the subject of the relative position of London to the country in Saxon time, in comparison with that it occupies in our own time, the more clearly we see a close parallel. The special laws relating to Saxon London which we may assume to have been necessary even at that early period, date from the time of Athelstan, the first half of the 10th century, nearly 1,000 years ago.

When we turn from these early laws to military matters, we find similar evidence of the greatness of the city. A special corps of Londoners is stated to have formed part of Athelstan's army at the battle of Brunanburgh in A.D. 937.* The peculiar connection of London and Middlesex also lead us to the same conclusion. Anglo-Saxon London appears to have been included in Middlesex, but it was so great, that its greatness overshadowed the importance of the province or shire itself, in which it was situated.

When we consider also the special privilege of its citizens in reference to the chase, we are again led to the same conclusion. There must have been a large number of wealthy men in Saxon London to have availed themselves of these hunting privileges. It is certain that such a franchise could have been of little use to the poor; by the rich freemen of the city and the well-to-do citizens generally it was no doubt much valued. We cannot but assume that this hunting franchise arose in Saxon time. It is not mentioned in the early Saxon period, but the record, the Laws of Cnut, in which we are told that all men could have their hunting provided they did not encroach on the hunting of the king, we may perhaps regard as evidence, that the hunting privilege of London was included.

It is certain that the hunting franchise of London was of older date than the Norman Conquest. Such a King as William the Conqueror, who so jealously guarded his forests, and afforested a whole district for his own sport in the south-west of Hampshire, would

* Ingulph's Chronicle.

be extremely unlikely to confer extensive hunting rights on the citizens of London.

This free chase franchise of Anglo-Saxon London brings us back again to the considerations of the forests round it. The citizens' hunting ground on the north comprised the whole of Middlesex and the Chiltern district, which covered what is now part of Buckinghamshire, part even of Oxfordshire and Hertfordshire. Their hunting ground on the south also included a great part of Surrey, and part of Kent as far as the river Cray. It did not include any part of Essex, and there was a reason for this, for although Essex contained the greatest forest near London, it was a royal forest. Their franchise did not comprise any part of Berkshire, for the forest there was part of Windsor forest, another royal hunting ground, nor presumably the north-western part of Surrey, for that also was part of Windsor forest. When we consider the extent of the royal forests of Essex and Windsor, the warning of Cnut that people who had hunting rights must keep out of his preserves, becomes of significance in reference to the antiquity of the hunting rights of Anglo-Saxon London.

It appears at first thought a little strange to go to St. Paul's for evidence of the forest condition of Middlesex and Essex during the Saxon period. St. Paul's, however, is a very old ecclesiastical foundation, and its endowment dates from early Saxon time. The old names of its prebends supplies us with corroborative evidence of the wooded state of some of its lands at an early period of its history. These old names survived, long after they had by lapse of time become inaccurate as descriptive names. Among these old

prebendal names are Browneswood, Chamberlainwood, and the forest "den" names, such as Harlesden and Neasden in the old district of Willesden, as well as that "dean" or "den" of Willesden itself. The prebendal name of Oxgate in Willesden probably denotes some early enclosure in the ancient forest, and the name Mora Prebend, the land of which was situated in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, is one which probably denotes part of the ancient moor or marshland close to the city. These old names point to the existence of a great woodland area near London. The heaths were also very extensive, as shown by the surviving names Cambridge Heath, Hampstead Heath, Houndslow Heath, and others. Such names also, as Wormwood Scrubs and Shepherd's Bush, point to the existence close to London of heaths, partly covered with bush.

In my former paper I drew attention to the necessity of forests to supply fuel to cities in the Anglo-Saxon period. A city could not exist without an adequate supply of wood. The question arises: Whence came the wood which was required for fuel in Saxon London? It is certain that so large a city could not have been entirely supplied with fuel from so comparatively small a forest area as that which is known to have existed in Middlesex, large as that was when considered only in reference to the acreage of the county, but adjoining this county there were other extensive wooded districts. We are led to the conclusion, from these considerations, that there must have been, in Saxon London, a great trade in fire wood, just as in modern time there is an immense trade in coal. The greatest forest area in adjoining counties was

that of Essex. In the Domesday record we read of woods in Middlesex alone that afforded pannage in the aggregate for 17,000 swine, but the same record tells us of woods in Essex at that date for 90,900 swine.

In Hertfordshire, woods are mentioned sufficient for 30,700 swine. Buckinghamshire, Surrey and Kent also had extensive woods which fed swine. The total for the three counties, Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire, was 138,000.

As the Lea was a navigable stream for a considerable distance, as well as the Thames, we may feel sure that wood for fuel in the Saxon city was brought down these rivers from the forest lands in Hertfordshire, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Surrey, and perhaps parts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Wood came, no doubt, from all parts within such a distance as it would pay to bring it.

The supply of fuel to the Saxon city must have come chiefly from woods in the hands of those who were at liberty to cut down and sell their timber. The firewood rights in the forests of the commoners who lived near them, as far back as we can trace these rights, were limited by certain regulations. If this had not been the case the common woods or forests near a great city would soon have disappeared. We are thus led to the conclusion that the supply of wood in the Saxon city must have been by sale. That there were people who had woods of their own we know from one of Alfred's laws, which says:—"If any man burn or hew another's wood without leave, let him pay for every great tree with v shillings and afterwards for each, let there be as many of them as may be, with v pence and x shillings as wite." In

London, as far back as we can trace them, there were regulations for the sale of wood, as there were for bread and ale, and as the assize of bread and ale was a custom of Saxon origin, there is little room for doubt that the assize of wood also had its origin in the same period—Tallwood, billets, faggots, or other firewood are mentioned in the early regulations, and faggots had to be “of the full assize which the same ought to hold.”

The figures which state the number of swine for whose subsistence the autumn pannage is recorded, are significant in another way. These figures not only tell us of the pigs the forests were capable of feeding in the fall of the year, but give us some idea of the large number of animals bred for food in the country round Saxon London. The city, relatively very great even in the Saxon period, must have depended for its food supplies chiefly on the country nearest to it. The royal forests were subject to common rights, not only for pigs in the autumn, but for cattle during certain other periods of the year. We know from the forest laws what these periods were. The pannage season ended on November 22nd, and from that date what was called Winter-heyning began, and lasted until May 4th. During this period, cattle were not allowed to graze on the royal forest pastures, because theoretically these pastures in the winter months were supposed to be sufficient only for the king's deer, but in practice it is probable that some cattle were permitted to remain. From May 4th until June 20th all commoners had a right to forest pastures. Then came the Fence month, from June 20th to July 20th, when the young deer had to be protected, and the

cattle were excluded, after which, until November 22nd, the forest pastures were again open.

The Anglo-Saxon law relating to the wilful destruction of trees by fire, or causing forest fires, is found in Alfred's code and is headed "Be wuda bærnætte." This is of interest as evidence of the care with which woods were preserved. It is also of interest to Middlesex archæology, for there is on the northern border of the county an ancient place-name which denotes a forest-fire, and has apparently come down to us from the Anglo-Saxon period. I refer to the name Barnet. If we substitute the diphthong "æ" for "a," this word "bærnet" is the Anglo-Saxon for combustion or burning used in Alfred's code, and is apparently a surviving trace of a fire in the woods at or near Barnet, or of the destruction of an Anglo-Saxon forest village by fire on this site. I referred in my former paper to the charcoal burners and their operations in the forests, but there were other denizens who occasionally took up their abodes in the woods. Charcoal was a necessity in Saxon time to all metal workers, and Ethelred's code of laws shows that false coiners retired to the forests for their illegal work. The words in this code which refers to them are: "And the moneyers who work within a wood or elsewhere, that they be liable in their lives unless the King will be merciful to them." It is clear that the great forests round London, where coins of all sorts were in circulation, must have been particularly attractive for the illegal work of the false coiners.

The original settlers in Middlesex were pagans, and some traces are left of their mythology. One of the derivation of the word seaxe or Saxon, itself is a

mythological one from *Sahsnôt* or *Seaxneat*, an eponymous deity of the Saxons,* and in the genealogy of the Kings of Essex, *Saxnôt* is mentioned with *Woden* and *Thunar* (but not *Tiu*) as among their ancestors, thus showing that *Saxnôt* was an alternative name for *Tiu*, from whom the name Tuesday is derived.

Another mythological name is that of *Ermine Street*, for the great north road from London. *Irmin* in the Saxon mythology was a common god of many tribes. He was supposed to drive over the starry firmament, and the Milky Way was called *Irmin Road*, or the way of souls.†

In the Anglo-Saxon laws we also find traces of mythology connected with the forests, as, for example, in the *Dooms of Cnut*, where the king says:—"We earnestly forbid every heathenism, *i.e.*, that they worship heathen gods, and the sun, and the moon, fire, or rivers, water wells, and stones, or forest trees of any kind."‡

London, in regard to *Middlesex*, had a remarkable parallelism to the city of *York* and its *Ainsty*. The county of *Middlesex* has been connected with London so long that this connection apparently goes back beyond the earliest historical period. Similarly, the *Ainsty* of *York* was connected with that city from the beginning of its history. The *Ainsty* is a hundred or wapontake, eleven miles in length by six miles broad, between the rivers *Wharf* and *Nidd*, on the west of *York*. The whole district was anciently a forest, but was disforested by Charters of *Richard I*

* Grimm, J. "Teutonic Mythology," trans. by Stallybrass, Vol. III, vii.

† "Asgard and the gods," by Dr. W. Wagner, ed. by Anson, p. 152.

‡ *Cnut's Dooms*, 5.

and John. The two Sheriffs of York were sworn to office for the city and its Ainsty, as those of London were for the city and Middlesex. This parallelism between the Ainsty of York and Middlesex in relation to London is close. The connection of each district with its city is lost in antiquity. Middelseaxe is first mentioned in a Charter dated A.D. 704. Both Middlesex and the Ainsty of York were chiefly covered by forests, and both are connected in government with the city from time immemorial. Their original attachment to their cities naturally suggests the fuel question and pasture for cattle belonging to the citizens.

Even at the present time the rural parts of Middlesex consist largely of land laid out for pasturage. It has probably been so from time immemorial : first, because most of the open land in the county, being on a clay subsoil, is naturally adapted for pasture ; and, secondly, because the necessity for pasture near London in the Saxon period required it. Corn, like wood, could be brought into the city ; hay could be brought, but fresh grass only to a limited extent.

Fruit was grown by the Saxons near London. We read of orchards, and it is of interest to note that Middlesex in the later Saxon period had its vineyards, some of them being quite close to London. Domesday Book tells us of a vineyard in Holborn, and another belonging to the Abbey at Westminster. There was also a vineyard at Harmondsworth, which is a great fruit-growing district at the present time, and there was another at Coleham. The 26th law of Alfred's Code orders the fine or punishment of anyone who injures another man's vineyard. I cannot show you

the site of any one of these ancient Middlesex vineyards, but in Hampshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, and other counties, such sites can be identified.

The important question arises: "What kind of city was this great London in the Anglo-Saxon period?" It was not the capital or seat of government of the country. It was not even the capital of any one of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Even in the later period, just before the Norman Conquest, when Edward the Confessor removed his government from Winchester, he did not bring it to London, but to Westminster. Even in his time, London was relatively a very great city—too great, apparently, for the Saxon king to place the seat of his government actually within it. London was, in the Saxon period, the commercial centre of the country without being the capital or seat of government of either the whole or any one of the lesser kingdoms. Except for the short time when it might be supposed to have been the seat of the kings of Essex, London in Saxon time appears as a great community on the frontiers of three or more kingdoms of the so-called Heptarchy. As far back as our history extends, England appears always to have had on this commercial site a relatively very large commercial city. This is a remarkable fact in our national history. To have grown and prospered as it did in the Saxon period, London must have had a local government which was suited to it. This brings us to the fact that government and law in Anglo-Saxon time was nearly all administered locally, and such being the case it becomes certain that the government of London was so administered.

That law differed greatly from the procedure in

use in later centuries. The Hundred Court was in the country districts—the court which dealt with criminal offences, and the County Court in each shire was the highest court. There was no supreme court for the whole country, and there was no trial by jury. That was a development which arose after the Norman Conquest. The law in London appears to have been administered in the wards and in the Court of Hustling, which was the highest court. Compurgation as a means of proving a man innocent or guilty was in full force. If a citizen was accused of a crime, it was possible for him to establish his innocence by his own oath and the oaths of a certain number of his fellow citizens, who were willing to become his oath-helpers or compurgators. If the accused declared on oath that he was innocent of the offence with which he was charged, and the requisite number of compurgators came forward and declared on oath that they believed him to be innocent, his acquittal followed. Doubtless cases occurred of hard swearing under this Anglo-Saxon system, which gave place later on to trial by jury, but a trace of the old system of compurgation still survives in the privilege every accused person still has of calling witnesses to his character, and in the exemption of such witnesses from cross-examination, or from their testimony being contradicted by rebutting evidence. Instances of this surviving trace of the archaic Saxon law occur almost daily in London at the present time.

One of the most notable considerations indeed in reference to Saxon London is the survival or traces of Saxon laws, customs, ecclesiastical endowments, and other remains of that period which have come

down to our own time, or, at least, until modern time. As historical and archæological knowledge advances, we find traces of Saxon usage in many unexpected quarters. It can be traced in our shipping and commerce, in the city government, in the national monetary system, and in the great market. London has a market overt—a perpetual market. It had no market days as other towns and cities had, but transactions in its shops are and were transactions in market overt. It is not many years since the ancient privilege of market overt in the city was pleaded in a jewellery transaction, and the ancient customary law on this subject again brought before the Courts. Any purchaser of goods sold to him in a market, if such goods are those usually sold in the market, acquires a good title to the goods, whatever may have been the title of the seller. In the city of London every shop in which goods are exposed for sale is a “market overt” for sales by the shopkeeper, but not for sales to him, and the buyer acquires a good title to the articles sold to him, whatever the vendor’s title to them may be.* This is not so in the Strand or Oxford Street, or elsewhere beyond the City boundaries. This is a very remarkable survival, and I think it is one which points again to the greatness of Anglo-Saxon London. Ancient markets arose either from prescriptive right or by royal charter. Many ancient markets are so old as to have become established by prescription. They were markets in Saxon times, and some are mentioned in Domesday Book. No Charter exists granting market privileges

* “Encyclopædia of the Laws of England.” Vol. VIII, p. 223; case of Hargreave v. Spink.

for the first time to London. Its open perpetual market has come down from the Saxon period, and this perpetual market overt was one of its peculiar and valuable privileges. It must have been a much greater commercial city than any other in England, to have been privileged in this respect beyond them all. Whence could this great privilege of a perpetual market have come, except like the ancient prescriptive country markets from the Anglo-Saxon period? Of such a prescriptive market in London we catch a glimpse indeed in the Kentish laws as far back as the seventh century.

The Charter which Henry I granted to the citizens of London within forty years after the Norman Conquest, contains many references to the old Saxon customs of the city. There must at the time that Charter was granted have been many people living in London who were living during the later Saxon period. One of the clauses in this Charter says:—"And the churches, and barons, and citizens shall and may peaceably and quietly have and hold their sokes with all their customs, so that the strangers that shall be lodged in the sokes shall give custom to none, but to him to whom the soke appertains or to his officer whom he shall there put." This passage gives us interesting information in regard to sokes, and to the strangers that were lodged in them.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many sokes existed in Saxon London. These sokes were parts of the city which were not under the common city jurisdiction. We know that St. Martin le Grand, St. Paul's, and the Knighten Guild at Portsoken had

sokes or liberties, with certain administrative power within them. Anglo-Saxon London was evidently not one community, but a collection of communities lying close together, having no doubt some duties in common, such as the common defence, but having separate administrations. The sokes help us to realise how London grew.

The Dean and Chapter of St. Martin's le Grand possessed privileges for the administration of their own part of the city, almost as important as the privileges of the city itself.

Similarly, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's had their own soke. The Knights of Portsoken certainly had their own soke. The Foreign Abbey of Gant or Ghent also had possessions in the city, with certain liberties before the close of the Saxon period.

The mercantile privileges of the Men of the Emperor also appear to have existed in the time of the Saxons. These later on became identified with the commercial privileges of the Merchants of the Steelyard. In A.D. 967 King Ethelred ordered that the Emperor's Men or Easterlings coming with their ships to Belingsgate shall be accounted worthy of good laws. The name Easterlings was the designation of the people of countries on the Baltic, and would include the traders from Gotland. It was at Billingsgate that ships paid their toll, as we learn from "Ethelred's Laws."

The centres of local government throughout the country were the local courts to which the tythings or townships sent their tythingman, often known in later time as an alderman, or other chief officer. As long as anything is positively known of the

government of London, there appear to have been divisions, called wards, and an alderman connected with each ward. In the country some of these rural aldermen of tythings are still elected. In London the divisions of the city or wards in Saxon time must have been subject to the chief court, as the tythings in the country under a tythingman or rural alderman were subject to the Hundred Court.

The Laws of Athelstan relating to London are *prima facie* evidence of the existence of courts for their administration, and the lawcourts in Anglo-Saxon time were the assembly of the freemen of the hundred or borough or county. These laws of Athelstan were not administered by the king and his deputies or judges, but by the assembly of the freemen of the city. They could not have been new, but only customary laws reduced to writing in Athelstan's time, modified no doubt as circumstances required. There must have been customary laws in London as in every other part of the country, and these customary laws, out of which the common law of the country grew, were different in different places. There are old customs even now all over the country, which are recognised locally in our common law, whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity.

During the later Saxon period London was situated between the parts of the country where three systems of law were in force, and at the same time it had special laws of its own, a fact which alone is evidence of its importance. These three legal codes were those of Wessex, Mercia and the Danelagh. The only city near which these three legal divisions of the country met was London. England, south of

the Thames, was under West Saxon or Kentish law, while that north of the river was under Mercian law or Danish law. In Alfred's time the three divisions met at London, the treaty between that king and Guthrum the Danish king specifying the river Lea as the boundary near London. Later on Danish law is said to have prevailed in fifteen of the then existing counties, and these made a great area known as Fiftonshire, which included Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire.* London during the later period was also the meeting place of the "Danelagh" and the West Saxon or English law, and the Danelagh did not pass into the common law of England until the successors of the Norman Conqueror had united into a whole these varied legal codes.†

In my former paper, I referred to the island of Gotland and its chief town Wisby, and to the connection of that port with the trade of Saxon London. As the chief emporium of trade in northern Europe at that time, the Gotland merchants traded to all commercial ports, and the great number of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Gotland is evidence of its early trade with England. We meet with some evidence relating to the maritime customs or usages of Wisby, and the probable adoption of some of these usages in England. The earliest maritime code of which anything is known in northern Europe is the Wisby Town Law on Shipping, a copy of which, in a

* Cottonian Liber Custumarium in "Liber Albus," II, part ii, 625.

† Worsaae, J. J. "Danes and Norwegians in England," etc. 152.

hand of the fourteenth century, is preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm, and came from Gotland.

There is a very curious survival which can be traced between the old maritime customs of the old Frisian ports of Enchuysen and Stavern, also Amsterdam and those of Wisby on the one hand, and of the English custom on the other. The time allowed for a chartered vessel to lie up in port according to the old custom of Flanders and also of France was fifteen days, whereas the corresponding interval allowed for "lay days" in the usages of the old Frisian ports and also according to the law of Wisby was fourteen days, which agrees exactly with the fortnight of English usage.* This coincidence points to the early trade of London with Wisby and Frisian ports.

We can trace in the customs and laws of London which have come down to us in the "*Liber Albus*," some interesting survivals in favour of foreigners which certainly had their origin in the Anglo-Saxon period. We are told that the men of the Emperor may lodge within the city wherever they please, with this proviso or exception, that those of Tiesle (Thiel) and of Brune, and of Anwers, shall not pass London Bridge if they do not wish to be ruled by the law of London. We read of the men of the Emperor trading to London as early as Ethelred's time, so that this record of them appears to be that of a privilege they enjoyed before the Norman Conquest.†

The government of Cnut and his Danish successors left in London some survivals, which were in force in

* Twiss, Sir Travers. "*The Black Book of the Admiralty*." Appendix, Part III. Introduction, XIX.

† "*Liber Albus*," II, i, 63, and II, ii, 531.

the Middle Ages, in reference to the privileges Danes and Norwegians enjoyed in London. We are told that the Danes had "Botsate" or "liberty of sojourn in the city all the year round, and even more than this, they had the law of the city of London to go throughout all England to fair or market,"* as the citizens had, a very valuable trading privilege, which was only likely to have been granted when London owed allegiance to a Danish king. Similarly the Norwegians had "Botsate" in the city, without the privilege of going to fairs or markets elsewhere.†

The commerce of Saxon London presented one feature which is revolting to our modern views, viz., the slave trade. It is difficult for us to realize that one of the chief medium of exchange among the Saxons was that of slaves, especially in the early period. Later on, edicts were issued against it by both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, but it certainly prevailed during the whole Anglo-Saxon period. The case of the young Angles who were sold as slaves and taken to Rome is well known, and as early as A.D. 679 we read of Frisian merchants buying a slave in London. There was certainly a trade by which slaves were sold to foreign countries carried on from the Anglo-Saxon ports of London and Bristol, and probably from other ports, as well as home slavery on a somewhat large scale. It was this home slavery, as part of the political system, which led to the exportation of slaves occasionally during the whole Saxon period, and sometimes more continuously. A father, if very poor, had the right of selling his children for seven years even so late as the Norman Conquest,

* "Liber Albus," II, i, 63.

† *Ibid.*, II, ii, 531.

although in the early days of Christianity, by the exertion of the clergy, a restriction involving the consent of the child was brought about. This was apparently a kind of servitude for food and necessities for a period of years.*

In connection with the commerce of Saxon London, the question naturally arises: What was its medium of exchange? The money which was in circulation or used as a medium of exchange in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, or the latter part of this period, was the West Saxon, the Mercian, and the Danish. Money of these three currencies must have been in constant circulation and exchange in London, in addition to the money of the foreign merchants. The pound of Wessex consisted of 48 shillings, and the shilling of 5 pence. The pound of Mercia consisted of 60 shillings, and the shilling of 4 pence. In addition, the Mercians had another coin known as the thrysma, which was of the value of 3 pence. The Danish standard coin was the ora, which at first was of the value of 16 pence, and later on was equivalent to 20 pence, a rise in value which may perhaps be ascribed to the time of Cnut. There was another Danish coin called the mark, first mentioned in the time of King Alfred, also a silver coin known as the mancus, of the value of 30 pence, in circulation. The silver penny, derived probably from the Roman denarius, was the standard coin in England for 1,000 years, and it will be seen that 240 of them made up the pound in Mercian money and in West Saxon money. The Mercian shilling, in regard to its relative value, survived in the groat or

* Newman, P. H. "Social England," I, 212.

fourpenny bit, until our own time. We may, perhaps, also consider our threepenny bit as a modern representative in value of the Mercian thrysma. The shilling of Wessex thus finally gave place to the shilling of Mercia, which we have but lately lost, but this fourpenny silver coin or Mercian shilling is still, I believe, the value set on the services of a coroner's jurymen in the City of London, a custom which must be of remote origin. The Danish mark was an important coin in the trade of Saxon London. We first hear of it in A.D. 878 in the treaty of peace between King Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish king. The silver mark, early in the tenth century, was of the value of one hundred pennies, but later on it was two-thirds of a pound, and as such its relative value survived for many centuries, if, indeed, its value is even yet extinct in reference to certain old payments, such as legal fines. It certainly existed as a denomination for payments of that kind till the nineteenth century. In the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish law breakers in East Anglia had to pay their fines in marks and oras according to Danish law, while the English paid in pounds and shillings. Guthrum's kingdom was bounded by the Lea, and so its frontier was close to London. Later on Middlesex was within the Danelagh, and the laws of Ethelred and the special trading privileges which the Danes possessed in London make it certain that the Danish marks and oras were coins current in London during the later Saxon period. The silver penny of the Anglo-Saxons still survives in name in our troy weight, and 240 of them made a pound troy of silver. The influence of the Danes in the early history of

London has, I think, been under-estimated ; for example, in Ethelred's Laws for London, oras and marks alone are mentioned, as if they were the only current coins of the city.

The Danish rule in England has left other survivals which can still be traced in London. Southwark appears to have been at one time a Scandinavian fortified site during the Danish inroads, and its name may be of Scandinavian origin. Opposite to it is Billingsgate, and Billingsdal, Billingsfors, Billingenlake and Billingen are names in use in the Scandinavian peninsula at the present day. The church dedication to St. Magnus, close to London Bridge, is another survival from the time when St. Magnus the Martyr was greatly honoured by the ancient Scandinavians. The dedication to St. Olave was the Scandinavian St. Olaf, and there was an ancient church with this dedication in Southwark, another in the Jewry, another in Hart Street, and another in Silver Street, in Aldersgate Ward. A Danish settlement near the city appears to have been outside Bishopsgate, and to have been the origin of Bishopsgate Without. Another extra mural settlement apparently gave its name to St. Clement Danes, but the existence of four ancient church dedications to Danish saints in the city points to a considerable Danish population within the city itself, and we know that Danes enjoyed the full rights of citizenship.

In my former paper I drew attention to the influence which London must have had in the formation of the Anglo-Saxon language out of the dialects spoken by the original settlers. We may assume that these dialects were mutually intelligible between the

various tribes, but it was by intercommunication between the settlers of different tribes and races that the dialects became a language, and London, above all towns in England, was their meeting place. We may also view this influence of Saxon London from its literary aspect. The Anglo-Saxons acquired the art of writing after their settlement here, and from two sources, viz., partly from the Roman missionaries of their own time, and partly from Irish missionaries, who had acquired their knowledge of letters from the time of the Empire through the Romanised Britons. Some of the letters of the Irish alphabet differed from those used by the Roman missionaries of the Saxon period. Hence we find that the Anglo-Saxon writing exhibits a combination of two calligraphic schools, the later Roman and the Irish. The Roman prevailed in Kent and Wessex; the Irish in Mercia and Northumbria. Of the southern, St. Augustine's Psalter and Gospels are written in characters derived directly from Anglo-Saxon missionaries. Of the northern, St. Cuthbert's Gospel at Durham and St. Chad's at Lichfield are written in letters of the Irish school, derived from the Romanised Britons. In this contest between the two styles of letters the southern prevailed. As London was situated on the confines of the kingdoms, the northern school of writing here came into contact with the southern, and this contact, with other potent influences, gradually led to the general use of the Roman characters as used in Wessex. Thus, while Mercia prevailed in the survival of the shilling, Wessex prevailed in the survival of certain letters of the alphabet.

Among the names of places in the neighbourhood

of Saxon London was the curious name of Ceockanege. This name in its later form, Cockney, is commonly regarded as of somewhat modern origin, and at the earliest of mediæval date, according to a long discussion in *Notes and Queries*. The name Ceockanege, however, occurs in an early Saxon charter, relating to the lands at Battersea, which belonged to the earliest monastic foundation at Westminster. Ceockanege was apparently a river or marshy island near the mouth of the Effra, a stream which joined the Thames on the south side of the river near Vauxhall. The late Mr. W. Basevi Sanders, of Southampton, one of the Assistant Keepers of H.M. Records, was the first to draw attention to this name.* This charter, which is preserved at Westminster, was, I believe, reproduced in facsimile at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton.

Two of the most notable discoveries of relics of the Saxon period, which are so scarce, were a sword, now in the British Museum, with a Runic inscription, found in the Thames near London, and a stone now in the Guildhall Museum with a later Runic inscription, found in St. Paul's churchyard. This latter was discovered on the south side of St. Paul's in 1852,† twenty feet below the surface of the ground. The stone is 24 inches in length, 21 inches broad, and 4 inches thick. It is finely carved, in the old Norse style, and has Runic letters round its edges recording the interment of a Scandinavian in London; it was apparently a burial stone. This is the only relic of its kind which has been found in the city or in Middlesex, but there is another stone still standing in

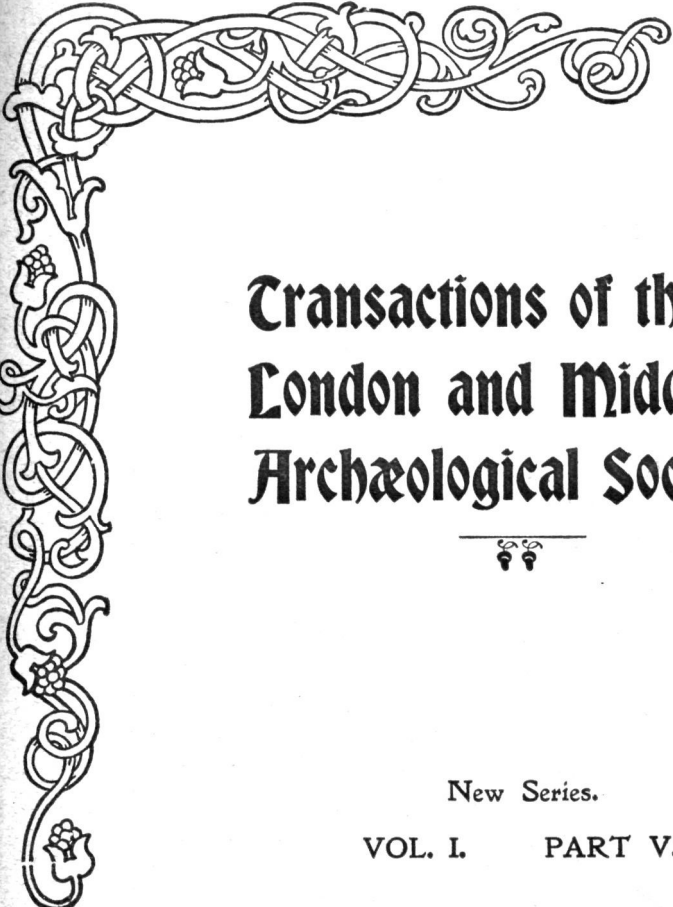
* 40th Report of the Deputy Keeper of H.M. Records.

† Journal, Archaeological Institute. Vol. X, p. 82.

a province of Sweden which tells us of the burial in London of two ancient Scandinavians at about the first half of the 11th century. This stone is at Walleberga, in Skâne, Sweden, and its inscription in Runes of a late type says that it is the grave mark of Suin and Turgot. It was apparently set up by their relatives, and the inscription contains the words "God help their souls well," and also the words "They lie in London." * This memorial set up and inscribed in Runic letters in probably the native socken of Suin and Turgot is also a memento of Saxon London. The sword found in the Thames is of a much earlier date, and has older Runes on it, their date being assigned to the 5th century. Runes were the invention of the Northern Goths, from whom the Angles and Scandinavians learnt them. This discovery of an early Runic inscription near London is another link in the chain of evidence pointing to the share of the Goths, and people allied to them, in the settlement of the country round this city.

In conclusion, I may remind you that in my former paper I drew attention to two remarkable parallels between the early privileges of Saxon London and the early privileges of Kent, viz.: 1. The personal freedom of all the inhabitants, and 2. The custom of partible inheritance, the father's estate being divided equally between the sons. The people of Kent possessed also two other privileges incidental to the custom of gavelkind, viz., freedom from the legal remedy of distress, and the widow's right to half of her husband's property as her dower. These rights were also part of the privileges of the

* Stevens, Prof. G., "Old Northern Runic Monuments," II, 821.



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early inhabitants of London. When rents were not paid in London in the earliest recorded time, the remedy was not by distraint, but by a process known as Gavelet. The defaulter was summoned to the Husting, and there the arrears might be doubled if lawful payment were refused. The tenements were delivered by the court to be held for a year and a day, and unless the tenant satisfied the court within that time, he lost all right to them. The widow's dower in London, as in Kent, was her personal right, and could not be alienated from her, even if forfeiture occurred through felony by her husband. This is shown by Athelstan's laws relating to London. These customs, common to London and to Kent, are very remarkable, and support the view I brought forward in my former paper, that the original settlement in and round London, was made by people who were mainly of the same race as the people of Kent.
