

LONDON'S FIRST CONDUIT SYSTEM: A TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

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I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE old conduit-system of London is a subject about which much has been written. Stow described it as it was in his time, with notes on its history gathered from the City archives. The various eighteenth century topographers added a little to Stow's account. William Matthews brought together much information from scattered sources on this subject in his "Hydraulia," published in 1835. With additional materials to draw upon, Mr. Frederick Clifford gave a far better account in his "History of Private Bill Legislation," in 1885; and Mr. P. Norman, in 1899, prefaced his critical study on an ancient conduit-head in Bloomsbury with a general account of other conduits. The name of writers who have alluded incidentally to the subject is legion,

but these have for the most part contented themselves with reproducing, more or less accurately, the statements of previous writers, and anything of the nature of critical investigation is very rare. Thus it comes about that the exact site of the earliest conduit-head, described as at "Tiburne," is still an unsettled question. The balance of opinion seems to incline towards the identification of the "Tiburne" site with a site in Paddington, near the modern Paddington Station, as apparently asserted by Stow, and as lately maintained by Mr. W. L. Rutton in *Notes and Queries*.^{*} On the other hand Maitland, in his "History of London" (1756) identified the site with what is now Stratford Place, north of Oxford Street ; and in this he is partly followed by Mr. Loftie, who, however, also alludes rather obscurely to a site a little farther west.

No less uncertain than the source is the route taken by the conduit pipes from the source to the City. Mr. Riley makes the following statement in a footnote in his "Memorials"—"The water was conveyed by pipes from Tyburn to St. James's Hill (Constitution Hill), thence to the Mews (Royal Stables) near Charing Cross, and thence through the Strand and Fleet Street to Chepe." This is evidently intended as a paraphrase of Stow's familiar statement (quoted below, p. 41), yet Mr. Rutton interprets the latter so differently that he traces the line of pipes along what is now Oxford Street and Holborn to the City !

In this uncertainty it appears to me that I shall not be adding unnecessarily to what has already been written on the subject if I attempt to settle the

^{*}*Notes and Queries*, 9th ser., vii, p. 490 (June 22nd, 1901).

doubtful points by a topographical research. I propose in the first place to collect all the facts as to what remained of the conduit system from the western suburbs to the City in the period of maps and plans, that is to say, from the end of the seventeenth century to the early part of the nineteenth. Then some geological and engineering considerations will claim attention. Next, going back from the comparatively modern to the ancient, an attempt will be made to interpret the original grants to the City of the sources of the water, as well as certain references to the conduit system in the City records.

In the course of my work I have received much assistance from Mr. C. Welch, F.S.A., at the Guildhall Library, Mr. Madan at the Bodleian, and the late Mr. Birch at the Soane Museum. I am also much indebted to Mr. E. Gardner for having kindly gone through the Marylebone and Paddington portion of his extensive collection with me. Above all, I have to thank Colonel W. F. Prideaux, C.S.I., for much helpful criticism, information, and suggestion, expressed in private correspondence.

II.—THE EVIDENCE OF MAPS AND PLANS.

The oldest maps on which any part of the western conduit system is shown appear to be those of Morden and Lea, dated 1690 and 1700*. These two editions

* A critical collated list of old maps of London would be a great boon to students of London topography. There is in the Guildhall Library an edition of Morden and Lea, undated, but headed by a dedication to King William and Queen Mary, and therefore apparently earlier than 1694: yet this shows New Bond Street and adjacent streets, while in the edition dated 1700 their site is shown as a meadow. Again, the earliest edition of this map in all the collections I have searched appears to be of 1690, but in the Crace collection there is an Amsterdam map, said to be of 1688, which is obviously a copy, and in part a blundering copy, of Morden and Lea.

differ slightly and supplement one another. They show us that the highway now called Oxford Street crossed by a bridge the stream which is here nameless, but in later plans is variously called Aye Brook or Tybourne, and in Leland's *Itinerary*, Mariburne Brook. On the north side of this bridge, on a piece of ground extending between the brook and Marylebone Lane, and corresponding to the present Stratford Place, stood the Lord Mayor's Banqueting House and two "conduit-heads." Farther north, beyond a bend in the lane, are three other conduit-heads, while two others are shown (in the 1690 map only) on the south side of the high road, about 240 and 400 yards respectively west of the bridge, and at the extreme western limit of the maps, which does not reach quite as far as the present Marble Arch. At the south-eastern corner of the bridge stood a large "Receipt-House," and south of this a large tri-radiate piece of ground on the east side of the brook is marked (in the 1700 map) "Conduit Mead." A large building in this mead, by the brookside, is marked "Water House" in the 1690 map, and "Pump House" in that of 1700. This Conduit Mead is still the freehold property of the City Corporation, and forms the site of New Bond Street and Conduit Street.

In the Crace collection (Maps xiv, 18) there is a copy of a "Plan of Marybone Estate when purchased by the Duke of Newcastle, 1708." No conduits are shown, but the banqueting house is marked, and to the east of this is shown (what does not appear in Morden and Lea) the branching of Marylebone Lane at its southern end so as to enclose an "island," which is marked "A peice (*sic*) of waste ground contested."

This is the site now occupied by the Court House (lately re-named the Town Hall) of St. Marylebone, and its importance will appear later.

Another plan in the same collection (xiv, 22) is described in the catalogue as a "Drawn Plan of the property belonging to the City of London, now Stratford Place, showing the boundary of Mr. Hope's property: by J. Hanway, junr., 1732." This shows us "Oxford Road" with the "City Bridge," less than 20 feet in width, crossing the brook which is called "Tybourn." To the west of the brook is "Gee's Court." The Marylebone Lane "island" has on it a pound and another erection, probably the old Court House, built about 1729. On the conduit estate itself the banquetting house does not appear, but there are two squares, each marked "City Conduit." These correspond in position with the two first-mentioned ones on Morden and Lea's map (*ante.*). Between them are the words "Newel's Ground." A very similar plan, undated, is in the Bodleian (Gough coll., vol. xviii, f. 55). Another plan of the banquetting house ground, in the Crace collection, is dated May 5th, 1772, and signed "J. Peacock for Geo. Dance," and was originally a simple plan of the ground with its boundaries. But there have been added to it in pencil and water-colour, apparently by Mr. Crace himself, details of the banquetting house and the conduits, which no longer existed in 1772. That these were copied from some other plan seems certain: they agree with and differ from Morden and Lea in much the way that a careful large scale plan would agree with and differ from a rougher small scale one. But the original seems lost. Mr. Welch informs me that he cannot find any trace

of a plan of the banqueting house among the records of the Corporation.

We learn from Strype* and Maitland† that in 1703 the City leased the western conduit system to Soams (who was also lessee of the Morice water works at London Bridge) for forty-three years at £700 per annum. Before the expiration of the lease, in 1737, Maitland tells us (and his statements must have been based on first-hand information, if not personal knowledge) the banqueting house was pulled down, and the cisterns beneath it arched over. At the same time the bridge was widened, partly at the cost of the Corporation.

The year in which Soams's lease expired, 1746, gives us the most detailed of any of the plans relating to the conduits, and the earliest which includes those of Paddington. I have failed to discover the original of this plan, and know it only from lithographed copies made by George Gutch, in 1852, according to the Crace catalogue. One such copy is in my own possession, having been given to me from the collection of the late Mr. Grimshire, through the kindness of his executor, my friend Mr. Griffin. Another is in the Crace collection (maps xiv, 9), and doubtless there are many others in existence, though I have not come across any. It is entitled "A Plan of the Drains, Openings, Conduits, Pipes, etc., from the Spring Head at Paddington to the Receipt Conduit," and bears the note—"This Plan was copied from an original Plan drawn by John Rowley by (*sic*) Geo. Dance, Decemb^r 18th, 1746."

* Stow's "Survey," ed. Strype (1710), bk. i, p. 27.

† "History and Survey of London," ii, 1373.

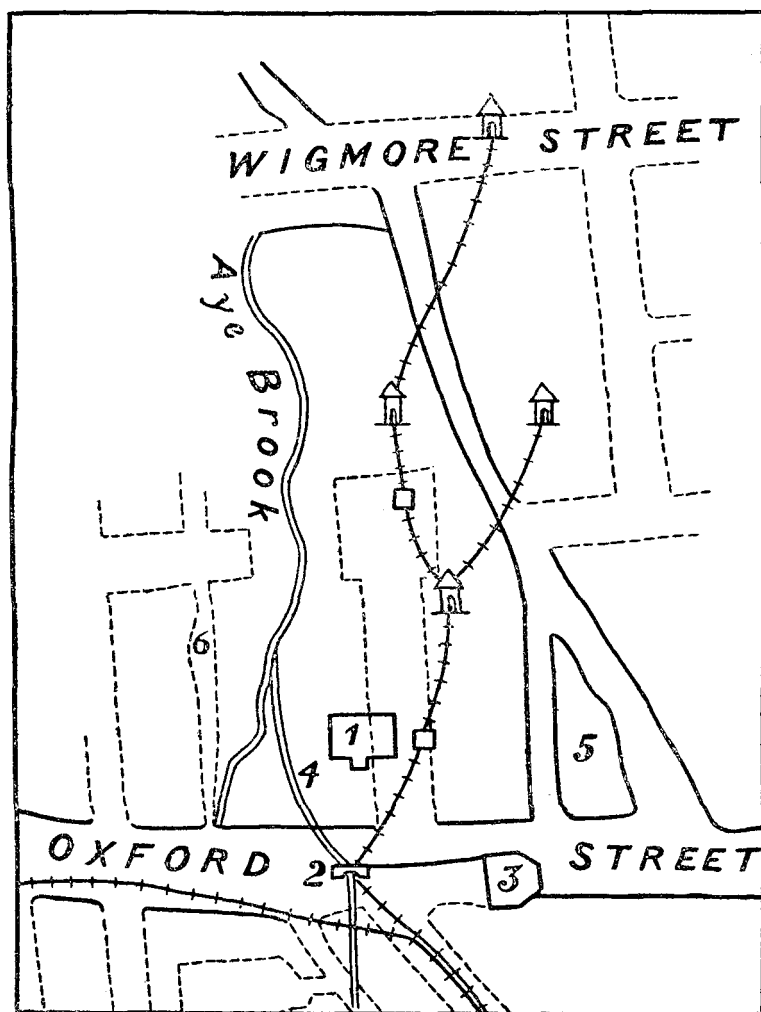


Fig. 1.—THE MARYLEBONE SPRINGS (STRATFORD PLACE SITE).

This plan is based upon and slightly enlarged from the Ordnance Map on the $\frac{1}{250,000}$ scale; details of the conduit system being added from Crace Collection Maps xiv, 9 and 23.

Modern streets shown by broken lines.

Conduit-pipes shown by lines with cross-strokes.

1. Lord Mayor's Banqueting House.

2. Bridge.

3. Receipt House.

4. Diversion of Aye Brook on re-building of bridge, 1737-38.

5. The Marylebone Lane "island."

6. Gee's Court.

This plan shows us several springs in a field called "Ox Close," from which pipes run to the "Round Head Conduit" in a corner of the same field. Thence "two lead pipes, three inches diameter" run to "Tyburn" (marked by the gallows) in a nearly straight line, through enclosed fields. (*See* fig. 3.) The distance, according to the scale on the plan, is about 3,900 feet. At about 1,500 feet from the Roundhead, a "long drain" begins and extends past Tyburn, under the north-east corner of "Hide Park," and along the south side of Oxford Street to about the site of Park Street, where the drain ends at "Oliver Cromwell's Conduit." The pipes continue past "Ann Wood's Conduit" to a point just east of a bridge and then turn abruptly south-eastwards, when the plan ends.* Another pipe, apparently coming from under a bridge, joins them as they bend; and quite disconnected from them, a little farther east, is a large "Receipt Conduit." This last and the two named conduits are clearly identified with conduits on Morden and Lea's map of 1690, and with the help of this, and the 1772 plan already mentioned (with its pre-1738 additions) the arrangement of the conduits and pipes at Marylebone can be reconstructed, as in fig. 1. Only one explanation need be added to that plan. It is evident that when the Oxford Street bridge was widened in or soon after 1737, the course of the brook was diverted some fifty feet to the east. This seems indicated by the words "Turned by order of the City in 1738" on the plan of 1772, and unless it is assumed

* On this lithographed map, the sites of Park Street and North Audley Street have been added in red ink. This has been done in exactly the same way in both the copies referred to, therefore no doubt it was inserted before they were issued; but presumably these streets were not on the original plan.

the plans do not fit ; though I must admit the reason for it is far from obvious.

To return to the Paddington springs. The Roundhead is mentioned by name as early as 1634, in a petition of the Corporation to the Privy Council.* It is there called "the Roundhead near Tyburn," and in a reply from the Council † "the Round Head in Oxelees, near Paddington." The "Ox Close" of 1746 is evidently the "Oxelees" of 1634, and, as we shall see presently, of 1439 also.

This Roundhead survived well into the nineteenth century, and was an object of some popular interest, though this did not save it from vandalism and ultimate destruction. In 1812 the whole Paddington conduit system passed out of the hands of the City, being conveyed for the sum of £2,500 to the Bishop of London and the trustees who held the Paddington estate on lease and were at that time developing it for residential purposes, by virtue of a private Act of Parliament (52 Geo. III, cap. exciii). This Act most unfortunately contains no topographical information, and cites as the City's title to the springs only the general enabling Act of 1544 (35 Hen. VIII, cap. 10) which makes no mention of Paddington.

This conveyance was subject to a lease of the springs held by one Joseph Hemming, and it seems to have been some years before the water was utilised for local residents, if we may judge from Faulkner's statement, ‡ in 1820, that "the conduit at Bayswater belongs to the City of London ; the water is conveyed

* "Remembrancia Index," p. 559, vii, 111. † *Ibid.*, vii, 116.

‡ "History of Kensington," p. 420.

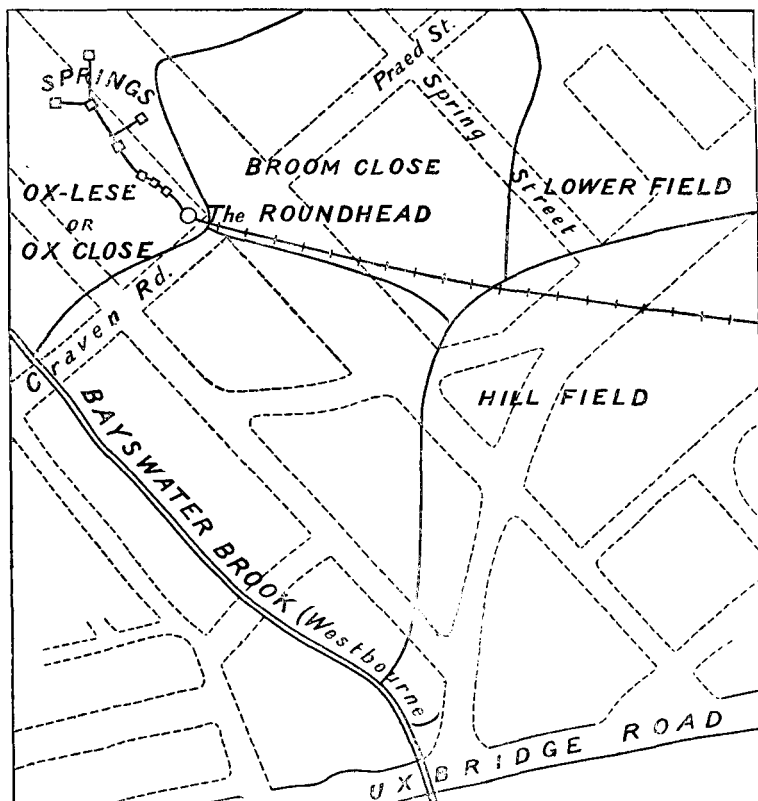


Fig. 2.—THE PADDINGTON SPRINGS.

SCALE.—About 15 inches to the mile, or 1 inch to 350 feet.

This plan is based upon the Ordnance Map on the $\frac{1}{2500}$ scale; details of the conduit-system and field-boundaries being added from Crace Collection Maps xiv, 9 and 12. These details are to be taken as only approximately correct in position.

Modern streets shown by broken lines.

Conduit-pipes shown by lines with cross-strokes.

by brick drains to the houses in and about Bond Street, which stands upon the City lands."

In 1835, William Matthews wrote* "Great as was the solicitude and interest formerly excited by the various conduits, at present scarcely any traces remain to indicate the precise places whence the water was derived that flowed into them. That at Paddington, however, which was the first constructed, still exists, though probably not in its original form, but at a recent period it afforded a plentiful supply to some houses in Oxford Street. The conduit head, or spring, is situate in a garden about half a mile to the west of the Edgware Road, and the same distance from Bayswater, within two or three hundred yards of the *Grand Junction Water Company's* reservoirs. It is covered by a circular building in good condition."

A lithograph plate of the building in question accompanied this description. Another view of it is preserved in the Crace collection, two in the Guildhall Library, and no less than four in the Gardner collection. The dates of these extend between 1796 and 1820. These views all show us a circular building with a conical roof surmounted by a ball. The walls are built of large blocks of masonry; there is one door under a segmental-pointed arch, and the conical roof is broken by several small gables with lancet lights. Over the door is a panel with the inscription which would seem to have been partially effaced at the time the drawings were made, for in a print of 1798, in which the panel is separately shown on a larger scale,

* "Hydraulia," p. 22.

the inscription appears as "REPAND" with the date "163—" a note adding as a conjecture that the last figure may be 7 or 8. In a print of 1796, however, it appears as "REP. ANNO 1632." The latter date, or 1633, seems a likely one, as we have documentary evidence that works had been carried out at the Roundhead shortly before April, 1634.

Another panel, on the south side, bears the City Arms, and a date given in the most careful drawing (that of 1798) as 1782, but in a sepia sketch of 1820 as 1532 (or perhaps 1582). As this last bears the curious title "The Old City Conduit, Bayswater, in its former state," one is left to infer that it may be partly imaginary. Possibly, however, the artist merely omitted a grotesque addition shown in an undated drawing by Nattes—a circular Grecian temple impaled on the conical roof.

The last-mentioned drawing shows the pumping station of the Grand Junction water works in the background ; and another shows the Bayswater brook in the foreground.

The architectural simplicity of the Roundhead is suggestive of a thirteenth century building ; yet if, as I hope to show, it was more probably erected in the fifteenth century, may we not ask whether any more elaborate features could have been introduced into a building of this nature ?

It is deplorable that so interesting a building surviving far into the nineteenth century should have been completely destroyed.*

*Mr. Rutton quotes a statement to the effect that it was spoken of as still existing in the *Saturday Magazine* for May 18th, 1844 (*Notes and Queries*, 9th ser., x, 421. November 29th, 1902).

It might be thought that at least, with all these views and plans, there would be no difficulty in fixing its precise site ; but this is far from being the case. The difficulties soon appear when we attempt to collate the various pieces of evidence. The plan of 1746 may perhaps be accurate as regards the measurements from point to point along the line of pipes, but the field-boundaries and roads crossed can only have been sketched-in in the roughest way. A clear proof of this is got by comparing the angles of divergence of the three roads at "Tyburn" with those shown on the modern Ordnance map. (Figs. 3 and 4).

Nevertheless, some results may be obtained by a comparison of this plan with another of 1812 (Crace coll. xiv, 12), concerned with an exchange of lands between the Bishop of London and the Grand Junction Canal Company.* The Roundhead seems to be marked, though not named, in this plan : it lies in the south-eastern corner of a field (not named), which is its position in Ox Close in the 1746 plan : it is true that the angle of the field is acute in one case and obtuse in the other, but there is other evidence of sketchiness in the latter plan. The two next fields, called Broom Close and Hill Field, agree in general position very well with the two first fields through which the pipes were shown running in 1746. If these identifications are correct, the western boundary of Ox Close as shown on the 1746 plan is found to coincide very closely with the line of the Bayswater Brook, and this is confirmed by the view in which the brook is shown, in which no hedge intervenes between it and the Roundhead.

* This Map belongs to the private Act, 52 Geo. III, cap. cxcii.

The most probable site of the Roundhead seems to be on the north-western side of the street now called Craven Road, but originally named Conduit Street, somewhere near its intersection of Westbourne Terrace ; or possibly a little nearer to Paddington Station. This agrees with what may be an indication of the Roundhead on a map of 1824 (Crace coll., xiv, 4). On no later map can I find any indication of it.*

III.—GEOLOGICAL AND ENGINEERING CONSIDERATIONS.

In some popular accounts of the early conduits, the idea seems to be implied that stream water was the source of supply, possibly from a misinterpretation of such phrases as "Tiburne water," or "water from Tiburne." It is, therefore, necessary to state clearly that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that either the Bayswater brook or the Marylebone brook was diverted into the conduits. The supply was exclusively obtained direct from springs.

These springs must have been of the kind that was once common over a large part of the area of modern London. The impermeable London clay north of the Thames is overlain by gravel, arranged in two well marked terraces, each with a pronounced

* I hope no one will put together the names *Roundhead* and *Oliver Cromwell's conduit* and read a political significance into the former. The term *head* is constantly used in documents relating to water-supply in the sense of *fountain-head*. The Paddington *head* was protected by a *round* building, and may well have been so named to distinguish it from the *square heads* at Marylebone. Why Oliver Cromwell and Ann Wood should give their names to conduits I have not succeeded in discovering. Oliver's Mount, from which Mount Street takes its name, is not far away, but the Conduit is well outside the circle of fortifications of which that formed part.

declivity bounding it on the south, while northwards it dies off imperceptibly as the clay rises to the surface. The lower terrace is bounded by the steep fall from the Strand to the Thames, and here the spring at the old Roman bath still exists, to mark the junction of gravel and clay. The higher terrace is limited by the steep fall south of Piccadilly, and Mr. Rudler, late curator of Jermyn Street Museum, has informed me that much dampness is still caused in the cellars of that building by its position on the edge of the gravel terrace. These terraced gravels were in fact the great water-bearing strata of London and its environs before the extension of building and population caused them to become contaminated. Wells sunk into them everywhere yielded a good supply, and springs issued from them both along their steep southern margins, as already mentioned, and wherever stream-valleys crossing them cut down the surface to below the level of saturation. It was springs of the latter type that were impounded both at the Paddington and the Stratford Place sites.

In the middle ages the only known method of water conveyance to a distance was by gravitation. When water is conveyed from one valley across its bounding watershed to a distant destination, advantage is taken of the fact that the natural gradient of most streams is far greater than the minimum necessary to ensure a steady flow. Water-pipes are therefore usually laid along the side of the valley, at a very gentle gradient, so that they *relatively* rise higher and higher above the stream-level, until a low point on the watershed is reached where the pipes can be taken across it.

This was the course adopted in bringing the water from the Stratford Place site to London, as I shall show later on. But from Paddington to Stratford Place, a more difficult method was adopted. It would have been quite practicable to have taken the pipes along what is now Hyde Park and Piccadilly ; but instead of that they were taken in as straight a line as possible to Stratford Place. The water level at the Roundhead must have been not much less than 80 feet above sea-level, while that at Stratford Place was 70 or less, so that there was ample fall between the two. But between them comes the high ground about the Marble Arch, rising to over 90 feet. Hence the necessity for the "long drain" marked in the plan of 1746, which at the Marble Arch or "Tyburn" must have been more than 10 feet below the surface (and no doubt still exists there in part).

In the various references to the conduit system in Riley's *Memorials*, allusion is frequently made to "spurgails." This word is no doubt identical with the "separall" of Stow, and probably denotes a settling-tank, of the kind shown on the twelfth century plan of the water supply of Canterbury Monastery.* In such settling tanks the water brought from different sources would probably become mixed—a point to be borne in mind in the course of what follows.

IV.—EVIDENCE OF THE CHARTERS.

In Rymer's "Foedera," vol. xi, p. 29, under date 21 Hen. VI (1443), and heading "Super Aquae-ductis

* Willis, "The Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury."

Civitatis Londoniae," we find a royal charter granting certain powers to the Mayor and Citizens of London with reference to the springs and conduit-pipes. This charter is far too long-winded to be translated in full in this place, so I will content myself with abstracts of the essential portions.

The preamble may be briefly put as follows :—
 "Whereas the fountain-heads and conduits serving the said City [of London]—of which some were granted in 21 Hen. III by Gilbert de Sanford, some by Alice Chobham to Adam Fraunceys, mayor, and his successors, and some by Richard, Abbot of Westminster, to Robert Large, mayor, and his successors—diminish and dry up; and whereas both our land of Mewes and others', over and under which the water-pipes are situated, are lately enclosed by walls and other edifices, so that the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens cannot examine or repair them without much trouble and difficulty"

Then follow citations in full of the three grants referred to, and the charter ends by granting to the Mayor, etc., the necessary rights of entry. This is followed by another charter giving the Corporation the right to impress the necessary labour, and 200 *foudra plumbi* (a "fodder" of lead being a little under a ton).

The most significant point in this preamble, for our present purpose, is the implied assertion that the three grants cited have reference to different springs, and are not merely one original grant with two confirmations. The phrasing "Quorum quaedam . . . per Gilbertum de Sanford, ac Quaedam per cartam Aliciae Chobham necnon Quaedam per

quoddam Scriptum Indentatum Richardi
 Abbatis Data fuerunt et concessa”
 seems conclusive on that point.

In considering the three grants we will reverse the order in which they are quoted, which is the natural historical order, in order to deal with the latest first.

This is dated 1st March, 1439, and may be abstracted as follows :—“ We, Richard, Abbot of Westminster, and the Prior and Convent of the same place, have granted to Robert Large, now Mayor, and the Commonalty of the said City and their successors, one Head, together with certain springs to the north and west of the same head, within a length of 26 perches and a breadth of one perch, in a certain close called Oxlese, within our Manor of Padyngton in the County of Middlesex ; with the right to erect all necessary cisterns, etc., and to carry pipes above or below ground through any intervening land of ours to the said city, except lands belonging to our manor of Hide ; saving always the rights of our Paddington tenants ; and subject to an annual payment at the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula of two pounds of pepper ; and provided that if the ancient supply of water to the Abbey of Westminster from the manor of Hide is in any way interfered with, the grantors shall be entitled to resume possession of the head and springs now granted.”*

* It may not be out of place here to point out an example of how careless second-hand quotation can completely alter the sense of a document. Matthews' “*Hydraulia*,” quoting from Maitland (but attributing the quotation to Stow) makes the Abbot grant to the City “one head, together with all the springs in the manor of Paddington”—a rather reckless grant ! What Maitland, abbreviating the original, had actually written was “a head, together with all *its* springs, in the manor of Paddington.”

Of the identity of these springs with those shown on the plan of 1746 there cannot be the slightest doubt. The agreement in the relative position of springs and "head," in the area within which the springs lay, even in the name of the close in which they were, is exact. As to the use made of the rights granted by the Abbot of Westminster, let Stow tell the tale:—

"Then also against the South end of Shoe Lane standeth a faire water conduite, whereof William Eastfield sometime Mayor, was founder; for the mayor and communaltie of London being possessed of a conduit-head with divers springs of water gathered thereinto in the parish of Paddington, and the water conveighed from thence by pypes of lead towards London unto Teyborne: where it had layne by the space of sixe yeares and more: the executors of Sir William Eastfield obtained licence of the Mayor and communaltie for them, in the yeare 1453, with the goodes of Sir William to conveigh the said waters: first in pipes of lead into a pipe begun to be laid besides the great Conduitheade at Maribone, which stretcheth from thence unto a seperal late before made against the Chappell of Rounsevall by Charing Crosse, and no further, and then from thence to convay the said water into the cittie, and there to make receipt or receiptes for the same unto, for the weale common of the communaltie, which water was by them brought thus into Fleet Streete to a standarde, which they had made and finished 1471, neere unto Shooe lane." (1598 edition, p. 318.)

The explanation of all this appears to me to be very simple. The clause in the grant prohibiting the laying of the pipes within the manor of Hide

prevented them from following the easiest route, and compelled the making of the "long drain" under the higher ground. For that time this was certainly a heavy undertaking, and it is not surprising that it should have been abandoned for some years. It would be less easy to understand such abandonment had it been a question merely of laying additional pipes alongside others already laid. The evidence of the doings of these years, 1439-71, therefore, is in favour of the view that this was the first time that Paddington water was brought to the City.

What is further made clear to us is that "the great conduit head at Maribone," which must be the "receipt-house" of the seventeenth and eighteenth century maps, was already in existence, and that pipes ran thence to Charing Cross. To this we shall return later.

The second of the three grants quoted in the "Foedera" is that of Alice Chobham, dated 20th February, 28 Edw. III (1355). There is a reference to it in the "Liber Albus," Letter-book G [1353-1375]. It may be summarised as follows :—

"I, Alice Chobham, widow of William de Chobham, of the vill of Tyborne, in the County of Middlesex, have granted to Adam Fraunceys, citizen and mayor of London, and the commonalty of the said city, one plot of land 24 feet square, for one spring for the London conduit, wherever they may choose in all the land which I have 'atte Cherchende' in the aforesaid vill of Tyborne, between the land of the Master of the Hospital of St. Giles on the west side and the 'Via Regia' on the east side. . . . render-

ing to me, my heirs and assigns three pence sterling at the feast of St. Michael yearly for ever."

In order to identify the site of this plot of land we must consider the topographical meaning of the names "Tyborne" and "Cherchende" and "Via Regia," and the possible situation of the land of the Master of St. Giles's.

The question of the original extent of the manor of Tiburne has lately been the subject of discussion in *Notes and Queries*, by Mr. W. L. Rutton, Colonel Prideaux, and others. Its minimum extent, as admitted by all, is roughly that of modern East Marylebone, or the Howard de Walden (better known as the Portland) estate, *plus* much of the Crown estate, *plus* the smaller estates in the south-eastern corner of the parish. It is in this sense that we must understand such a reference as that in the "State Papers of Henry VIII" to "Tybourne manor in Marybone parish" (Vol. xvii (1542), p. 703).

But Mr. Rutton and Colonel Prideaux have made out a strong case for an original extension of the manor of Tyburn far to the west of the above limits so as to include Paddington. The absence of any mention of either Paddington or Westbourne in Domesday Book is in favour of this view; and a more tangible piece of evidence, first brought out by Robins in his "History of Paddington," is the wording of an Act of Parliament of 1734. This Act (7 Geo. II, cap. xi) is entitled "An Act for discharging a certain piece of ground, called the Pest-house field, from certain charitable trusts, and for settling another piece of ground, of equal extent, and in a more convenient place, upon the same trusts."

This second piece of ground is the Craven estate, lying (be it noted) on the *west* side of the Bayswater brook, just opposite to the Oxlees close where the Roundhead stood. This ground is described as follows :—"All those two Messuages or Tenements situate, lying and being in the Parish of *Paddington* in the County of *Middlesex*, being parcel of the Manor of *Tyburn*, and called *Byard's* Watering Place, together with all Houses, Outhouses, [etc., etc.]. . . . And also all those six Acres of land, be the same more or less, lying and being in the common Fields of *Westbourn* in the said Parish of *Paddington*, adjoining to the said messuages, and also all that Piece or Parcel of Land containing three Acres or thereabouts, with their and every of their Appurtenances, lying and being in a common Field commonly called the Common Field in *Westbourn* aforesaid."

We must bear in mind that the *parish* of Paddington (like many other Middlesex parishes) contained more than the manor of the same name, for it included the manor of Westbourne also. These two manors both belonged to the Abbot of Westminster, they both belong (I believe) to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to-day, but for over two centuries and a half between the dissolution of the former and the establishment of the latter they belonged to separate owners—Westbourne to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, Paddington to the Bishop of London. The estates of these two ecclesiastical corporations are separately indicated on a map of 1837 (Crace coll. xiv, 1), which shows us that though the Bishop held many scattered pieces of land west of the Bayswater brook,

that brook formed the eastern boundary of the Dean and Chapter's property. The Craven estate then lies in Westbourne, and the greater part of it is stated in the Act to be part of the common field of that manor. But a small portion of it is stated to be part of the manor of Tyburn—two messuages only. Surely this is extremely slight ground on which to base a theory that the manor of Tyburn originally included the whole of Paddington manor and perhaps Westbourne also.

Putting aside the possibility that the word "Tyburn" in the Act quoted might be a clerical error for "Westbourne," we seem to have before us a case of a small "detached part" of the manor of Tyburn. Such detached parts are common enough, and where they are of ancient date they usually coincide with detached parts of parishes. That such is *not* the case here would seem to indicate that these two messuages were a comparatively late addition to the manor of Tyburn, dating from a time when the ideas of manor and parish were fully differentiated.*

Against the view that would make "Tyburn" include "Paddington" we have the following entries in the "Taxatio Ecclesiastica" of 1291, under the Rural Deanery of Middlesex—

"Ecclesia de Tibourn..... £6.

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"Ecclesia Sancte Margarete cum
Capella de Padinton.....£20."

Still earlier, in 1222, in Stephen Langton's arbitration between the Bishop of London and the Abbot of

* Similar cases of detached parts of manors that are not detached parts of the corresponding parish have lately come under my notice in Buckinghamshire.

Westminster, the boundaries of St. Margaret's parish are set out. They contain a reference to the "*aqua de Tyburne decurrens in Thamisiâ*," and end with the statement "*extra vero supra scriptas metas villae de Knyghtebrigge, Westburne, Padyngtoun cum capellâ, et cum earum pertinentiis, pertinent ad Parochiam St. Margaretae memoratam.*"

The name "Tyburne" here may be understood as the name of the stream itself, or as that of the place from which it flowed down to the Thames. In the latter case we should have direct evidence that Tyburn was thought of in the early part of the thirteenth century as quite a distinct place from Paddington. In any case it is plain that Paddington was a chapelry to Westminster, not to Tyburn, and that it was at least a spiritual possession of the Abbot, if not a temporal.

The view that the springs granted by Alice Chobham in 1355 were the same as those granted by the Abbot in 1439, thus appears to me to be untenable, even were their distinctness not implied in the wording of the royal charter of 1443 as already pointed out. It remains to be considered where they may have been situated.

They were "*atte Cherchende.*" No such name has survived within the possible topographical limits of our search ; but it is an expressive name, and a not uncommon one elsewhere.

An examination of the modern Ordnance map shows us that "ends" of various sorts—North, South, East and West ends, Church-ends, Brook-ends, and Bury-ends—have as place-names a well-marked geographical distribution in the home counties. They abound in Bedfordshire, are common in Buckingham-

shire and Middlesex ; but are almost, if not quite, unknown in Surrey and Kent on the one hand, and in Northamptonshire on the other. The term thus appears to be distinctively Saxon. It does not seem to be really the same as the common word "end," meaning termination, because the hamlets which bear the name are by no means all near the confines of the parish to which they belong. In one case (Totternhoe, Beds.) there is even a Middle End. Neither is it clear that the term need always mean a hamlet, for at Cheddington, Bucks, we find Northend Hill and Westend Hill, without anything to suggest that there have been hamlets with the same name. As a rule, however, such names would only find their way on to a map if they were names of hamlets. In general, we may regard "Church End" as denoting the immediate neighbourhood of the church in a case where it was not in its more normal position, viz., in the village nucleus which bore the parish name.

Where, then, was Cherchende, in Tyburn ? An answer is given by Newcourt :*

"This Parish [of *Marybone*], in antient Records, was call'd *Tybourne*, and the Parish-Church (which was dedicated to *S. John the Evangelist*) stood formerly, it seems, alone, near the publick High-way or Road, leading towards *Acton* ; for I find, that on the 23d of *October*, 1400, *Robert Braybroke*, then Bishop of *London*, upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of this Parish, setting forth, that by reason of the standing of their Parish-Church near the publick High-way (which I guess, was about the Place, where now

* "Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense" (1708),
Vol. i, p. 695.

stands a House call'd, *The Lord Mayor's Banqueting-house*) their Church was robb'd of Books, Vestments, Images, Bells and other ornaments, granted them a Licence to pull down their said Church, and to build another."

We have seen that in a plan of 1708, the very date of Newcourt's book, "a peice of Waste Ground contested " is shown at the south end of Marylebone Lane. Who was likely to contest it with the Lord of the Manor? In 1729 the Court-house was built on it for the joint use of the Vestry and the Lord of the Manor, and a pound stood beside in it in 1732. Does not this mean that it was claimed as parish property? If so, it is at least possible that this may have been the site of the old church. It was accepted as such by Maitland, who remarks that when the foundations of the Court-house were being dug (in 1727) many skeletons were found, showing that a graveyard formerly existed there. This last piece of evidence is discredited by Col. Prideaux* on the ground that "it is very difficult to excavate anywhere in London without finding human bones;" but is it fair to include Marylebone in London in this connection? Has any similar find of bones been recorded anywhere else in Marylebone?

Where was the "land of the Master of the Hospital of St. Giles" referred to? In the list of the possessions of the Hospital given in Parton's "St. Giles," we find the following entry:—

"TYBURNE.

"A croft and appurtenances, lying and being at

* *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., vii, 403.

Tyburne, in the county of Middlesex, granted 28 Edw. III to Simon Herny and wife."

This is probably the land referred to: it was evidently only a small plot, and I suggest that it was possibly the site of Gee's Court, which lies immediately west of Stratford Place, and is marked on a plan of 1732.

The allusion to the "Via Regia" as on the *east* is puzzling, as that term could hardly be applied to Marylebone Lane. Possibly "east" was a mistake for "south."

It will be seen, then, that the Stratford Place site agrees very well with the description in the 1355 charter in all except area, the site being much larger than the 24 feet square conveyed to the Corporation, or even the 40 feet square over which they were granted an easement. This, however, is easily explained by the fact that the grant was only one of land additional to that which the Corporation already held. This is clear from the phrasing of the grant—"pro uno Fonte sive Capite Fontis ad Conductum Londoniae servituro," and of the reference in "Liber Albus"—"quadam placea terrae ad conductum juxta Tybourne," both of which seem to refer to the conduit as already existing. Plainly it was a grant rather for increasing an existing supply than for giving a new one.

It remains to be pointed out that the Paddington site shows little agreement with the description in the charter. It could not well be "atte Cherchende," since Paddington was a chapelry, and the site of the present church is nearly half a mile away.

It is true that St. Giles held a small property in Westbourne, somewhere to the west of the Paddington

springs, and that there was a *Via Regia* (Edgware Road) to the east; but the latter was a good half-mile away !

The earliest charter, that of Gilbert de Sanford, dated 21 Hen. III (1236) will not keep us long. The essential parts are as follows :—

“ To all to whom the present charter shall come, Gilbert de Sanford, greeting in the Lord.

“ Know that I, at the request of our lord the King, and from honour and reverence to him, and for the common weal of the city and citizens of London and the whole kingdom, have conceded and quit-claimed to the said city and citizens, for me and my heirs for ever, all those springs and the waters arising from those springs, which they have made to collect in one place in my fief of Tyburne, adjoining the public royal street which runs towards the aforesaid city, to lead the said waters by a conduit to the said city ; also a ‘ Castallum ’ or *Piscina* into which the waters are brought together ; so that neither I nor my heirs shall be able to hinder them if they wish to open or dig up the ‘ Castallum ’ or pipes, etc.”

A copy of this charter also occurs in “ Letter-Book A ” of the City Corporation, but according to Mr. R. R. Sharpe, the editor of the Letter-Books, it is a “ late insertion.”

The topographical description here is meagre, but the phrase “ *juxta Publicam Stratam Regiam* ” appears to me quite sufficient to exclude the possibility of the Paddington site being the one here granted. To clinch this point, we may note the following item in the

accounts of the keepers of the conduit in 1350 (the italics are mine)—

“Mending and covering the pipe at the fountain-head *in the high road* . . .”—(Riley’s “Memorials,” p. 265.)

The evidence seems to me conclusive that it was the Stratford Place site that was in question in the grants of 1236 and 1355, while the Paddington springs were first granted in 1439.

It may be asked—Is there any case of an official reference to the Stratford Place springs as *Tyburn* springs? Yes, there is one. In 1612–13 difficulties arose about those springs between the City and Mr. Forcett, the new Lord of the Manor of Marylebone. The following quotations will show this (the italics are mine) :—

“Order in Council with reference to the difference between the City and Mr. Edward Forsett, concerning the taking of clay for the reparation of their vaults and conduit-heads *at Tyburn*, and the enclosing of the vaults conveying water to the conduit-heads, and leaving no passage for the City’s officers thereto . . .

“Mr. Forcett had enclosed the springs with a brick wall, leaving no access for the City’s officers, and had forced a way to the City’s Banqueting Close field where the vaults were placed. . . .”

I must admit that this allusion to the Banqueting House springs as at “Tyburn” does not seem to me to be important. From the time when the new church was founded in 1400 onwards, the name “Tyburn” seems to have been less and less used, in its old sense, as the name of a township, a manor or a parish; for which purposes “Marybone” was replacing it, while

the association of the gallows more and more completely absorbed "Tyburn." May we not regard this change as in some measure analogous to that which at the present day has made "Hanwell" and "Colney Hatch" cease to be used in popular talk otherwise than as names of lunatic asylums, so that sane residents in those districts have been driven to adopt some euphemistic but incorrect substitute, in the former case adopting the name of the old hundred of Elthorne?

As the name Tyburn was understood in the eighteenth century, it meant the immediate neighbourhood of what we now call the Marble Arch. This site was on the border of three parishes, which existed in the thirteenth century as two parishes and a chapelry, viz., St. Margaret's, Westminster, Tybourne, and Paddington. There are plenty of instances of hamlets which thus overstep the borders of several adjacent parishes, but I know of no case in which such a hamlet bears the name of one of the parishes itself.

Colonel Prideaux has, however, argued for the antiquity of the identification of Tyburn with this site. He writes:* "Applying the test of common sense to the question, we find that Oxford Street was anciently called Tyburn Road; that Park Lane was called Tyburn Lane; that Tyburn turnpike stood at the southern end of the Edgware Road; that as Mr. Rutton has pointed out the north-east corner of Hyde Park was, two hundred and fifty years ago, called Tyburn Meadow; that St. George's Burying-Ground was established at the west end of Tyburn Field; and that finally Bayard's Watering Place, the modern

* *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., vii, 403-4.

Bayswater, was declared by an eighteenth century Act of Parliament to be 'parcel of the Manor of Tyburn.' The conclusion irresistibly forces itself, at any rate on my mind, that the nucleus of the manor was situated near the Marble Arch."

On this I would venture the following comments :—

(1.) In a plan in the Gough collection at the Bodleian Library (Vol. G, fol. 49), of land "staked out July 8, 1721, for the Honble. Wm. Poultney, Esq.," the lane now known as Park Lane is marked "Tybourne Lane Formerley Westminster Lane;" and in plans of 1676 and 1710 in the Crace collection (maps. x, 38 and 39), it is called "the highway by Hyde Park towards Tiburn." Tyburn Lane, therefore, is a relatively modern name.*

(2.) Tyburn turnpike dates only from the establishment of the turnpike trust in the year 1714, by the Act 1 Geo. I, cap. xxv, the preamble to which speaks of "Tyburn in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields"—a good illustration of the vagueness of the application of the name.

(3.) The north-east corner of Hyde Park, as I try to show in an appendix below, is a sixteenth century addition to the original park. Apart from that, any such name as Tyburn Meadow can hardly have been applied earlier than the disparking in the time of Queen Mary.

(4.) On the case of Bayard's Watering Place I have already commented. Only an insignificant portion of the modern Bayswater is asserted to be parcel of the manor of Tyburn.

*Tyburn Lane is mentioned on a plan of 1681, but only in a note apparently added at some later time. See below, p. 55.

(5.) In Deliveries of Infangethef for 1327* we are told that those convicted were hanged at the king's gallows, not "at Tyburn," but at "le Elmes" *near Tybourne*.

Let us now consider certain objections that have been raised against the identification of the Stratford Place site as that of the Tiburn springs of 1236.

Firstly, it is said that Stow asserts that the site was at Paddington. If this were so, I should feel obliged to conclude that Stow, writing three and a half centuries after the event, had fallen into an easy error. But does Stow actually say so? Here is the main quotation in question :—

"The said river of the Wells, the running water of Walbrooke, the Bournes aforenamed, and other the fresh waters that were in and about this Citie, being in process of time by incroachment for buildings and heighthnings of grounds utterly decayed, and the number of Citizens mightily increased, they were forced to seeke sweete waters abroad, whereof some at the request of King Henry the third, in the 21 year of his raigne, were for the profite of the Citty, and good of the whole realme, thether repaying, to wit, for the poore to drinke, and the rich to dresse their meate, granted to the Cittizens and their successors by one Gilbert Sanforde, with liberty to convey water from the Towne of Teyborne, by pipes of leade into their Citty.

"The first Cesterne of leade castellated with stone in the Citty of London, was called the great Conduit in west Cheape, which was begunne to be builded in the yeare 1285, Henry Wales being then Mayor, the

* Letter Books of Corporation, E., p. 276.

water-course from Paddington to James hed hath 510 rods ; from James hed on the hil to the Mewsgate 102 rods ; from the Mewsegate to the Crosse in Cheape, 484 rods." (1603 edition, p. 17.)

Now I admit that if this quotation were the sum-total of all our information on the subject, it would be reasonable to draw the conclusion which we may express as an equation, "Teyborne = Paddington." But it would be equally reasonable also to deduce the equation " $21 \text{ Henry III} = 1285$ " ; or, if the latter is repugnant to us, the alternative that it took nearly fifty years to make the first conduit-system. This latter conclusion was actually drawn by William Matthews, who consequently moralized thus, in true nineteenth century fashion : "What a striking instance of the sluggish efforts of our progenitors in important public undertakings!"

It surely need involve no disrespect to the father of London topography to refuse to accept him as infallible. Careful and painstaking in the extreme as he was, and possessing access to sources of information in part lost, his statements deserve every respect, and should only be put aside on the strongest evidence ; but it would be a mistake to treat his obvious transcripts from ancient documents as though they were statements made from his own experience. Evidently in this case he had at least four documents before him—(1) the original grant by Gilbert Sanford ; (2) a document (several times quoted in the City archives) containing the quaint phrase "the poor to drink, the rich to dress their meat ;" (3) a record of the building [? castella-tion] of the Great Conduit in 1285 ; and (4) a memorandum of certain measurements, probably

taken for some specific purpose such as the estimate of the cost of laying a new pipe.

Now Mr. Riley pointed out in his "Memorials," that a distinct reference to the Conduit in West Chepe as a familiar object occurs as early as 1278, and Mr. Clifford has called attention to a still earlier reference in 1273-4. Stow, therefore, either made a mistake in his statement as to the date, or else placed two independent statements in juxtaposition so as to unintentionally mislead his readers. May it not be so also with his statement about Paddington ?

That Stow did, at one time, believe the Sanford Springs to have been at Paddington, seems probable from another passage, in which he describes the "great conduit." Of this he states definitely in the first edition—

"This Conduite was the first sweete water that was conveyed by pipes of lead underground to this place in the citie from Padington. It was castellated with stone and cesterned in lead which was begunne in the yeare 1285 Henry Wales being then maior." (1598 edition, p. 210.)

But in later editions the wording is altered and reads as follows :—

"In the east part of this streete [of West Cheaping] standeth the great Conduit of sweete water, conveyed by pipes of Lead under ground from Paddington, for the service of this citie, castellated with stone and cesterned in leade, about the yeare 1285." (1603 edition, p. 267.)

It is therefore just possible that some doubt as to the identity of Tiburn with Paddington had been felt by Stow after the issue of his first edition. We must

not forget that the actual water flowing from the Great Conduit in Stow's own time consisted probably of both Paddington and Marylebone water, mixed in the "separalls" on the route.

A second objection to the Stratford Place site is based on the wording of a petition presented by the Corporation to the Privy Council, April 11th, 1634. This sets forth that "the City had formerly been at great charge to bring fresh and sweet water, in leaden pipes, *from the manors of Tyburn and Marylebone* to certain conduits in the City." As it goes on to refer to "the Roundhead near Tyburn," the implication certainly seems to be that the framers of this petition believed that the Paddington springs were in the manor of Tyburn, as the Stratford Place springs were in that of Marylebone. Such a belief undoubtedly counts for something, but does not seem to me enough to outweigh the great mass of evidence to the contrary; and in particular there must be set against it the reference already quoted from another City petition twenty years before, where the Stratford Place springs are said to be *at Tyburn*. It does not seem that the name Tyburn had at this time a clearly-defined meaning, except as the site of the gallows.

V.—THE ROUTE OF THE CONDUIT FROM TYBURN TO THE CITY.

As no map or plan is known on which the course of the conduit-pipes between Marylebone and the City is shown, we must rely upon the well-known statement of Stow:—"The water course from Paddington to James head hath 510 rods; from James

head on the hill to Mewsgate 102 rods ; from the Mewsgate to the Crosse in Cheape 484 rods."

It will be convenient to first determine the position of "Mewsgate." Mr. Riley interpreted this as Charing Cross, Mr. Rutton as the royal stables at Bloomsbury. Let Stow himself settle the point—

"Then is the Mewse, so called of the kinges Faulchons there kept by the kinges Faulconer, which of olde time was an office of great account, as appeareth by a Recorde of Richard II, in the first yeare of his raigne. Sir Simon Burley, knight, was made Constable for the castles of Windsor, Wigmore and Guilford, and of the manor of Kenington, and also master of the King's Faulcons at the Mewse, neare unto Charing Crosse by Westminster ; but in the yeare of Christ 1534, the 28th of H. the 8, the king having faire stabling at Lamsbery (a manor in the farthest west part of Oldborne), the same was fiered and burnt, with many great horses and great store of hay. After which time the fore-named house called the Mewse by Charing-crosse, was new builded, and prepared for stabling of the king's horses, in the raighn of Edward the sixt and Queene Mary, and so remaineth to that use." (1603 edition, p. 452. In the 1598 edition the fire is described as occurring at the Mews itself.)

According to Skeat's "Etymological Dictionary" the word "mews" originally meant a cage for falcons, and it quotes the above from Stow to explain how the term came to change its meaning to that which it now holds.

Stow's statement makes it quite clear that the conduit pipes passed by Charing Cross, and if we remember that "terra nostra de Mewes" is mentioned in

special connexion with the conduits in Henry VI's charter, it will be plain that the reference cannot be to Bloomsbury.

From Charing Cross, the natural route of the pipes would be along the north side of the Strand and Fleet Street, and across Fleet Bridge. That such was their course we have direct evidence in several of the records compiled by Mr. Riley. Thus among the accounts of the keepers of the conduit for 1350, we find: "for mending the Spurgail broken at Flete Bridge, 6s. 3½*d.* ; for mending the pipe there, 6s. 8½*d.*" ("Memorials," p. 265.) Again in 1388, we read: "Seeing that very many losses and grievances had oftentimes befallen the people of Fletestret, through inundations from the London aqueduct, which frequently, through the breaking of the pipes thereof, rotted and damaged their houses and cellars and the party-walls thereof, as also their goods and wares by the overflow therefrom, to the great damage of the persons dwelling in those parts, which evil might be removed and rectified by making a pent-house there over the said aqueduct

"Granted that the people of that neighbourhood might, at their own costs and charges, make a pent-house over the aqueduct aforesaid, opposite to the house and tavern there of John Walworthe, vintner, which are situate near to the hostel of the Bishop of Salisbury " (pp. 503-4.)

But if we measure the distance from Charing Cross to the site of the Great Conduit in Cheapside, we find that it is about 556 statute perches, whereas Stow gives it as 484 rods. It follows that the rod used in the measurement quoted by Stow was about

nineteen feet in length.* This will enable us to interpret his other measurements, and so to find the position of "James head on the hill."

The route from Paddington to Marylebone Lane we know from the plan of 1746: its length works out at about 337 of Stow's rods. This leaves 275 of the same rods, or about 5,225 feet, as the distance from the Marylebone "receipt house" to the Mews, divided into two stages—about 3,287 feet from the Receipt House at Stratford Place to "James Head," and 1,938 feet from James Head to the Mews.

We have seen that in the 1746 plan both the pipes from Paddington and others from the Stratford Place site are shown as turning south-eastwards, along the eastern side of the "Aye brook." The area which they thus enter is still the property of the City Corporation, and known as the Conduit Mead Estate. I should not have thought it necessary to insist on the connexion of this name with the conduits now in question but for an extraordinary footnote in Mr. Loftie's "History of London." He says:—

"It is often stated that Conduit Street takes its name from one of these reservoirs [*i.e.*, those for the supply of the City]. This must be an error. Water does not usually run uphill. If there was a conduit and a conduit mead here they must have belonged to a different system—perhaps for the supply of St. James's or Westminster." (Vol. ii, p. 220.)

* That there is nothing improbable in such a length may be shown by the following quotation:—"As to rods, the 'lug or goad' of Dorsetshire had 15 ft. 1 in.; in Hertfordshire, 20 feet A writer of the thirteenth century speaks as if rods of 16, 18, 20, 22, and 24 feet were in common use, and mentions none shorter."—Maitland, "Domesday Book and Beyond," p. 374-5.

It is precisely because water does not run uphill that the conduit-pipes had to be taken along the Conduit Mead, along the side of the valley, instead of following the main road which rises (at the site of our Oxford Circus) almost as high as at the Marble Arch.

The name "Conduit Mead" occurs as far back as 1536. Among the lands exchanged between King Henry VIII and the Abbot of Westminster there is mentioned "a close called Brickclose in the same parish [of St. Martin] between the great close belonging to Eybery [the region around Grosvenor Square] on the west and north and Condet Mede on the east" ("State Papers," Henry VIII, vol. xi (2), p. 84).

Fifty-six years later (1592) we have direct evidence that the water-pipes ran this way to the City. Strype has given an account, from Lord Burleigh's papers, of the inhabitants of St. Martin's and St. Margaret's parishes pulling down fences and claiming the enclosed lands in this neighbourhood as Lammas lands; and cites the following evidence among other—

"Peter Dod, Citizen and Grocer of London, aged 65 years or thereabouts, saith, That upon Lammas-day last, being Aug. 1, he being near unto the City's Conduit-Heads in Middlesex, about half a mile Westward of St. Giles's in the Fields, attending upon certain of the City's Works, touching conveying of water from thence to London, saw, betwixt 5 and 6 of the Clock in the Afternoon of the same Day, the Number of 40 Persons at the least (how many more he knoweth not) in a Close there, through which the City Pipes are laid to convey water to London." (Strype's "Stow," Bk. vi, p. 78.)

The evidence does not make it quite clear whether the close referred to was Conduit Mead or some other one a little further to the south-east. As to the special business which Peter Dod was engaged upon, it is tempting to associate it with what is said in a letter written by the Lord Mayor, only a little more than three months earlier ("Remembrancia Index," p. 554; I, 656). In refusing for the time Lord Cobham's request for a quill of water from the Conduit at Ludgate to his house within the Blackfriars, he states that "the City were in treaty with Frederick Jenibella [Genebelli], skilled in water works, for the erection of a windmill at the fountain-head to increase the supply." I cannot find any statement as to whether Genebelli actually carried out any works for improving the supply, but it is noteworthy that in Lea and Morden's map of a century later, a "pump-house" is marked in Conduit Mead.*

In tracing the course of the conduit-pipes beyond Conduit Mead, we must be guided by the lie of the land. As the level at the Receipt House could hardly have been over seventy feet above sea-level (for there has been a great obliteration of the valley here), the pipes must have kept to the south of the high ground along which Regent Street now runs. Measuring 3,287 feet in this direction, we find the site of "James Head" as about the present St. James's Church. This is a perfectly probable site. "James Head on the hill" seems to denote a fountain-head or spring on

* In this connexion the following quotation from a work of the period is worthy of notice. "And in some places the force of water-courses is used, to raise water out of one place into another, where the naturall current denyeth the comming and mounting thereof."—Norden, "Surveyor's Dialogue" (1607), p. 108.

the hill above St. James's Hospital (afterwards St. James's Palace), and the site indicated comes just where springs were likely to exist, on the margin of the higher terrace of gravel. It may well be that this spring was taken into consideration as a possible additional source of water at the same time that the Paddington supply was being arranged for. If so, we can understand that the surveyors would be instructed in measuring the distance from Paddington to Cheap to include measurements of the important intermediate points—James Head, whence additional pipes might be required, and Mewsgate where the City seems to have been under obligation to give a supply to the king's officers. If this be so, then we can understand how no note is taken of the Marylebone site in the list of distances.

Continuing the route from James Head, we have to note the following item in the accounts of the keepers of the conduit for 1350 (Riley, "Memorials," p. 265):—

"Mending the Spurgail broken between the Mews and the mill in the field."

This mill was identified by Mr. Riley with that which gives its name to Great Windmill Street, near Piccadilly Circus, and the identification seems a very reasonable one. This windmill is shown on Faithorne's map (1658), and is doubtless older. Strype tells us (vol. vi, p. 78) "in this parish of *St. Martin's in the Fields*, was a field called *St. James's Field*, and a Hill called *Mellehille*, and a Place called *The Doune*. As I find in Record, six Acres of Land in *St. James's Field*, and *Mellehille*, three Roods of Land, and one Acre *apud le Doune in S. Martin in campis*, granted

to *Stephen Chise, 9 Rich. 2.*" These statements confirm the above identifications.

We must suppose then that the pipes kept for some distance along the edge of the hill from James Head, and then turned at right angles down the slope to the Mews. This quite agrees with the measurement of 102 rods or 1,938 feet.

From the Mews to Cheap the route is plain, along the Strand and Fleet Street and up Ludgate Hill. The pipes must, however, have been carried well to the north of the Strand and Fleet Street, or there would not have been a sufficient pressure to carry the water up the rise on the other side of the Fleet.

I have already quoted mediæval evidence for this part of the route. If more is desired it will be found in abundance in the "*Remembrancia Index*," where between 1601 and 1664, we find numerous letters sometimes granting and sometimes refusing requests for a "quill" of water to be laid on to the house of some notable person. These houses are all situated along the line of the Strand and Fleet Street, excepting one in St. Martin's Lane and one in Drury Lane.

VI.—SUMMARY AND HISTORICAL TABLE.

The conclusions at which we have arrived may now be briefly summarized.

(1.) The original springs from which water was first brought to the City from without its walls in 1236 were situated on what is now known as the

Stratford Place site, Oxford Street. Additional springs on or adjacent to the same site were impounded in 1355.

(2.) The Paddington springs were first granted to the City in 1439, and the works necessary to bring their water to the City were not completed until 1471. As the pipes followed the course of the earlier pipes from Marylebone to the City, the two sources may be regarded as supplementary to one another, and even if the waters did not mix (as they probably did) in the several "spurgails" on the course of the pipes, confusion might easily arise as to the particular source from which a particular conduit in the City was fed.

(3.) The apparent implication in Stow's statements that the original Tyburn springs were those at Paddington may be in part due to the easy confusion above suggested; but it is chiefly due to the juxtaposition of abstracts from ancient documents of different dates.

(4.) There is nothing in the records of this conduit system to throw light upon the question of the original extent of the manor of Tyburn; for on any view of its extent it certainly included the Stratford Place site, and the Paddington site is nowhere referred to as in the manor of Tyburn until 1634, and then only doubtfully.

HISTORICAL TABLE.

1236.—Gilbert de Sandford granted to the City certain springs in his manor of Tyburn, on the site now known as Stratford Place, Oxford Street. (Rymer, "Foedera," xi, 29.)

1237.—In return for certain trading privileges, the merchants of Amiens, Corby and Nele, gave £100 "au Conduyt del ewe

de la funtayne de Tybourne amener en la cité de Loundres."
 ("Liber Custumarum," 64-66.)

- 1273.—Earliest mention of the Great Conduit in Chepe in London archives. (Riley, "Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London," 237.)
- 1278, 1285, 1292, 1310, 1312, 1337, 1345, 1350, 1415.—Various references to the Conduit. (Riley, "Memorials," see Index, "Great Conduit;" Letter-Books of the Corporation A and C.)
- 1355.—Alice Chobham (Cobham) granted additional springs on or near the Stratford Place site. (Rymer, "Foedera," *loc. cit.*; "Liber Albus," G, 181.)
- 1388.—Permission granted to the people of Fleet Street to make a pent-house over the aqueduct. (Riley's "Memorials," pp. 503-4.)
- 1390.—License given to construct a conduit (the Little Conduit) by the church of St. Michael-le-Quern. (Riley's "Memorials," p. 521.)
- 1439.—The Abbot of Westminster granted to the Corporation a head and certain springs in a close called Oxlese, in Paddington. This head, later known as the Round-head, was probably on a site on the north-western side of Craven Road, near its intersection with Westbourne Terrace. (Rymer, "Foedera," *loc. cit.*)
- 1443.—Henry VI granted to the Corporation right of entry to enclosures and buildings through which their conduit pipes passed; and right to impress labour and purchase compulsorily 200 fodder of lead. (Rymer, "Foedera," *loc. cit.*)
- 1453-1471.—The construction of the main from Paddington having been abandoned for six years or more, the executors of Sir William Eastfield took the work in hand and completed it, erecting a new conduit in Fleet Street. (Stow, "Survey," p. 318.)
- 1562.—Recorded visit of the Lord Mayor and Corporation to the springs, followed by dinner (at the Banqueting House, on the Stratford Place site) and hunting. (Styrye's "Stow," vol. i, book i, p. 25.)

- 1592.—Dispute as to Lammas rights in certain fields in Westminster through which the conduit pipes ran. (Styrye's "Stow," book vi, pp. 78 *et seqq.*)
- 1592–1664.—Numerous requests for supply of water to private houses from the conduit pipes, and complaints of such supplies being cut off. (Remembrancia, pp. 535 *et seqq.*)
- 1612–13.—Dispute with Mr. Forecett, lord of the manor of Marylebone as to the rights of the Corporation over the Stratford Place site. (Remembrancia, pp. 535, 555–6.)
- 1627.—Date on stone front of Conduit found in 1859, six feet below the pavement, at the east corner of South Molton Street, and now in the Guildhall Museum. (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, "Transactions," vol. i, p. 329).
- 1634.—Works undertaken by the Corporation for increasing the supply from the Paddington springs, stopped by the king's order.
- 1637 [?]—Date of repairing the Roundhead, according to a statement on a panel over the door.
- 1703.—The City leased the Marylebone conduits to Soams for a period of forty-three years at a rent of £700 per annum. (Maitland, "History of London," ii, 1373; Styrye's "Stow," book i, p. 27.)
- 1737–8.—The Banqueting House pulled down, and the cisterns beneath it arched over; the road-bridge adjoining it widened, and the brook apparently diverted. (Maitland, "History of London," Grace coll., maps.)
- 1812.—The sale of the Paddington springs to the Bishop of London authorised by 52 Geo. III, cap. xciii.

VII.—APPENDIX.

HYDE PARK AND THE MANOR OF HIDE.

The valuable plan of 1746 shows the conduit-pipes from Paddington to Marylebone as carried in the "long drain" under the north-eastern corner of Hyde

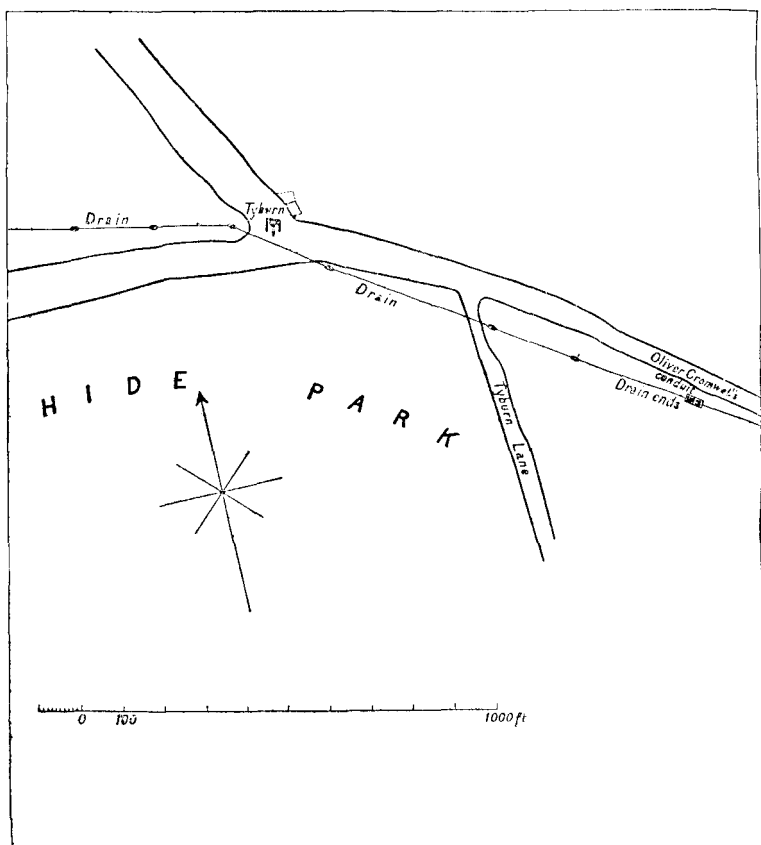


Fig. 3.—THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF TYBURN IN 1746.

Reduced from a lithographed copy of a plan of 1746, to the same scale as Fig. 4, and in exact *fac-simile* except for the lettering, which is enlarged for clearness, and the scale, which is copied from another part of the plan.

Park. (*See fig. 3.*) This circumstance is so remarkable that it deserves special consideration.

It would be strange in any case that the drain should be carried in part under enclosed ground, when a trivial deviation, not involving any perceptible lengthening of the route, would have kept it within the limits of the public highway. But it is doubly strange when we recall that the Abbot of Westminster in granting to the City the right to excavate upon any land of his on the route from the springs towards the City, expressly excepted from this permission "lands belonging or pertaining to our manor of Hide in the aforesaid county."

The conclusion seems inevitable: *at the time when the conduit-pipes were laid down (between 1443 and 1471) the north-eastern corner of the present Hyde Park was not enclosed, nor was it part of the Manor of Hide.*

Remark has often been made on the strange way in which the straight line of Watling Street abruptly stops on reaching the point formerly known as Tyburn, now as the Marble Arch, until half a mile farther on it is again taken up by Park Lane and the Hyde Park boundary. At Piccadilly it again disappears, but in a plan of 1681 in the Crace collection (x, 30), it is shown as continuing on towards Westminster, and a note on the plan says:—"About this time the new road from Knightsbridge to Westminster was opened, and the old road from Hyde Park Corner and Tyburn Lane to Westminster was shut up."

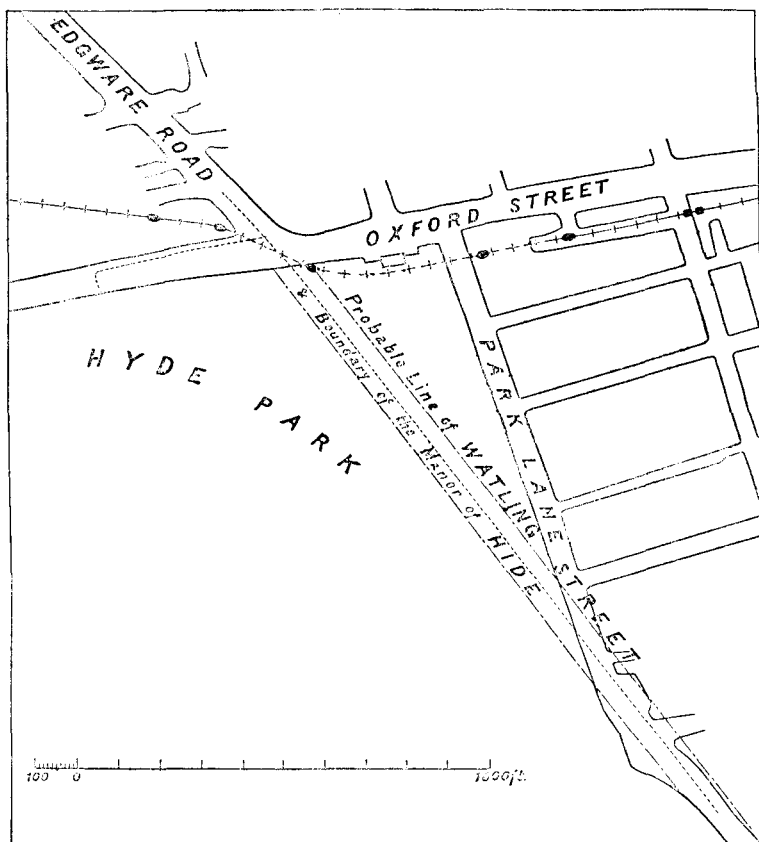


Fig. 4.—THE NORTH-EASTERN CORNER OF HYDE PARK.

Reduced from a tracing of the Ordnance Map on the $\frac{1}{25000}$ scale, with additions. Compare Fig. 3.

The probable line of the Conduit-pipes is shown by the line with cross-strokes; where most doubtful the line is broken.

If we restore in imagination the line of Watling Street through Hyde Park, and assume that it constituted the eastern boundary of Hyde, then the course of the conduit pipes becomes at once perfectly intelligible. (Fig. 4.)

If we ask when the extension of Hyde Park to its present limits was made, it does not seem to me too speculative to reply : in the latter years of Henry VIII. That monarch was fond of hunting, fond of his parks, and ever ready to enlarge them. At no other time is this extension so likely to have been made.

It does not necessarily follow from the fact that the north-eastern corner of Hyde Park is a relatively late addition, either (1) that the boundary of the manor of Hyde was the line of the Watling Street (though this is highly probable), nor (2) that the lost part of Watling Street was still in use as a road in the fifteenth century. It seems probable that a triangular piece of waste ground lay to the east of the site of the old road, and that Park Lane (formerly Tyburn Lane, and before that Westminster Lane) may have been in existence as a rough track along the border of this waste.

In connexion with this matter, I cannot refrain from allusion to Mr. W. H. Black's theory, propounded to this Society in 1870,* that this site was the meeting-place of the hundred of Ossulston, which took its name from a stone that stood here. Although this theory was accepted without reservation by the late Canon Isaac Taylor ("Names and Their Histories,"

* "Transactions," London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, iv, 62.

p. 360), I am not acquainted with any really direct evidence in favour of it. The indirect evidence may be summed up as follows :—

1. The hundred of Ossulston undoubtedly derived its name from a stone, Oswulf's stone (not Oswulf's *tun*, as supposed by Mr. Loftie), since its Domesday form is Ossulvestane, the termination *stane* being constant, however the first part of the name may vary in spelling.

2. In a county so devoid of natural stone as Middlesex, it may be taken as certain that a stone at which the hundred-court was held must have been an artificially erected stone, and it is quite possible that it may been a Roman milliarium, erected at the crossing of two important roads.

3. In Rocque's map (1748) there is marked in Hyde Park a "stone where soldiers are shot," and the position of this is within the area which it has just been shown was an open space in the fifteenth century, and exactly at the point of crossing of the two great Roman roads. In Rhodes and Bicknam's "Topographical Survey of . . . Kensington, with . . . Hyde Park . . .," there is shown at the same point what appears to be a mound, marked "Place for execution of Deserters." A stone selected for a place of execution may well have had some traditional importance attached to it.

4. Lastly, an enthusiast for "archaic survivals" might perhaps see in the use of this corner of the Park for political meetings nowadays a survival of the ancient custom of the hundred-moot!