SOME LONDON STREET-NAMES: THEIR ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN.

Including the substance of a Lecture delivered to the Society at
Bishopsgate Institute on May 4, 1915.

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IN undertaking an enquiry into the origin of the street-names of this ancient City we naturally turn to the City Records—the Archives of the Corporation —which have only been brought within our reach within the last sixty years.

The task of producing these records in accessible form was commenced by that excellent London mediæ-valist, Henry T. Riley, with his edition of the " Liber Albus" and the " Liber Custumarum" in 1860-61,[1] and of the " Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs," in 1863. These were followed by his very valuable and enlightening selection from the City Archives, which he entitled " Memorials of London and London Life during the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries"—a bulky volume, published in 1868 by order of the Corporation of London under the superintend-ence of the Library Committee. This important work includes 674 pp. of extracts from the MS. books known as " Letter Books," which record events and pro-ceedings between 1276 and 1419 ; and Mr. Riley added a useful Introduction, and a list of Old English words, etc., found in the Latin or French of the original. The extracts embody much contemporary information con-cerning the street names.

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[1] Issued with translations and notes, etc., as "Munimenta Gildhallæ," in the Rolls Series. The "Liber Albus" (transla-tion) was also published as a separate volume.

In 1889-90 there appeared the " Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Hustings, 1258 to 1688," edited by R. R. Sharpe, D.C.L., Records Clerk at the Guildhall. A few years later Dr. Sharpe followed up this invaluable work by commencing the calendaring of the Letter Books from which Riley had taken his extracts. The first volume of this series, " Letter Book A," was published in 1899, " Letter Book B" in 1900, and volumes C to L have since appeared; and all were printed by order of the Corporation. We are very greatly indebted to Dr. Sharpe and the City Corporation for the publication of these prolific sources of authoritative information.

These City Records, however, do not commence until the second half of the 13th century[1]; and while they give us valuable contemporary spellings, and enable us to trace the origin of some of the ancient names, they are not sufficiently early for others.

We therefore turn to the Calendars issued of National and other Records, and in some of these we find supplementary information of an earlier date. The most useful of them are the following :—

1. The Report on the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, by Mr. (now Sir) Maxwell Lyte, given in the appendix to the Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. This volume appeared in 1883, and the St. Paul's Report summarises or transcribes a considerable number of 12th and 13th century documents with a few of earlier and

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[2] " The Chronicles of the Mayors," etc., commences with 1188, but only one or two street names occur in its earlier pages.

many of later date. It is a most valuable source of information for the student of Mediæval London, and it provides us with the earliest appearance of some of the street names.

2. Calendars of State Papers, etc., prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, and published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. The most helpful of the many fine series now in process of publication is the " Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office," Vols. I to VI, published 1890 to 1915. The deeds referring to London are very numerous, and street-names frequently occur in them—in some instances nearly back to the Conquest. The documents are catalogued in Series A to D, each series being numbered independently. Other series which are useful for our purpose are named in the " List of Contractions" which follows.[3]

Among the unofficial publications of works of reference, one excellent source for later data (1485 onwards) is due in part to this Society., viz., the three volumes of Abstracts of Post Mortem Inquisitions relating to the City of London, which were edited by Mr. E. A. Fry of the Record Society, and brought out by that Society in co-operation with our own.

From the records we gather evidence of the antiquity of the names in question, and quite frequently their origin also is clearly shown: as, e.g., with Crutched Friars, Leadenhall Street, St. Mary Axe, Bucklers-

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[3] These Calendars are compiled by trained officials. They give a summary or *précis* of each document or entry, and usually retain the original spelling of names. A full transcript is made in special cases.

bury, and several others. In many cases, however, the aid of Philology is needed to determine the original meaning.

It must be borne in mind that ancient names, like other words, have been subject to more or less considerable change. These changes may be seen in actual process in the records, where the names have been written from time to time through the centuries by contemporary scribes in the spelling of the period—or as the scribes judged it from the pronunciation. If a name can be traced back to the Conquest or thereabouts, it is usually found to consist of a word or words of Old English (or "Anglo-Saxon," to use a popular but less inclusive designation) which may be easily identified.¹ Unfortunately, very few London street-names appear before the 12th century, and the majority of them cannot be found in writings so early as that, Some acquaintance with Mediæval English spelling and pronunciation is therefore needed in order to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion concerning the etymology of these names. In some cases the philological knowledge thus called for is of the simplest character; in others, it becomes necessary to collect the mediæval spellings and compare them with known "Middle English" forms of words, and thence to identify the original and modern forms.⁵ Some of the problems presented through this interesting process are of such a nature that the aid of a specialist seems desirable, if

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¹ This remark applies to most of England, and particularly to its southern-and-south-eastern half.

⁵ Collected and dated spellings have the added value that they frequently serve to show the actual evolution of the name to the present form.

only to secure an authoritative opinion. Moreover, London names have been " etymologised" by various writers from Stow⁶ onwards, and although the suggested or alleged etymologies have too frequently been unsupported by investigation and devoid of value, some of them have unfortunately become " accepted"; and while their inaccuracy may be easily demonstrable, the demonstration naturally carries more weight when it has the seal of authority from a leading philologist. I have for these reasons submitted the data of a few names to Dr. Henry Bradley, and I am indebted to him for his courteous and illuminating responses—which I have quoted in the respective cases.

I may also remind readers of the lists which I give of the ancient spellings of certain names, that our vowel-sounds have changed notably, and that " Continental vowels" are generally a better guide than our modern diphthongised sounds.

This enquiry is confined to streets within the ancient City wall; and the streets are taken in an East-to-West direction, starting from Aldgate.

NOTE.—As some portions of the ground have been dealt with by one or two recent writers—notably by Mr. C. L. Kingsford in his admirable and scholarly edition of Stow—I may say that the greater part of my record-searching was done before 1906, and that several of the results were mentioned in lectures, etc., as early as 1904. The later issues of the Calendars and other fresh sources have naturally been laid under contribution since then. The whole of the matter has received further consideration and checking in preparing it for publication here.

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⁶ Stow's value—great on the contemporary side and considerable on the historical—rarely extends to his etymologies.

LIST OF CONTRACTIONS USED.

A, B, C, and D, followed by a number : Deeds in Public Record Office, (from "Catalogue of Ancient Deeds").

Acon : Cartulary of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, preserved at Mercers' Hall, translated by R. R. Sharpe, D.C.L. Printed as appendix to " Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon," by Sir John Watney, F.S.A.   1892.

A.F. : Anglo-French.

An. : *Anno.*

B.M. : British Museum.   Usually a reference to the " Index to the Charters and Rolls in the Department of MSS."

c. : *Circa.*

Cl. : Calendars of the Close Rolls, Public Record Office.

Fi. : Calendars of the Feet of Fines, London and Middlesex, by W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., and William Page, F.S.A.   2 vols.

Lib.Alb. : Liber Albus; and Lib.Cust. : Liber Custumarum, ed. Riley (Munimenta Gildhallæ.   Rolls Series, 1859-62.

Lib.Ant.Leg. : Liber de Antiquis Legibus, trans. Riley, and issued, with " French Chronicle of London," as " Chronicles of Mayors and Sheriffs of London."   1863.

I.P.M. : Calendars of Inquisitiones Post Mortem, P.R.O.

I.P.M.Lond. : Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem relating to the City of London returned into the Court of Chancery, 1485-1603.   Ed. E. A. Fry.   Issued by the Record Society and the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. 3 vols.   1891-1908.

L.Bk. : Dr. Sharpe's Calendars of the Letter Books of the City of London.   Vols. A to L.   1899 to 1912.

M.E. : Middle English (*c*.1100 to 1500).

N.E.D. : New (or Oxford) English Dictionary.   Edited by Dr. Murray and Dr. Henry Bradley.   In process of publication.

Ogilby : Ogilby and Morgan Map of London, 1677.

O.E. : Old English (" Anglo-Saxon ").

Pat. : Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Public Record Office.

Paul's : Report on the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, by Lyte.   Appendix to 9th Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.   1883.

P.R.O. : Public Record Office.

S.P. : Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic.

Stow : Stow's Survey of London (1598).   Edited by C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A.   2 vols.   1908.

Strype : Strype's editions (1720 and 1754) of Stow's Survey; or Maps in them.

t. : *tempus.*

Tax.N. : Return known as the "Taxation of Pope Nicholas," *c*.1291.

W., or Wills : Dr. Sharpe's Calendar of London Wills.   2 vols. 1889-90.

ALDGATE STREET.

The street which runs westward from Aldgate was formerly called Aldgate Street, and in Stow's time it bore this name until it reached Lime Street. Its earliest appearance in the records is in a P.R.O. deed (" A. 7319"), probably of about *temp.* John; but it is obviously derived from the name of the gate, and I accordingly deal with the latter in order to trace the origin and etymology.

The gate is first named in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, An. 1052, as " Æst Geat," the East Gate.[1] In *c.*1095, however, it had a new name, Ealsegate, which speedily displaced the former name. Ealse is evidently the genitive form of a personal name, probably Ealh, a name more usually found in compound forms, such as Eahlfrith, Ealhheard, Ealhmund (later Alemund), etc. In popular usage the initial *E* and the *s* speedily disappear, and the name is Alegate, with a few variations to Allegate and Alagate—which would have much the same sound as Alegate—for about two centuries, and then the first remaining *e* begins to be dropped. " Alegate" is not entirely displaced by " Algate," but persists in occasional use as late as the 16th century, almost as late as Algate itself is found. I first find *d* inserted in 1539, and again in *temp.* Elizabeth, when it begins to be more used. Stow's confident conjecture of Eald=old-gate is quite

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[1] It may be noted that Newgate was apparently "West Gate" in the 9th century (Burhred's Grant of 857, in Birch's Cart. Sax. ii, 95).

contradicted by the records. The full list of forms which I have traced in the records is as follows:—

Æstgeat: 1052 (ASC.).

Ealsegate[1]: *c*.1095 (De Miraculis S. Edmundi, by Hermann; in Memorials S. Edmund, 1, 43. Rolls Series).

Alegate: 1105—1544 (numerous entries).

Allegate: *c*.1145 (A1880), *c*.1210 (A1782), 1230 (Fi.), 1327 (A1940).

Alagate: *c*.1150 (A7358).

Algate: 1313—1554 (numerous).

Aldegate: 1539 (Fi.), *t*.Eliz. (C7854), 1586 (I.P.M. Lond.)

Algatt: 1557 (I.P.M.Lond.).

Aldgate: 1598 (Stow), and later.

CRUTCHED FRIARS.

In 1405 tenements in "le Crouchedfrere-strete" were bequeathed (Wills); but the street-name does not frequently appear, although there are many references to "the House of the brothers of the Holy Cross," "the House of the Crutched Friers" (or "Crowched," "Crossett," and other variants). References are made to "the lane which runs down (from Aldgate) to the House of the Holy Cross," etc., but without giving it a name. The friars of the Holy Cross were an Augustinian Order established at Bologna in 1169. They

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[1] First pointed out by Mr. W. H. Stevenson in English Histor. Rev. xii. p. 491, 1897. Mr. Stevenson there remarks that other London gate-names had a personal origin, and so had gate-names at Bristol and Gloucester.

came to London in 1298, and bought from the Priory
of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, the site for their house at
the north-east corner of Seething Lane. They wore a
blue habit with a red cross on the back or the breast,
and hence their popular name of the Crossed or
Crutched Friars.[1] After the Dissolution the site came
into the possession of Sir Thos. Wyatt; in Stow's time
the church had been replaced by "a carpenters yeard,
a Tennis Court and such like," and the Hall was a
drinking-place. The Navy Office was afterwards built
there.

On the southern side of this street we have

COOPERS ROW.

This was formerly Woodruff Lane—first seen in
1283-4 as Woderove-lane (Wills i). Stow renders it
Woodroffe, Ogilby Woodruff, and Strype's Stow (1720-
54) Woodroff. O.E. Wuderofe, M.E. Woderove, -rofe,
=modern woodruff, a woodland flower; also a personal
name—which affords a more likely etymology.

SEETHING LANE.

This curious name has numerous spellings, and
none older than the mid-thirteenth century. Here
is the list:—

          Shyvethene- : 1257 (C1202).
          Syvid- : 1258-9 (W.).
          Sivethene- : 1280-1 (L.Bk.A.), 1333 (W.).
          Sevethene- : 1272 to 1377 (several, Paul's).
          Sivende- : c.1291 (W.).
          Synechene- : 1293 (W.).
          Suiethene- : c.1300 (A1925).
          Syuethe- : 1312 (A1847).

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[1] Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum."

Sevyng- : 1312 (Pat.).
Syvethene- : 1329 (W.).
Siuedene- : 1334 (W.).
Suedene- : 1339 (A1889).
Seuethe- : 1354 (A1858).
Syvenden- : 1356 (W.), 1381 (L.Bk.H.).
Syvethenes- : 1364 (W.).
Syvethen- : 1368 (W.).
Syveden- : 1379 (W.), 1389 (W.).
Cyvyndone- : 1385 (W.).
Sevedene- : 1386 (Paul's).
Sevethen- : 1417 (W.).
Syvedon- : 1516 (W.).
Sydon- : 1559 (I.P.M.Lond.).
Seething : 1579-80 (Addl. 40389-91, B.M.), 1660 (Pepys).
" Sydon or Sything "- : 1598 (Stow).

These forms, which are not early enough to provide a clear etymology, present a philological problem on which I thought it best to obtain an authoritative pronouncement, and I submitted the case to Dr. Henry Bradley, who writes in response: " The forms have a strangely close resemblance to *sifethena*, genitive plural of *sifethe*, bran or chaff. It does not seem easy to see why a lane should be called 'bran (or chaff) lane,' but so far as form goes there would be no objection to this etymology." As I have pointed out to Dr. Bradley, the fact of the ancient market for hay, grass, etc., about Fenchurch Street may explain this derivation.

TOWER HILL, TOWER STREET, THAMES STREET.

I trace these names in the records back to 1348, 1259, and 1275, respectively, but they are doubtless much older. Their meanings are obvious.

BEER LANE (Tower Street to Thames Street).

This was Bearelane in Stow, and Berelane in I.P.M. an. 1539; but the mediæval name was Bere-

wardeslane (1285 and later; Wills). Bereward = bear-
ward = bear keeper. There was another " Berewardes-
lane" in the 14th century (and later) in St. Botolph
Without Bishopsgate.

WATER LANE (Tower Street).

Stow says of this little street: " The next is Sporiar
lane, of old time so called, but since and of later time
named Water lane because it runneth down to the
Water Gate by the Custome house in Thames Streete"
(i, 133). This Water Gate is named in 1334 (Wills);
and in the same register we find the renaming of the
lane clearly shown thus: 1459, " The lane called
'Waterlane,' sometimes called ' Sporyerslane,'" and
1513, " The lane sometime called ' Sporyerslane,' now
called Waterlane." It is written Sporiereslane in 1295
(Wills) and later. The sense is Spurriers or Spur-
makers Lane. There was a second Water Gate near
St. Paul's Wharf in the 14th century (1375, Wills). [1]

MARK LANE.

The forms are as follows:—
    Marthe-: 1220-1280 (5 deeds, etc.).
    Marte-: 1276-1468 (numerous), and 1598
    (Stow).
    Marti-: 1333 (W.)
    Mart-: 1348-1472 (6 entries).
    Mark-: 1553 and later.
    Marke-: t.Elizabeth and later.
" Marte" (two syllables) was evidently the established
form through the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries

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[1] "The Watergate " is also mentioned in Wills of 1274 and
1301, but without stating which of the two.

("Marthe" and "Marti" may be regarded as variants),
and the M.E. *marte* (from Gael. and Irish *mart*, a cow
or ox) signified an ox or cow fattened for slaughter
(N.E.D.). The Eastcheap butchers probably had
shambles thereabouts.

The word *mart*, market, came to us from the Dutch
in the 15th century, and is too late an introduction in
our language to account for the 13th-century forms
given above, so that this favoured derivation must be
discarded.[1]

Stow suggests the "market" derivation, and ex-
plains it by the fact that the manor of "Blanch
Apleton," which was formerly "standing at the north-
east corner of Mart lane," at one time had the privilege
of a mart, "long since discontinued." But the market
at Blanch Appelton, like the introduction into England
of *mart* from the Dutch, was of too late a date to
account for the early forms. Blanch Appelton in the
14th century was a manor-house belonging to the Earl
of Hereford, where his manorial Courts were held, as
references in 1345 (I.P.M.) and 1367 (B2030) serve
to show, and the market there was of later date than
that—viz., 15th century, as Stow's own citation shows

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[1] On reaching this conclusion (from a recent further con-
sideration of the data), I submitted the point to Dr. Henry
Bradley, and I here reproduce his note : "*Mart*, market, came,
as you note, from the Dutch in the 15th century, and so cannot
explain forms that occur two centuries earlier. *Mart*, fattened
ox, is not in the Dictionary quotations before 1307, but, of
course, it was probably older. *Mearth*, marten, might do;
but no great importance can be attached to the *th* in 13th cen-
tury spelling. The modified form is due to the change of *-tl* to
-kl." [*i.e.*, in "Martlane" and "Marklane."—A. B.]

(Kingsford's ed., i, 149-50). Moreover, the philological facts govern the situation.

FENCHURCH STREET.

" Fanchurche" Street in 1337 (W.) seems to be the earliest mention of the street; but the church is found back to *c.*1170. The first syllable is usually spelt Fan- from the 13th to the 17th centuries, and I have noticed about 100 instances of this as compared with ten of Fen- during the period ending 1677, after which Fen- seems to have gradually displaced Fan-. Fan-, as Professor Skeat has remarked, seems to point to Anglo-French *fein* (Fr. *foin*, hay) rather than *fen*; and Professor Skeat cites the forms *fenerie*, a barn for hay; *feneron*, a haymaker; *feneresse*, a female seller of hay.[1] The ancient market for hay and grass which existed hereabouts agrees with this etymology.[2]

Stow's conjectural derivation from " fenny or moor-ish ground" is unsupported by evidence.

MINCING LANE.

The earliest forms of this name, 1273 Menechine-lane and 1291 Monechene- (both in Wills), represent O.E. *mynecen*, a nun, and, as is well known, St. Helen's Nunnery had a house or houses here. Later spellings include Mynchene (1360, St. Paul's), Mynchon, Mynchyn, Minchen, and Minchin; and I first find Mincing on Ogilby's map of 1677. Stow gives the etymology and the reason for it.

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[1] There is also a word, now rare, "Fenage"=haycrop, from O.F. *fenage,* and *fener,* to make hay, late Lat. *fenare.* (N.E.D.).

[2] I note that the Church of All Hallows "by Haywharf" or "at the Hay," is styled in the 13th and 14th centuries All Hallows *ad fenum* (Lat. *faenum,* hay).

EASTCHEAP.

The " Estchepe" of the 12th and 13th centuries was the eastern market, as distinguished from " West-chepe" (Cheapside). As " Westceape" is mentioned in 1067, it may safely be inferred that Eastcheap was then in existence. The butchers had a centre here, recorded in 12th century and later, and the cooks also, and to one or both of these facts we may ascribe the etymology of

PUDDING LANE.

This little street descends from Eastcheap southwards towards the river. It has borne several names, and some of them overlapped, as the following list will show :—

Rederesgate lane : 1283 and 1333 (W.), 1343 (Lib.Cust.).
Rethereslane : 1317 (C3583), 1349 and 1368 (W.), 1402 (L.Bk.I.), 1445 (C508).
Red Rose lane : 1318 (W.), 1598 (Stow).
Rederes- : 1319 (L.Bk.E.).
Retheresgate,-s- : 1321, 1322 (W.).
Rotheresgates- : 1325 (W.).
Finches lane : 1333 (Harl. 58, B.M.).
Rethergate- : 1361 (W.).
Puddyng- : 1361 (W.), 1365 (A1734), 1381 and 1389 (W.), 1449 (A1723).
" Puddynglane otherwise Retherlane " : 1372 (W.).
Poddyng- : 1373 (W.), t.Ric. II (Paul's).
" The highway lately called Fynkeslane, now called Puddynglane " : 1449 (A1723).
" The lane lately called Fynkeslane, now called Podyng-lane " : 1452 (W.).
"Retheresgatislane alias Podynglane" : 1477 (Harl.44 B.M.)
Pudding,-e- : 1506, 1569 (I.P.M. Lond.).
" Retherhethe lane alias Podding lane " : 1553 and 1565 (I.P.M.Lond.).
" Raderiff lane alias Podding Lane " : 1571 (Paul's).

The earliest name is clearly due to a riverside gate

or wharf which is named Rederesgate, and Retheres-gate, in a number of deeds. etc., from 1135 to 1312, and which was situated near the foot of the lane. Rederes-, Retheres-, and Rotheres- are M.E. forms of O.E. *hrither*, or *hrylher*, an ox, in its genitive case. The Eastcheap butchery at the end of the lane probably explains this etymology. Of the last two forms, the first, Retherhethe, is identical with a form of the place-name Rotherhithe, which was prevalent during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries; and Raderiff is suggestive of some late forms of the same name (Redriff, and Redderiffe), which became current about the close of the 16th century. Neither *-hethe* (a Kentish form of O.E. *hythe*, *hithe*) nor *-iff* can be regarded as normal variants, and these forms appear to be due to some confusion between the two names.

"Finches-" or "Fynkes-" is uncommon: in fact, I have only seen it used in the instances given above. This name is not improbably due to the same family from which "Finch" Lane derives its origin.

"Red Rose" in 1318 (W.) looks like a mis-writing of "Rederes," which was a contemporary form; the sound would be sufficiently near in popular pronuncia-tion. Stow's "Rother Lane, or Red Rose Lane, of such a signe there, now commonly called Pudding Lane" (i, 211) may, however, be based upon fact, although he does not cite any authority, and it is not clear that this is not one of his own "impromptu" explanations. I do not find either "Rother" or "Red Rose" attached to the lane in the records of his time, and he may— here as in other cases—merely be recording spellings

which he had seen in then ancient documents, and sur-
mising a " signe there" to account for one of them.

LOVE LANE (Eastcheap to Thames Street).

This was " Roperestrete" in 1272 (A10402), and
similar entries during the 14th century vary " lane" and
" strete" (or " strate") in the not uncommon fashion.
The rope-making centre or Ropery here led to the
adjacent church of All Hallows the Great being
designated " in Roperia" (e.g., in A1683, an. 1455) or
in fhe Ropery. The change of name is mentioned in
two wills: 1393 " Love lane formerly called Roppe
lane," and 1455 " the lane formerly called Roperelane
and now called Love lane." Stow's explanation of the
later name: " so called of wantons" is not improbable.

PHILPOT LANE.

This is another instance of renaming. We are
introduced to it in 1481 as " the lane of St. Andrew
Huberd, otherwise styled Philpot lane" (C6563); and
in 1498 (W.) and later it appears simply as Philpot
lane, or occasionally " Philpott-." John Philpot, Pheli-
pot, Phillepot, or Phillippot, Alderman of Cornhill
ward, Sheriff 1372 and Mayor 1378, knighted 1381
(together with Wm. Walworth and others *in re* Wat
Tyler), was a fishmonger by trade, and a distinguished
citizen, whose public spirit is evidenced in his bequests
to the City (Wills ii, 275-6). He had house property
in or near this lane, which appears to have been re-
named in compliment to him

FISH STREET HILL.

The opening of the new London Bridge (which was built about fifty yards to the west of the old bridge) in 1831, with the accompanying construction of King William Street, reduced this ancient street from the proud position—which it had held for more than six centuries—of the main approach to London Bridge to a mere side street. It was Bridge Street (in the normal M.E. forms of Bruggestrate, Bregge-, Brigge-, etc.), or, Latinised, "Vico Pontis," in the 13th and 14th century records; and Fish Street and Fish Street Hill were alternative names in the 16th century. It was a properly authorised centre for the sale of fish, and official regulations for this appear in the "Letter Books" in 14th and 15th centuries.

CROOKED LANE and MILES LANE.

Crooked Lane, which had its east end in Fish Street Hill by the Monument, and its west end in St. Michaels Lane, was almost entirely cleared away when King William Street was made c.1830.[1] The west end of it was absorbed in the new Arthur Street (where the church of St. Michael's stood), but the name has been perpetuated by its attachment to the north end of St. Michael's Lane, and the latter—under a shortened rendering of Miles Lane—may be traced by its southern portion, which still runs down to Thames Street from the modern Arthur Street.

"Sancti Michaelis de Crokedelane" appears in the list of London Benefices of 31 Ed. I (1303) in Lib.

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[1] The west end of Eastcheap disappeared at the same time.

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Cust. ; "Crokedelane" is mentioned in *c.*1281 (W.), and St. Michaels Lane in 1309 (W.), and—as "the lane of St. Michael de Crokedelane"—in 1314 (W).. These are the earliest I have noticed. The crookedness of "Crokedelane" has now quite disappeared.

GRACECHURCH STREET.

"Grascherchestrete" is found as early as 1349 (Harleian M.S. ; B.M. Index), and the church existed long before. This is, in fact, one of the few City names which we find before the Conquest, as it appears in a bequest of 1053 (printed in Thorpe's " Diplomatarium"). This document records a compact by one Brithmer, which he made at " Gerschereche." The etymology is simple and unmistakable :—O.E. and M.E. *gers* = grass (also extended to other " green meat"), and *chereche*, from O.E. *cirice* = church. The mediæval records abound in references to the church and the parish, in more or less normal contemporary spellings : gars-, gres-, gras-, etc. As is well known, the grass and hay market was hereabouts. Stow's rendering of " Grass" St. is peculiar to himself. " Gracyouse," " Gratious," and " Gracious" are 16th and 17th century slurrings.

BISHOPSGATE STREET.

I have not noticed this as a *street* name before the latter part of the 13th century, but the name was doubtless applied to the street considerably earlier. The gate is " porta episcopi" in Domesday, and " Bissupesgate" in the 12th century (Pauls 25 b), but the origin of the

name is unknown and, in the absence of any evidence whatever, can only be conjectured.

LEADENHALL STREET.

The name of Cornhill was formerly applied as far east as Lime St. and St. Mary Axe. This portion of the street was renamed early in the 17th century, and its new style, " Leadenhall St.," appears in 1646 (Wills). Probably at the same time the western end of Aldgate St. was also renamed and included in " Leadenhall St." This name is due to the Leaden Hall, which stood at the south-east corner of the crossways of Cornhill and Gracechurch St. The earliest reference to this important building is in 1296 (" La Ledenehalle," Wills), and during the succeeding 24 years it appears several times under the current equivalents in Anglo-French and Latin: " la Sale de Plom" (and " -de plum") and " aule plumbi." Presumably the adjective was due to a leaden covering to the roof of the Hall. The Hall was used as a Court of Justice as early as 1302-3 (Lib. Ant. Leg.), and the market there (for foreign sellers) was regulated in 1320 (Lib. Cust.). Stow gives its later history.

At the crossways by the Hall was " the Carfukes of the Ledenhalle," mentioned in 1357 and 1375 (L.Bks. G., H.). Pepys calls it " the Quarrefour." The " Carfukes" or " Carfax" may have had a four-faced fountain, as was the case at the well-known Carfax at Oxford; but the name in both places applied to the " four ways" [Lat. *quadrifurcus*; O.Fr. *Carrefor, -four*; Mod. Fr. *Carrefour*].

LIME STREET.

The "Limstrate" of the 12th century (A5853, etc.) has retained its name, with the normal addition of *-e*. One of the early documents in which it appears (A11559, *c.t.* Ric. or John) also mentions "Ailnoth the limeburner's" in the street, and thereby confirms the obvious etymology.

BILLITER STREET.

M.E. Belleyeter (or Belyeter) meant Bell-founder, and the bellfounders' quarters were evidently in and near "Belyeterslane" of 1298 (Wills) and later. The first element is now slightly simplified to Billiter, while the "lane" has been promoted to "street." The changes in the former are shown in this list:—

Belyeters : 1298 (W.), 1306 (A2026).
Belyeteres : 1306 (A2135), 1383 (W.).
Belleyetteres : 1306 (W.).
Belleyeteres : 1306-7 (W.), 1349 (W.).
Belieters : 1318 (A1993).
Belheters : 1322 (W.).
Belleyeters : 1468 (W.).
Bylleter : 1531 and 1594 (I.P.M.Lond.).
Byllyter : 1556 (I.P.M.Lond.).
Billiter : 1591 (do.) and later.
—— tar : 1598 (Stow).

An earlier term in the records for bellfounder is the Latin *Campanarius*; and I notice that Benedict "Campanarius," Sheriff of London in 1216, is also styled Benedict "le Seynter," or bellmaker (Lib. Ant. Leg.). William Burford, bellfounder, is described as "belyeter" on his will (Wills, 1390), but his son and legatee is in 1438 styled "campanarius." This family, be it noted, lived in the Billiter St. district.

ST. MARY AXE.

" Sainte Marie strate" (parish of " St. Mary del Aix") first appears in a deed of 1260 (A2663), and the Church is named nearly a century earlier. The dated forms are:—

" S. Marie Pellipariorum, modo Mari Ax": c.1180 (A7307).

S. Mary del Ax, -e:1216 to 1298 (16 entries).

—— de lax: 13th century (c.1220?) (A7368).

— —— del Aix: 1260 (A2663).

—— atte Ax, -e: 1296 (W.), 1345 (A1517).

—— de Ax: 1303 (Lib. Cust.).

—— atte Nax, -e: 1308 to 1455 (15 entries).

—— attenaxe: c.1362 (W.).

—— Axe: 1558 and 1643 (W.).

—— Acts: 1639 (W.).

The alternative designation of c.1180, " Pellipariorum," appears but the once. Pellipar=skinner; and we may read the description as " St. Mary of the Skinners, sometimes Mary Ax." The early usage was apparently " St. Mary of the Axe" (or Ax); but the 14th century entries show a change to " at the Ax" (or Axe), first as " atte Ax" (or axe), and then " atten Axe," with the -n of " atten" run on to " axe," this last appearing more frequently in the records during that century.

There was, however, another dedication which evidently did not attain popularity—perhaps it was too little known—viz., to " St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins," and it is through this that we are able to trace the reason for " Axe."

In the Calendar of State Papers we find a Patent of 5 Henry VIII (1513), headed, " For the parishioners of St. Mary Axe, London," and recording a License to gather alms in England for repairing their church. " They state that their church was built in remembrance of St. Ursula, daughter of a King of England, one of the 11,000 virgins ' that tenderly shed their blood for our Christian faith and belief'; and that 'the said poor church is edified and honoured by keeping of a holy relic, an axe, one of the three that the 11,000 virgins were beheaded withal.'"

The legend of St. Ursula has several forms, of which some bestow upon her royal birth, and state that she was sought in marriage by a king " somewhere on the Continent"; that she bargained for a preliminary " grand tour" of Europe with her maiden retinue, which was agreed to; that she made the journey, attended by 11—or 11,000— maidens, and they were murdered either at Cologne in 237, or by the Huns in 451; and they were beheaded by the aid of three (or more) axes. Mr. Baring-Gould collected the versions of this important Folk story in his "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages"; and I have quoted sufficient to show the connection with "Axe."

Stow states that the church was called " S. Marie Pellipar, of a plot of ground lying on the North side thereof, belonging to the Skinners in London," but he gives no authority for this statement, which seems to need it. He also mentions the dedication to " S. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins," but without making any attempt at explanation.

CORNHILL.

As might be expected, this name appears very fre-
quently. It goes back through the 12th century, but
I have not succeeded in tracing it earlier than *c*.1100.
The sense is always the same, Corn Hill; and pre-
sumably there was a corn-market here, but, if so, I can
only suggest that it must have been some time before
the Conquest, as I have not found any contemporary
reference to it.

FINCH LANE (Cornhill).

In 1216-17 a stone house in the parish of St. Benet
Finck was given to Clerkenwell Nunnery by Rosa-
mond, daughter of Jas. Finke[1]; in 1274-5 " Fynkes-
lane" is first mentioned (W.); and in 1293 " the Kings
highway of Finkeslane" is named in L.Bk.C.; while in
1284 the parish (" St. Benedict Fyngh") appears, for
the second time, in a Harleian MS. From these earliest
data we may infer that the lane and the parish are
indebted to a family of the name of Finck, Finke, or
Fynke for their nomenclature, much as Stow suggests.

BIRCHIN LANE.

The present spelling, Birchin, extends back to
1472 (W.), and as " Birchen" to 1386 (W.). The
earliest form is Bercheruere (*u* for *v*), which is given
in the " Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters," from
B.M. Addl. Chart. 1046, of date 1193-95. Bircher-
vere is apparently a personal name, but I have not met

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[1] Cotton MS. Faustina B. II, in B.M. Cited by Mr. C. L.
Kingsford in his Stow, ii, 301.

with it elsewhere.[1]   In 1260 it is spelt Bercherveres, and in 1285 Berchervere (W.); and transitional forms are Berchenes (1301, Lib. Alb.), Berchernere, -s (1320, W. and L.Bk.E.), Berchers, Bercheres, Bergeres, and Birches, which all appear during the 14th century.

LOMBARD STREET.

A very curious history attaches to this familiar name, as the following list of dated forms will show. ["Street" is to be understood in each case except the second.]:—

1108-18: Longbord (Lansdowne MS. 448).[2]
12th century: Langebord (ward) (A5853).
1252: Longebrod (Charter Rolls).
1284: Langburne- (W.).
1311-12: "The high str. of Langbournestrete" (W.).
1312: Langebourne- (L.Bk.D.).
1318 and later: Lombard,-e, Lumbard,-e.

The 1252 spelling should read -bord, as the letters " o" and " r" are evidently transposed; and I take it that the three earliest forms give us Longobard or Langeberd (=long beard), the well-known mediæval name for the Lombards, who seem to have centred about this street at an early date.   There are several entries of Lombard names in St. Pauls deeds of c.1120-40, which indicate that their owners were then men of standing in London. During the second half of the 13th cent. the second element of the name becomes mis-called " bourne," and

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[1] Stow's surmise, "so called of Birchouer, the first builder and owner thereof" is probable enough.

[2] A 14th century MS., cited by Mr. C. L. Kingsford (Stow, ii, 307) and by Professor Lethaby ("London before the Conquest," p. 170).   I have not checked this.

although that change lasts but half a century or so, it leaves a permanent impression by being retained as the name of the ward of which Longbord, Langbourne, or Lombard Street has always been a main artery. Early in the 14th century, however, the street-name reverts to its original meaning in a changed literal dress, and we have the unique progression: Longbord, Langbourne, Lombard. The 12th-century ward-name of Langebord appears as Langford in the Wards List of *c*.1285 (L.Bk.A.).

Stow's postulated stream, the Langbourne, was purely conjectural, despite the confident way in which he announces it as the origin of the name of the ward; and it is entirely unsupported by fact.[1] His Lang-

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[1] This conjecture was dealt with on its physical side by William Tite, F.R.S., F.S.A., the architect of the new Royal Exchange, in his valuable little book on "The Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange," printed in 1848 for the use of the members of the Corporation of London. Mr. Tite had the advantage of having at his disposal "an elaborate and intelligent account" of observations made in connection with excavations for sewers within the City for the preceding thirty years. He states that "the result of sewerage excavations shows that the water called the Langbourn, if it ever existed at all as a natural streamlet, did not actually run in the direction so explicitly described by Stow. . . The ground rises upwards of three feet from Mincing Lane to Gracechurch Street," and that "the ancient surface, though it lies seventeen feet below, has the same inclination. . . In excavating for sewers in Gracechurch Street, though the traces of the Langbourn were carefully sought after, not any traces could be found of a stream having crossed it."

Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., a former officer of this Society, also examined it in his "Roman Antiquities" (discoveries near the Mansion House) in 1873, pp. 25-27, and rejected it on the evidence of excavations.

bourne " must be classed with his Oldbourne, and these sourceless streams may be allowed to sink into oblivion.

SHERBOURNE LANE.

This name has completely changed, and the " Shyte-burgh" of 1273 (W.) has become Sher-borne.

Shitteborwe- : 1272-3 (W.).
Shyteburgh- : 1273-4 (Acon, 289), 1303 (*ib.*).
Shite —— - : 1279-80 (do.).
Schiteburue- : 1305 (W.).
Shitebur- : 1303 (W.).
—— b[ur]ue- : 1303 (W.), 1339 (Acon, 292), 1396 (W.).
—— bour- : 1311 (Acon, 289).
—— bourne- : 1313, '14, '15, '27, '31, '48 × 2, '49 × 4 (all Wills) ; 1347 (L.Bk.F.).
—— bourn- : 1349 (W.).
Shitheburn- : 1311 (W.).
Schitebourue- : 1322 (Acon, 290).
Schetebourne- : 1343 (W.).
Schitte —— - : 1348 (W.).
Shitbourne- : 1349 (Add. 40385, B.M.).
Scheteborue- : 1370 (W.).
Shitbourn- : 1394 (L.Bk.H., 422).
Shetebourne- : 1435 (W.).
Shirbourue-, otherwise Shetbourue- : 1467 (W.).
Sherborne- : 1556 and 1602 (W.), 1598 (Stow).
Shyrbur- : c.1570 (" Agas " Map).
Sherburn- : 1755 (Strype).

. The second element was -borwe, -burgh, -burue, -bur, -bourue, and it began to be rendered -bourne early in the 14th century. *-borwe* and *-burgh* are M.E. spellings of the modern " borough" and O.E. *burh*, *buruh*, *burg*, (dative *byrig*) a stronghold, defended place, castle, fort ; the mediæval significance was frequently modified to " mansion" or large house.

The first element, rendered Shyte-, Shitte-, Schite-, Schete-, retains its early forms much longer, and begins to be changed to Shir- *c.*1467, and Sher- about ninety

years later. " Sherborne" makes its first appearances in 1556 (W.) and 1598 (Stow).

Some of the spellings of the first element suggest an origin connected with O.E. *scytta*, an archer (from O.E. *sceotan*, to shoot), which was also a personal name —just as Archer is now.[1] Other forms do not agree with this[2]; and a different and unsavoury origin is indicated. Whichever of these two be correct, it is certain that the name is not a stream name.

Stow's etymology, which he gives as confidently as his shot at " Langbourne," is based upon the late form " Sherborne" (which he ruthlessly distorts to Shareborne) and his imaginary " Langbourne," and it has no relation to any of the facts.

CANNON STREET.

I have noted more than a hundred entries of this name in various records from the 12th to the 16th centuries, and a few later spellings from other contemporary sources, and these show about sixty variations in spelling. The well-known

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[1] Shillington, Beds., had M.E. forms Scitlingdune, Scytlingedune, Schitlingedune, etc., and Professor Skeat, in his "Place-Names of Bedfordshire," derives these from the personal name Scytta, through its diminutive, Scytel.

[2] The N.E.D. gives the following as the M.E. forms of the O.E. *Scytta*, archer (i.e., shooter):—13th century, *ssetare*; 14th century, *ssyetere, schetor, scheotere, sheeter, shetere*; 15th century, *schetare, scheter,-e, sheter*, etc. These indicate the development of the word towards the Mod. "shooter"; and all have the final *-er, -ar, -or(e)*, expressing the doer or agent, which is absent from the forms given above *re* Sherbourne. The phonology also seems unfavourable to this etymology.

form of Candlewick—still retained for the ward,
although the usage for the street has changed in
a curious and striking way—was customary from the
13th to the 17th centuries.   It is not, however, the
earliest form—so far, at least, as the second element
(" -wick") in the word is concerned.   While the first
element, M.E. candel, Mod. candle, persisted, with
but few departures from normal forms, from the
12th century onwards, we find that the second element
was, in the 12th and 13th centuries, *wriht, -e*, and
wryht, -e [from O.E. *wyrhta*, workman, maker, and
wyrht, a deed, work; M.E. *wriht, wurht*, etc.; Mod.
wright]; and that the original sense was candlewright
=candle maker: the street of the candle makers.   The
-wick forms commence about the middle of the 13th
century, and become general after *c.*1285.   The first
stage of the final change in the name is indicated by
the dropping of -del or -dle in the shortening to " Can-
wick," *c.t.*Hy.VIII; this form would speedily become
" Cannick" in popular pronunciation; from " Cannick,"
carelessly spoken, it is a short step to " Canning"—one
of the Stuart spellings; and we have but to drop
the terminal consonant to arrive at Cannin' or Cannon.

I reproduce my full list of the forms: it is the
longest of the lists of City names, and affords another
interesting study in ancient spelling.

Candelwrithte : *c.*1175 (A7294).
—— wrich : 1180-87 (Paul's).
—— writhe : *c.*1190 (A2025).
—— ewrite : *c.*1195 (A7821).
Candewylle : *t.*John (A1980).
—— wille : *t.*John (A1874-6).
Candelwricte : *t.*John (A1957).
Kandel ——: *c.*1225 and 1231 (A1955-6).
—— wricg : *t.*Henry III (A2271) .

Candelwyc : 1248 (B2105).
—— wiche : c.1250 (Acon).
Kandelwrithte : c.1250 (A2044), 1253 (Acon).
Kandewichte : c.1250 (Acon).
Candelwice : 1253 (B2096).
—— wicc : 1259 (W.).
Kandelwyce : 1259 (B2104).
—— wrihte : 1259 (A2001).
Candelwithe : c.1260 (Acon).
—— wrihte : 1261 (A2045).
—— wik, -e : 1266 to 1392 (many).
—— wyk, -e : 1266-1558 (many).
—— wrihce : 1269 (A2101).
—— wit : 1270 (A1785).
Candewyke : c.1270 (Acon), 1509 (S.P.).
Candelwryht, -e : 1271, 1273 (W.).
—— wyrth : c.1275 (Paul's).
—— withte : c.1275 (A11939).
—— wrhyte : 1276-7 (Acon).
—— wriste : 1277 (A2469), 1279 (Acon).
—— we : 1277 (A2001), 1280 (A2129).
Candlewig : 1277-8 (W.).
Kandelwic-, 1278 (2 Wills).
Candelwy : 1280-1-2-3-4, 1291 (L.Bk.A.).
Kandelwricche : 1283-5 (A1674).
Candelwec : 1286 (Acon).
Kandelwi : 1290 (L.Bk.A.).
—— wek : 1291 (Tax.N.).
Candlewy : 1293 (L.Bk.C.).
Candlewick : 1309 (A1670), 1336 and 1368 (Paul's), 1567
            and 1598 (I.P.M.Lond.).
Kandewike : 1320 (Lib.Cust.).
Candelwicke : 1320 (Lib.Cust.), 1583 and 1589 (I.P.M.
            Lond.), 1671 (Price's Guildhall).
Candelewyk, -e : 1323 (A1618), 1351 (A1609).
Kandelwyke : 1325 (Cl.R.).
Canwick : 1513 (S.P.), 1547 (I.P.M. Lond.), c.1570 (Agas
Candylwyke : 1549 (I.P.M.Lond.).
Candlewyk, -e : 1551 (do.), 1574 (do.).
—— wike : 1568 (do.).
Candelwick : 1568 (do.).
Candelwek, -e : 1583 (I.P.M.Lond.).
Canwiche : 1585 (do.).
Candelwycke : 1589 (do.).
Candlewicke : 1592 and 1598 (IPM.Lond.), 1598 (Stow).
Canning : 1638 (S.P.), 1666 (Pepys).
Cannon : 1667 (Pepys).
Canon : 1720 (Map in Strype's *Stow*).
" Candlewick or Cannon " : c.1725 (" London in 1731 ").

LAURENCE POUNTNEY LANE and HILL (Cannon Street).

Both due to the church of St. Laurence Pountney. The " Hill" was formerly Green Lettuce Lane : " the lane called grene lettyce in Candelwykestrete" as it is styled in I.P.M.Lond. an. 1556, and similarly later. The southern continuation (to Thames Street) now Ducks Foot Lane, is " Duxford " on Strype's 1720 map and " Duxfield " on Ogilby. I have not found it in the Records. Stow (i, 238) mentions it, as the " lane which turneth up to saint Laurence hill"—then possibly unnamed.

BUSH LANE (Cannon Street to Thames Street).

" Busshelane" in 1486 (Pat.), " Bushe-" in 1570 and 1574 (I.P.M.Lond.). Busshe was a mediæval personal name (as Bush is now), and it appears in the " Letter Books" of 14th century among the names of citizens.

OLD SWAN LANE (Upper Thames Street).

Swan Wharf marks the site of " Ebbegate,"[1] which is mentioned many times in 13th and 14th centuries (W., L.Bks., Lib.Cust., P.R.O. Deeds, etc.). " Ebdgate, a watergate . . . now a narrow passage to the Thames called Ebgate lane, but more commonly the Old Swanne" (Stow, 1, 42) ; the change of name was evidently then in process. There was, *t*.Eliz., a " great Brewhouse" called " The Old Swan," in Thames Street ,in Vintry Ward, some distance west of this : perhaps too distant to account for the present name.

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[1] M.E. *ebbe* = Mod. ebb : the ebb tide.

WALBROOK.

There are many references in the City records to the stream from 1261 onwards, and the street is specified for the first time in 1291, "Walbrokstrate" (L.Bk. A.). The earlier appearances of the name are:

1114-30: Wulnoth[1] of Walebroc of London, sells to Reynold, abbot of Ramsey, his land upon the Walebroc, from which he is called "of Walebroc," together with his stone house, cellarage, etc. (Cartulary of Ramsey Abbey, Rolls Series 79.)

*c.*1130-40: "Ecclesia Sancti Johannis super Walebroc" (Pauls).

1181: "St. John 'de Walebroc'" (Pauls).

1194: "The stone house that was Hugh de Boclande's in the parish of St. John upon Walebroc" (Charter Rolls).

The Ramsey register shows the earliest appearance of Walebroc, "Wall brook"; but there are two previous deeds which throw an interesting light upon the age of the name. The first is the charter of William I to St. Martin's le Grand, of date 1068,[2] in which the brook is mentioned, but is nameless: it is "the brook that flows (from the wall) into the borough." The second is the valuable List of lands, etc., in the City belonging to

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[1] Or Wlnoth, a late form of the O.E. name Wulfnoth. This important entry was first drawn attention to by Mr. Stevenson in the article mentioned below.

[2] The copies of this interesting London Charter, which are more or less corrupt, were carefully collated by Mr. W. H. Stevenson—whose authority in all matters pertaining to our early documents is undisputed—and he printed a reliable rendering in his valuable paper "An Old English Charter of William the Conqueror," in Engl. Histor. Rev. XI, 731; 1896.

St. Paul's Cathedral, of date $c.1125$ (Pauls, 66b), in which " Brocesgang Ward" appears (" in warda Broces-gange"). Brocesgang = " brook bed," the course of the brook. I think we may with confidence take this to be the earliest mention of the ward of Walbrook; and that the two deeds afford evidence that the name was not in general use, at least, at their dates, even if it existed at all in 1068. The inference from these and the Ramsey charter seems to be that the name Walebroc began to be applied to the stream in the early part of the 12th century.[3] The ward is designated by it in the list of wards and alderman of $c.1285$-6 (L.Bk.A.; the earliest known list).

The reason for the name " Wall" brook was apparently the stream's entry into the City through the wall.

The entry in L.Bk.A., an. 1291, cited above, refers to a tenement which was situate between the Church of St. John upon " Walebrok" on the south and " Candelwystrate" on the north, and between the course of the " Walebrok" on the west and " Walbrokstrate" on the east. From this we learn that at that date the street name extended to the south side of Cannon St.—probably as far as the corner of what is now Cloak Lane, where the Church of St. John was situated; and from this point, presumably, " Dow-gate Hill " started, instead of at Cannon St. as now.[4]

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[3] *Pace* the fanciful origin suggested by Geoffrey of Mon-mouth, for which there is no evidence.

[4] At that period Cannon Street was narrow, and it ended at that spot, where Budge Row continued the thoroughfare. Although its extension westward to St. Pauls was planned as early as 1667 (Pepys), it was not fully carried out until $c.1850$ (P. Cunningham, F.S.A., Handbook to London, 1850. Murray).

(*To be concluded.*)