

# STAPLE INN : ITS TOPOGRAPHY AND ITS NAME.

BY

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## I.—LOCAL NOMENCLATURE.

**H**OLBORN. Immediately on the north side of the Inn runs the great traffic artery which formed part of the ancient Watling Street on its way to the City. This identification has long been accepted, and a few years ago it received documentary confirmation in a charter of King Ethelred to Westminster Abbey which Dean Robinson brought to light.<sup>1</sup> The name "*Wætlunga stræt*" is therein applied apparently to the Oxford Street section of the road. The date of the charter is 1002, and it affords the first and, so far as I can ascertain, the only early evidence on the point.<sup>2</sup> The present name for this western portion of the road, Oxford Street, dates back to the first quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The name "Holeburn" first appears

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<sup>1</sup> From the MS. "Westminster Domesday," f. 80; see appendix to this paper.

<sup>2</sup> In the well-known charter of King Edgar of about thirty or forty years earlier date—in which he confirmed to Westminster Abbey the land between Hyde Park and Farringdon Street (approximately)—the road is called simply the "*here stræt*," i.e., the army street, or way along which a troop might march, a description applicable to any good or wide road. See appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Cunningham, F.S.A., in his *Handbook to London*, 1850, refers to a stone which then existed in a wall at Rathbone Place, bearing the inscription, "Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, 1718." This apparently corrects Lysons' statement (*Environs*, 1795, iii, 257): "The row of houses on the north side of Tybourn road was completed in 1729, and it was then called Oxford Street"; and it predates a similar stone, "Oxford Street, 1725," mentioned by Mr. J. T. Smith ("*Book for a Rainy Day*," p. 24) as on No. 1, Oxford Street, at this date, but which Cunningham notes was no

in the Edgar charter to Westminster Abbey, in which the Church of St. Andrew has the description added "on Holeburne"<sup>4</sup>; and in Domesday, in which are recorded two cottages "on Holeburne"; and a fine of 1196 locates the Holeburn.<sup>5</sup> Its first appearances as applied to the road which crossed the stream are found in two deeds of about *temp.* Henry II (undated, but probably written between 1150 and 1180), one of which mentions the Bar of Holborn and the other names "Holeburnstrate."<sup>6</sup> I have not found "High" Holborn before 1544 (Letters and Papers, Domestic, Hy. VIII, xix).

A little way eastward from Staple Inn lies

FETTER LANE. This name is given as "Faytures" lane in the City Hustings Rolls of 1292, and as "Faiteres" in a will of 1312 (Dr. R. R. Sharpe's Calendar); and these and other spellings of the fourteenth century (Faytores, Faitores, Fayteres) evidently represent the same word, *viz.*, the Old

longer existing in 1850. Hatton ("New View of London," 1708) has "Tyburn Road" in his list of streets (i, 84), and "the road to Oxford" on his map in the same volume; and these were the usual styles. "New Oxford Street" dates from 1845, when the ancient curve in the road (by St. Giles' Church) was superseded by a cut-through.

<sup>4</sup> Westminster Charter, No. VI; an expanded copy of the original, probably written during the 11th century; see appendix.

<sup>5</sup> London and Middlesex Fines, Hardy and Page, i, 4. Other early locations are: 1194 . . . "land, etc., in the parish of St. Andrew 'extra Holeburne'" (*Rotuli Curie Regis*); 1289, "tenement in the parish of St. Sepulchre extending from Secole Lane towards the east to the water of Holeborn on the west" (St. Paul's MSS., Calendar 24a, No. 1654. Seacoal Lane ran nearly parallel to and on the east side of the Fleet, between it and Old Bailey); 1340, "houses, etc., in Wenageyn lane upon Holleburn stream in the parish of St. Sepulchre" (Dr. Sharpe's Calendar of Wills, i, 446). Wenageyn, Wendagain, or (later) Turnagain lane ran from Snow Hill to the Fleet; the eastern approach to Holborn Viaduct covers the eastern portion of its site. These records, among others, identify the Holeburn with the Fleet, and finally dispose of Stow's "Oldborne" etymology and spelling.

<sup>6</sup> St. Paul's MSS., Calendar 3a, No. 212; and P.R.O. "Ancient Deeds," B.2197.

French *faiteor* and our mediæval *faitour*,<sup>7</sup> meaning a deceiver, a begging impostor. The earliest records show the old plural ending, *-es*, but this began to be dropped during the fourteenth century, and does not appear later. The present spelling was reached in 1555 (Inq. Post Mort., Lond., i, 137).

Opposite Fetter Lane, on the north side of Holborn, is

LEATHER LANE. I find the name as early as 1234, in a P.R.O. deed (Ancient Deeds, B.2191), in the form of "le Vrune lane"; in wills of 1306 and 1456 it is rendered "Louerone" lane (*u* for *v*), and other fourteenth century spellings are "Liverone" and "Leveroune," with progression to "Lyver" and "Lither" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to "Leather" in the seventeenth. The etymology puzzled me, and I submitted the data to Dr. Henry Bradley, editor of the New English Dictionary, and he suggests that the Old French *leveroun*, a greyhound, is indicated. "Greyhound Lane" is an established name, which has in some instances been an outcome of the existence of an inn of that name; and the mediæval French word was probably known in this country, although it does not appear to have been in common usage. The earliest form, "le Vrune," meaningless as it stands, becomes intelligible in this connection when written "levrune."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> An inquest was held in 1301 upon "Philip le Faitour," who had been stabbed in a street quarrel by "Henry le Portour" (Dr. Sharpe's Calendar of City Coroner's Rolls, p. 19). Stow's etymology of "fewter" (Survey, ed. Kingsford, ii, 39) was based upon sixteenth century spellings of the name; his own rendering, "fewtar," seems peculiar to himself. The suggestion of O.F. *jeultre* made by Prof. Hy. Morley in his edition of Stow's Survey (p. 345, Routledge, 1893) and by Mr. Loftie (N. and Q., ser. VIII, xii, 161) does not agree with the facts, and was obviously made without acquaintance with the earlier recorded spellings.

<sup>8</sup> Since the above was written I see that the late Henry Harben, F.S.A., suggested the Old English personal name Leofrun as an etymology, through a probable M.E. form of Leveron (Dict. of Ldn., 346). This would require the genitive case ending *-es*, giving as the original name Leofrunes Lane, and a later form Leverons Lane. Neither of these has been found in the records, but I have recently found a spelling "Lyvers lane" in an Inquisition Post Mortem of 1290, which is not inconsistent with it. O.F. *leveroun* agrees better with the recorded forms, however.

The next street in Holborn on the west of Leather Lane is BROOKE STREET. In 1619, Lord Brooke, then Sir Fulke Greville, purchased the Earl of Bath's house which then stood there, and rebuilt it, the new house taking its name from its owner and builder. "Brook House" is well shown on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1677; but in the slightly later map (Morden and Lea), published by Morgan in 1682, the house and garden are replaced by Brook Street and the little streets at its north end with Brook Market. The market marks the site of the Lord Brooke's orchard, and the adjacent Greville Street commemorates his family name.

FURNIVAL STREET. Between Brooke House and Leather Lane stood Furnival's Inn, which passed into the hands of the Prudential Assurance Company, who bought the freehold in 1888 and the leaseholds eight or ten years later, and thereafter built upon the site their present offices. The name dates from the fourteenth century, when the property came into the possession of Sir William de Fournival. His granddaughter married John Talbot, who in 1442 was created Earl of Shrewsbury, and this property went with her. In 1408 it was occupied by law students<sup>9</sup>; and in 1547-8 the freehold was purchased by the Society of Lincoln's Inn from Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury and Baron Furnival. A new building was designed by Inigo Jones in 1640, and this in turn was demolished and rebuilt in 1818-20 by William Peto, to whom the property was then leased for ninety-nine years. Furnival Street, which now perpetuates the name, marks the site of the Inn of the Abbot of Malmesbury, which stood there from 1370 until the Dissolution. In a demise of the property in 1526—after which date the Abbey had only a partial and occasional use of it—we learn that it was "late called Bere Aley and now called Castell

<sup>9</sup> Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales*, p. 270, cited Baildon, below. The tenancy of Furnival's Inn by lawyers may date back to the time of Sir Wm. de Furnival, as Mr. Paley Baildon, F.S.A., suggests in his pamphlet on "The Site of Lincoln's Inn" (1902), p. 35.

Aleye."<sup>10</sup> Faithorne's map, 1658, shows an archway-entry from Holborn to this alley; Ogilby in 1677 gives it a proper street opening, with the name "Castle Yard"; by the end of the eighteenth century "yard" was promoted to "street," as shown on Horwood's admirable map (1799),<sup>11</sup> and "Castle Street" it remained until recent years.

THE OLD TEMPLE AND SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS. On the western side of Staple Inn there stood in the twelfth century the House of the Knights Templars, which appears to have been first mentioned in the valuable list of lands in London owned by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's of c. 1125-30,<sup>12</sup> and in the Ramsey Abbey Chronicle under the year 1144; and hence, as is well known, they removed to their "New Temple" about forty years later.<sup>13</sup> The round

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<sup>10</sup> Augmentation Office Particulars for Grants, 36 Hy. VIII, No. 105; cited in "Staple Inn," by Elijah Williams, F.R.G.S., p. 26 (Constable, 1906)—to which helpful work I am indebted for several data respecting Furnival's Inn and Furnival Street.

<sup>11</sup> Strype's ed. of Stow's "Survey," 1720, calls it Castle Street, but the "New Remarks of London" (by Parish Clerks), 1735, retains "Yard," as does Rocque's "Environs" map of 1741-46, from which the name seems to have then been in a transitional stage.

<sup>12</sup> Liber L. ff. 47-50. The mention of the Old Temple is in the last line in the document, and forms the finish of an entry in a later handwriting, which may not predate the Ramsey Abbey entry. It is unfinished, and the translation runs thus: "From Richard the clerk against the Old Temple. . . ." The Calendar of St. Paul's MSS. (Appendix to the 9th Report of the Commission on Historical MSS.) does not show these added lines, which may be seen in the fine facsimile of the MS. given in J. E. Price's "Account of the Guildhall," and in the translation on p. 21 of that valuable work. The date of the foundation of the Old Temple may have been as early as 1128 (V.C.H. London, i, 485); and that of the removal to the New Temple possibly earlier than 1184, as some of their Holborn property was granted to the Bishop of Lincoln before that date.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. J. Horace Round, in his "Geoffrey de Mandeville" (p. 225), draws attention to a curious point in regard to this latter date. The body of the great Earl Geoffrey, which had been brought to the "Old Temple" on his death in 1144, remained there without formal Church burial, and in 1163 was removed to

church of the Old Temple stood a few yards to the west of Staple Inn, close to Holborn, as was noted in our Transactions (N.S. i, 257) by our late member, Mr. John Sachs. The Templars were succeeded by the Bishops of Lincoln, who had their Inn here for more than three and a half centuries; and in 1547 "Lincoln Place" (as it was then called) passed from their hands, through those of the Earl of Warwick (the Great Chamberlain), to Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and Lord Chancellor. The Earl died here in 1550, and in 1638 the house—which had been named after him—was demolished and "Southampton Buildings" erected in its place. A note upon excavations made on the site about twenty years ago appears in the Transactions of this Society (New Series, Vol. I, p. 257).

CHANCERY LANE. Property in this street is mentioned in the Close Rolls under date 1226, as "in novo vico ante Novum Templum"; and the street is definitely named "Newstrate" in 1227 and for twenty-five years later (Charter Rolls, Calendar I, and in "Close Rolls"), some of the entries describing it as "the street which is called Newestrete, between the Old Temple and the New." Later in the thirteenth century it is styled "the street of the Converts" (*vico conversorum*) and "Converslane" in two wills (Sharpe's Calendar of London Wills, i, 36, 39), from the House of Converted Jews founded by Henry III, and "Converslone" in a Patent Roll of 1338. The present name has its genesis in "Chauncelleres lane," in 1339 (Patent Rolis), and variants of this name appear for the next two centuries, before it is displaced by the current rendering,

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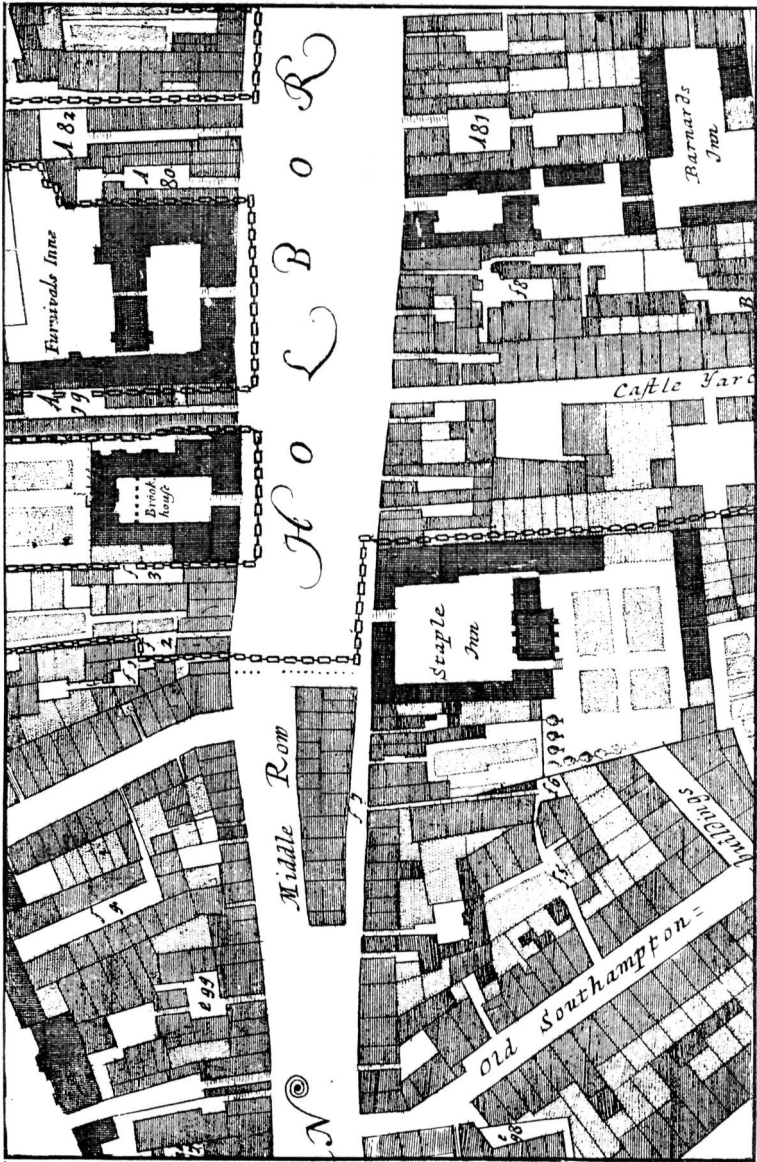
the New Temple and there given "Christian burial." As Dr. Round remarks: "According to the received belief, the Templars did not remove to the New Temple till 1185, but, according to this evidence, they already had their churchyard there consecrated in 1163, and had therefore, we may presume, begun their church. The church of the New Temple was consecrated by Heraclius on his visit in 1185, but may have been finished sooner."

which is first seen in a Patent of 1454 ("Chauncery lane"), and which may owe its existence to the establishment in the lane of the legal Department of the Rolls.

## II.—STAPLE INN: ITS SITE AND ITS NAME.

The site seems to be the land referred to in the deed mentioned above (p. 136) as first naming the Bar of Holborn. The Calendar describes it as "grant by James the son of Ricard 'carbonarii' to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's of the land which Bruningus or his heirs held of him within the Bar of Holborn, fronting the land of the Templars" (Report on St. Paul's MSS., 3a, No. 212). The deed is undated, but from the names of the witnesses appended to it I judge it to be *c.* 1170-80. A "fine" of 5 John (1203-4), concerning "one acre of land in Holeburne, next the Old Temple, without the Bar" (Hardy and Page, London and Middlesex Fines, p. 7, No. 30), may also refer to this land. "Fronting the land of the Templars," and "next the Old Temple," seem to apply. The apparently contradictory "within" and "without" the Bar may be accounted for by the fact that the City boundary ("the chains") passed southward across Holborn, a few yards to the west of the entrance to Staple Inn (*i.e.*, at Holborn Bars), turned at right angles at about the line of the curb of the present footpath and before reaching the Inn, and made a similar turn to the south on passing its eastern edge. A glance at the accompanying extract (reduced) from Ogilby's great map of 1677 will make this clear. The property was thus outside the City, but it might appear to be within the Bars when viewed from the street.

We do not learn much from these two records; but the next is definite and of special value, and incidentally it gives evidence of the existence of confusion as to the land being "within" or "without." A will of 1333, by Richard



STAPLE INN, AND VICINITY. FROM OGILBY AND MORGAN'S PLAN, 1677.



Starcolf, "mercator, devises "his tenement, called 'le Stapled-halle,' within the bar in the parish of St. Andrew de Holebourn to be sold for pious uses" (Dr. Sharpe's Calendar of London Wills, i, 394). The will is dated from "Holebourn," which probably indicates that the tenement was Starcolf's residence. We here have the first record of the hall and its name.

Two other contemporary houses in London bearing the same name are recorded: the one in a will of 1330 as "the tenement in the parish of Berkynggecherch" (*i.e.*, All Hallows Bark-  
ing) "called 'la Stapeledehalle'" (Wills, i, 363), and the other mentioned in the Corporation "Letter Books" in 1330 as "a house called 'la Stapeledehall' with shop, etc., adjoining," and in 1346 as "the hall called 'le Stapeledehalle'" (Letter Books E, 251, and F, 163), in the parish of St. Botolph Without Bishopsgate.

The name is also recorded in the previous century, "William atte Stapledehall" appearing in "Letter Book A" (p. 144) under date 1292; and the same name, "Willelmus atte Stapeledhalle," (probably the same man) is mentioned eleven years later.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "Ricardus Starkolf de Northtedenham" (North Tuddenham), "co. Norfolk, mercator," was admitted to the freedom of the City in 1311 (Letter Book D, 67). In 1330 Richard Starcolf held a messuage and 120 ac. land at Wymondham, etc., Norfolk (Inq. P.M.); and in 1332 he figures in a Fine (Hardy and Page, p. iii) in connection with property in St. Andrew without the Bar of Holebourn. He died 15th Aug., 1332-3, bequeathing to his son Thomas—his next heir, then aged 13—property in Holborn. Thomas Starcolf in 1356 was one of the "wealthier and wiser commoners of the City" who attended "a congregation of the Mayor and Aldermen" in the Guildhall to arrange for "the repair of two vessels for the War" (Letter Book G, 58-61); and his will is also calendared by Dr. Sharpe under date 1361 (Wills, ii, 36).

<sup>15</sup> Ancient Calendars and Inventories of the Treasury of H.M. Exchequer, etc.; collected and edited by Sir F. Palgrave; Records Commission, 1836; i, 297. Tomlins ("Perambulations of Islington," 1858, pp. 28, 57) associates this Stapled Hall with "Stapleton Hall," Stroud Green. He does not adduce evidence, and as the entries in the above records give no clue to the whereabouts of this Stapled Hall, his identification is merely surmise. "Stapleton" is a distinct word, and not a modern representative of M.E. *stapeled*.

The original name is clearly shown, the repeated mediæval renderings leaving no room for doubt. Its construction and meaning are also clear: a compound of two M.E. words, the 1st., rendered *stapled* and *stapeled,-e*, an adjective, and the 2nd., *hall,-e*, a noun: the stapled hall. The O.E. noun *stapol*, *stapel*, *stapul*, meant "a post, pillar, or column"; and its use in charters and other ancient documents is frequent. Its adjectival form, *stapled*, in connection with a building, has the sense of pillared, and "stapled hall" thus means a hall, or house, distinguished by pillars or columns—*i.e.*, pillared hall.\*

Other mediæval names of similar construction may be noted, such as "Ryngedehall" (the ringed hall, or hall adorned with or distinguished by a ring or rings), near Knightrider Street, City, mentioned in 1352 (P.R.O. Anc. Deed C.189); "la Coppedehalle" (the copped, or crested, hall: the hall adorned or distinguished by a crest or head), in the parish of St. John, Walbrook, in 1267 (B. Mus. MS. Harleian 50, G.49); the "Shyngledehalle" (shingled hall, or hall with wooden tiles or shingles) in Romney Marsh, 1349 (Inquisitions Post Mortem)—also "Shyngeldewell" (the shingled well), in 1325 (Charter Rolls) and 1331 (Ldn. Coroners Roll), now the village of Shinglewell, near Gravesend. There was also a tenement, etc., in Bradwell, Essex, called the "Tiled Hall" in 1489-90 (Inquisitions); and other instances may be adduced from Place Names.

The final *-ed* of *stapeled* is dropped when the hall is next named in the records, and it is then "le Stapelhalle"<sup>16</sup> (Hustings Roll 135, No. 14, 9 Hy. IV, *i.e.* 1407-8), thus indicating a simplification of the name-sound, such as is so frequently observed in Place Names, and about thirty years

\* Dr. Henry Bradley confirms this etymology.

<sup>16</sup> In the following century another "Staple Hall-e" in the City is noted: 1546, "the house of Lord St. John called Staple Halle" by "the church of the Augustinian Friars" (State "Letters and Papers, Domestic"); and again in 1572 and 1577 (Inq. P.M., Ldn. ii and iii).

later "Hall" has been changed to "Inn" (Early Chanc. Proc. B139, No. 122; A.D. 1439) and the progression of the name is completed.

ITS SUPPOSED CONNECTION WITH THE WOOL STAPLE. This simplification to "Staple" of the first word in the name seem to have given rise to the conjectured association with the wool staple. I have endeavoured to trace its origin. Stow, usually so well informed on such points, has no explanation of the name to offer; he merely says of "Staple Inne" . . . "whereof so named I am ignorant" (Survey, ed. Kingsford, ii, 40). The earliest suggestion of such a connection which I can find is a passage written by Sir Geo. Buck in 1612, in his "The Third University," which is included in the edition of Stow's "Annales" published in 1631, wherein (p. 1075) he writes: "Staple Inne was the Inne or Hostell of the Merchants of the Staple (as the tradition is), wherewith until I can learn better matter concerning the antiquity and foundation thereof, I must rest satisfied", that is, he "gives it for what it is worth" and without vouching for or testifying to its foundation in fact. Dugdale, in his "Origines Juridicales" (Cap. lxxviii, p. 310), published in 1670, writes of Staple Inn: "This (as we have by tradition) was heretofore called Staple Hall, being a place where merchants for wools had their meetings," repeating the "tradition" as Buck had done before him, albeit with more preciseness, such as might accompany the addition of another half-century to the age of the "tradition." Wm. Herbert, in his "Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery," 1804 (p. 347), writes: "Staple Inn is traditionally reported to have been called 'Staple Hall,' and to have been anciently a sort of exchange or meeting place for the wool merchants or staplers": again handing on the "tradition," and with caution.

I find more definiteness of statement in two recent books on Staple Inn. The first is Dr. Cato Worsfold's deservedly popular handbook, which is sold at the Inn, "Staple Inn

and Its Story," in which, on p. 29, he writes: "The exact date of the wool staplers taking up their abode at the Inn which was afterwards to bear the name of their commodity is not definitely known, but they appear to have had their warehouse here at a very early period, the Staple of Westminster being specifically removed in 1375 (Edward III) to 'a place called Staple Inn in Holborn.' This is referred to by Adam Anderson in his 'History of Commerce,' and the fact of the place to which the wool was removed being already known as Staple Inn clearly points to the spot having then already acquired a certain reputation in connection with the trade."<sup>17</sup> The second is "Staple Inn," by Elijah Williams, F.R.G.S., a valuable work, published in 1906, by a gentleman connected with the Prudential Assurance Company--the owners of the freehold of the Inn, to whom we are greatly indebted for their generous and excellent treatment and maintenance of this invaluable memorial. Therein Mr. Williams (p. 99) writes: "Adam Anderson, in his 'Origin of Commerce,' says that in 1375 the staple was removed from Westminster to a place called Staple Inn, in Holborn, but he gives no authority for the statement."

On turning to Adam Anderson, the authority cited by both these writers for the removal of the staple from Westminster to Staple Inn, I find that the passage in Anderson's work ("An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce," 1801, four vols. 4to), which appears in Vol. I, p. 367, is as follows: "In the 7th vol., p. 202, of the 'Fœdera' it also appears, under this same year (1378), that the staple for the port of London had, ever since the year 1375, been removed from Westminster, and, in all probability, to the place which still gives a name to an inn of

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<sup>17</sup> Dr. Worsfold's book was published in 1903, and he evidently had not noticed the two Stapled Halls in Dr. Sharpe's Calendar of Wills (1889), while the Corporation Letter Books E. and F., which give information anent another Stapled Hall, were not published until 1903-4. I may remark in passing that "Staple Inn" was not the name attached to the place in 1375.

chancery to this day, called Staple-inn, in Holborn." Anderson's "in all probability" is noteworthy and portentous, and I was not unprepared on running down the final authority in Rymer's "Fœdera." to find that it did not bear out the statements for which it forms the actual basis. The record in Rymer (Records edition, IV, 50) is dated October, 1378, and states that the King ordered an inquisition as to the non-payment of rents of certain houses within the staple of Westminster, granted by the late King to the Dean and Canons of St. Stephen's; and the inquisition duly reported its finding, that the premises had been unoccupied since Michaelmas, 1375, to date, the rents having been unpaid owing to the removal of the staple, and that "therefore the houses of the aforesaid staple for the time aforesaid for the greater part remain vacant and unoccupied." There is no mention nor indication of the place to which the staple had removed, and no ground whatever for any assumption on the point. We are still without evidence of any connection between Staple Inn and the Wool Staple; and Sir Geo. Buck's "tradition" seems to have arisen from an assumption that the contemporary form of the name (*i.e.*, in Buck's time, as now, "Staple" Inn) was the original form: a very common form of error which has led to many false etymologies for Place Names.

Another etymology based upon the present form of this name has been suggested by Prof. W. R. Lethaby in his "Pre-Conquest London" (p. 117) and by the late Sir Laurence Gomme in "The Making of London" (p. 169), viz., from the proximity of the staples or posts which formed the "bar" across Holborn. This is *prima facie* reasonable, but it must give way to the facts: (*a*) that the original name is actually on record—which naturally takes precedence of any conjectures or theories concerning it—and (*b*) that this original name has a meaning distinct from "Hall at (or by, or near) the Staples."

The appearance of the name as Staple Inn in 1439 may be taken as an indication that the Inn of Chancery was then in existence; and it is not improbable that its formation was about contemporary with that of Macworth (Barnards) Inn and of the similar Inns in the Strand, viz., about, 1415.

The date of the adoption of the Woolpack as a device of Staple Inn is not known. It may very well have been early seventeenth century, or about the time the "tradition" arose. The Woolpack appears in one of the windows of the Hall, preceding a quantity of eighteenth century glass. It was and is the device of the Company of Woolmen. It does not appear in the Coat Armour of the Merchants of the Staple, which is thus described by Mr. Chas. Welch, F.S.A., in his "The Coat Armour of the City Livery Companies," p. 35:—"ARMS: Barry nebulée of six, argent and azure, on a chief gules a lion passant gardant or. CREST: A ram argent, armed and unguled or. SUPPORTERS: Two rams argent, armed and unguled or."

#### APPENDIX.

By the courtesy of Dean Robinson, I am enabled to print here the text of the boundaries of the land given or confirmed by Kg. Ethelred to Westminster Abbey in 1002, and also the translation of it by Prof. Skeat, with his notes and comments. The Charter is in the MS. known as the "Westminster Domesday," fol. 80b; and this transcript, translation, and notes are extracted from "Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster: A Study of the Abbey under Norman Rule," by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., F.S.A., pp. 168-9.

a. The transcript of the text:—

"Ærest of than hlawe into theoburnan, north anglang theoburnan to Cuforda, of Cuforda to wætlinga stræte, east andlang stræte to tham setle. of tham setle on hinan croftes

ge mære. thanon south to than ealdan stræte. of thare stræte eft to watlinga stræte. andlang strate to thare ealden werhrode. thanan to thas ealder mannes ge mære, thanan suth rihte to akemannestræte. west andlang stræte to cyrringe. thanon eft on thone hlawe.”

b. Prof. Skeat's translation :—

“First from the mound to Teoburne: northwards along Teoburne to Cuford. From Cuford to Watling street: eastwards along (the) street to the dwelling-place. From the dwelling-place to Hinan-croft's boundary. Thence southwards to the old street. From the street back to Watling street: along (the) street to the old gallows. Thence to the Alderman's boundary: thence southwards straight to Akeman's street. Westwards along (the) street to Cyrringe. Thence back to the mound.”

c. Notes by Prof. Skeat :—

“The copy seems to be a Norman scribe's copy, as it has a few mistakes which an A.S. scribe would hardly make :—

1. 1. *Theoburnan* : error for *Teo*—. *anglang* : for *andlang*.

1. 3. *hinan croft* had better be left as *Hinan-croft*, which is quite safe. It cannot here mean ‘hence,’ as that would require *hinan on* (not *on hinan*).

1. 4. *south* : Norman for *suth*. An important spelling, as *ou* for *u* in seldom found before 1300.

1. 5. *strate* : miswritten for *stræte*; quite inadmissible: *strete* was possible.

1. 5. *ealden* : for *ealdan*; *werhrode* : for *wearhrode*; *thanan* : better *thanon*; *ealder* : better *ealdor*.”

Dr. Robinson remarks here: “In view of these notes it is interesting to add—what the Professor did not know at the time—that the copy was made about the year 1306: this being the approximate date of the Westminster ‘Domesday’”; and he adds the following valuable comments by Prof. Skeat :—

“It is only safe to take *Hinancroft* as a proper name. It probably means ‘croft of the hind’ or farm-servant. But the history of the word ‘hind’ is imperfectly known, and this is the earliest example of the form *hinan*, with a final *n*.

It is even possible that *Hinan* is the gen. sing. of *Hina*; *ealder mannes* is the gen. of *ealderman*=‘alderman’; ‘old’ would be *ealdes* or *ealdan*.

You will see that I give an older boundary, about 959, which seems to go round the other way, and coincides for a short distance. 'From Cuford along Tyburn' instead of 'along T. to C.' [see below].

I find several points of interest.

1. *Teoburne* is the old form of *Tyburn*, which ought rather to have come out as *Teeburn*.

2. *Cuford*=Cu-ford=Cowford. It keeps *Oxford* in countenance!

3. Mention of *Akemann Street*, which went to *Akemannesceaster*, i.e. to *Bath*.

4. *Cyrringe*: inferior spelling of *Cerringa*, gen. pl. of *Cerringas*= 'the sons of Cerr,' in very early times pronounced *Kerr*, riming with the German *Herr*. It is the same name as *Charing* in Kent, which is mentioned A.D. 799. This is important, as it is by far the oldest mention of *Charing* in London. Places like this are found in all three forms: (1) nom. pl. *Cerringas*. (2) gen. pl. *Cerringa* (later *-ge*), (3) dat. pl. *Cerringum*. They indicate family settlements."

The "older boundary" to which Prof. Skeat refers is that given in the well-known charter of Kg. Edgar to the Abbey, which has been dealt with by London topographers in earlier vols. of these Transactions, in "Notes and Queries," and elsewhere. The ultimate source, as Dr. Robinson points out, is Charter No. 5 of the Westminster Muniments, from which he prints—on p. 170 of the same vol.—the following careful transcript, and he also gives an authoritative translation by Prof. Skeat:—

"Ærest up of temese. andlang merfleotes. to pollene stocce. swa on bulunga fenn. of tham fenne. æfter thær ealdan dic to cuforde. of cuforde upp andlang teoburnan to thær[e wide] here stræt: æfter thære here stræt to thære ealde stoccene sce andreas cyricean. swa innan lundene fenn. Andlang fennes sud on temese. on midden streame. andlang stremes be lande & be strande eft on merfleote."

Translation by Prof. Skeat:—

"First, up from the Thames along Mersfleet to Pollene-stock. So, to Bulungs' fen. From the fen, following the old dike, to Cuford. From Cuford, up along Teoburne, to the wide army-street: along the army-street to the old foundation of St.



Andrew's church. So, within London-fen. Along the fen southwards to the Thames to mid-stream [i.e. giving rights over the nearer half of the river]: along the stream, by land and by strand [i.e. along the edge, for those on foot], back to Merfleet."

The MS., "Westminster Charter V," from which the above boundary is extracted, is not the original, but a copy in a handwriting of the early 11th century.<sup>1</sup> It is transcribed in Widmore, from whom Kemble copies it in his "Codex Diplomaticus" (No. 569), and by Dr. W. de Gray Birch in his "Cartularium Saxonicum (No. 1048, vol. iii.)—the latter misspelling "teoburnan" as "teobernan"; and a facsimile, with translation, appears in the officially published Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS. (Pt. II, plate iv.) The grant (or confirmation), which in this copy is erroneously dated 951, seems to have been made about 971.<sup>1</sup> Between 971 and 1100 an expanded version of it was produced, "Westminster Charter No. VI,"<sup>2</sup> in which, in the fifth line as printed above, "sce. Andreas cyricean" becomes "Sce. Andreas on Holeburne."

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<sup>1</sup> Napier and Stevenson, "The Crawford Collection of Early Charters," etc., p. 90 [Series "Anecdota Oxoniensia," Clarendon Press, 1895].

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Birch's "Cartularium" No. 1351, vol. iii, from a transcript in the P.R.O.