

THE STRAND IN THE 17TH CENTURY ITS RIVER FRONT.

*A Lecture, illustrated by Lantern Views, delivered before the London and Middlesex
Archæological Society at Bishopsgate Institute, 26th February, 1919.*

BY

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ONE of the most fascinating occupations for the student of historical or other research is the pictorial reconstruction of the Past. He may be engaged in recalling the surface of the earth in past epochs from the evidence of buried strata, or in divining the shape and habits of an extinct animal from its bones; again, as an antiquary piecing together the life and habits of a people by exposing the foundations of their villages and the contents of their sepulchres, or reviving the forgotten forms of ancient monuments of antiquity by exploring their sites with the spade and ransacking contemporary records for chance details of form and colour; in all these the zest of the hunter is with the discoverer, promising the reward of a fuller vision into things which time has long since hid. It has often seemed to me, considering the untiring patience and exceeding diligence of those who are bent on saving all manner of things from oblivion, that too little care is taken in presenting the results in a form intelligible to—shall we call him?—the educated man in the street.

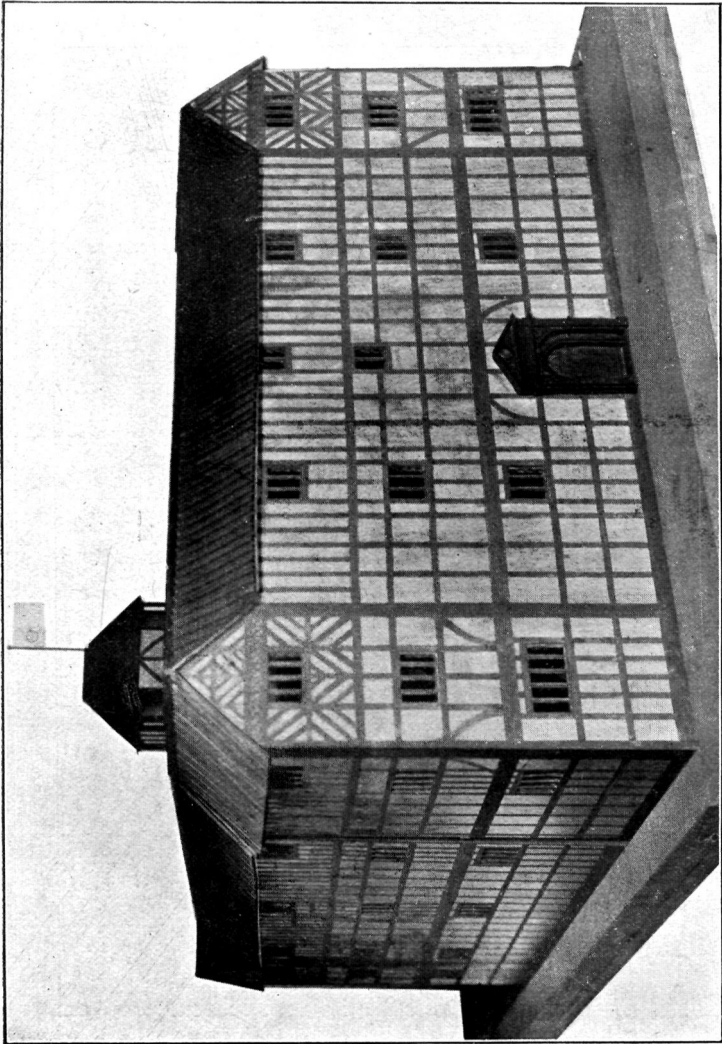
Consider, for instance, the enormously important part played by the greater monasteries in the social life of the country. The labours of men like Sir William St. John Hope and my friend Mr. A. W. Clapham have uncovered for us the plans of a great number of the religious houses and given the antiquary a mass of information regarding

the habits and duties of the monks. Yet to the layman in archæological matters the story of monastic life is to a large extent a sealed book, and an important chapter in English history remains for many unopened.

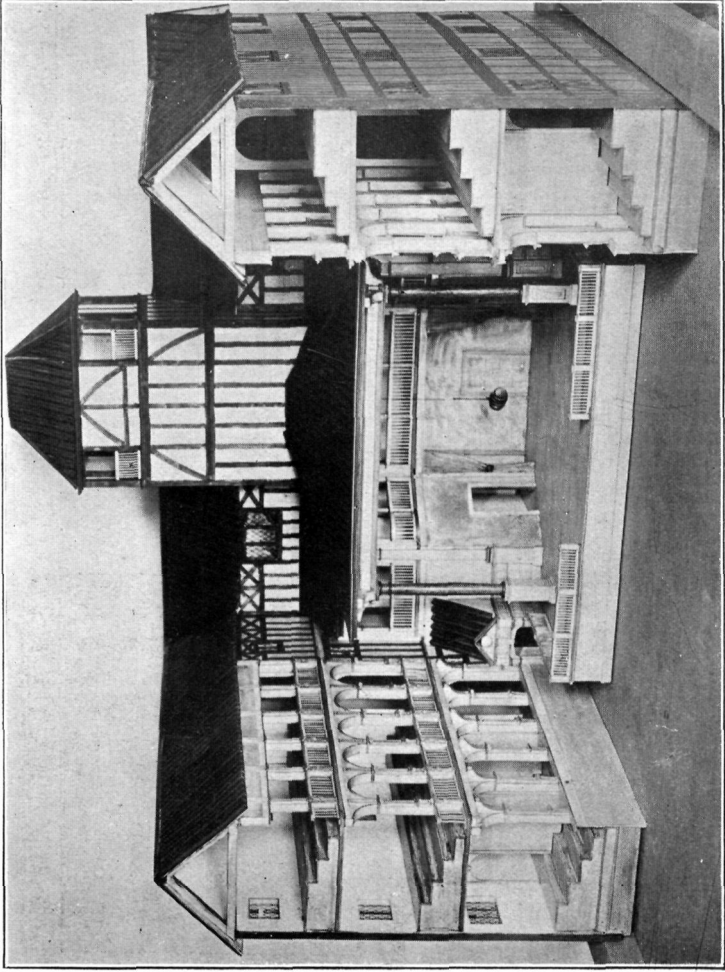
One of the readiest methods of visualising objects and buildings which are no longer to be visited and seen by us at the present time is by the construction of faithful scale models; and when I was invited to address you to-day it occurred to me that you might be interested in seeing views of a series of models in which I have attempted to show the beautiful houses built between the Strand and the north bank of the Thames as they appeared in the reign of Charles I. My friend Mr. J. P. Maginnis was some time ago invited to prepare a model of a part of seventeenth-century London for permanent exhibition at the London Museum, and I promised to make the necessary research and provide him with all the drawings and particulars available. The scheme was to include the River Palaces from Somerset House to Westminster Palace and the Abbey, but the models completed so far do not extend beyond the Strand. The result has, I venture to claim, a certain topographical value, and a few notes on the sources of information may prove useful in illustrating this method of reviving the past in a concrete and palpable form.

This was not the first occasion that I had had the pleasure of collaborating with Mr. Maginnis in this type of research, and I will ask your permission to show one or two slides touching on quite another London subject. Some years ago I was introduced by Mr. William Archer, the dramatic critic, to the specification of the Fortune Theatre, Golden Lane, preserved among the Alleyn records at Dulwich College. From its particulars I was enabled to form a reconstruction of this famous Elizabethan theatre,¹ and I was asked by Professor Brander Matthews to furnish a scale model of the building for the Dramatic Museum at

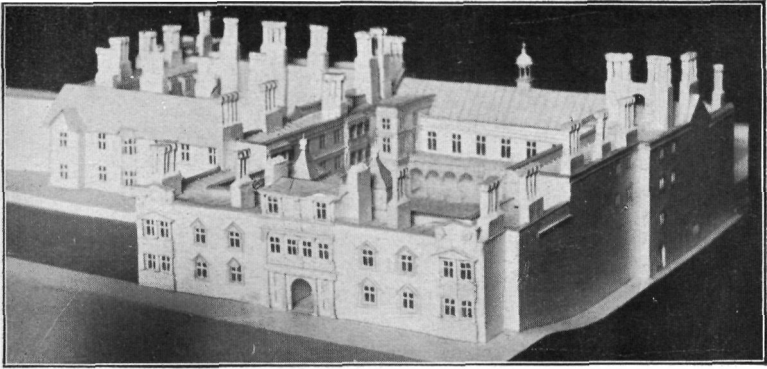
¹ See "Some Famous Buildings and their Story," by A. W. Clapham and W. H. Godfrey.



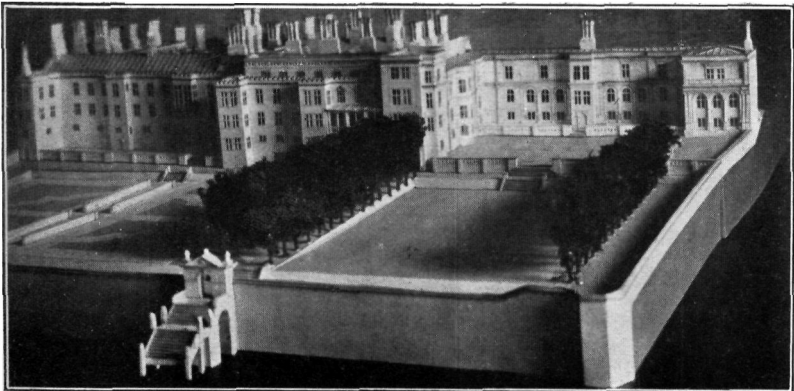
THE FORTUNE THEATRE.



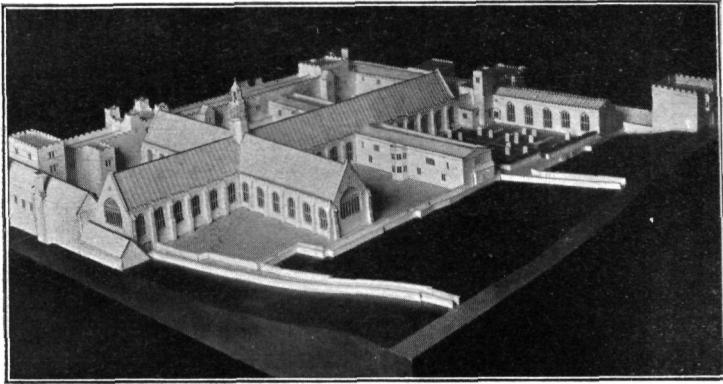
THE FORTUNE THEATRE, STAGE AND BOXES.



SOMERSET HOUSE, STRAND FRONT.

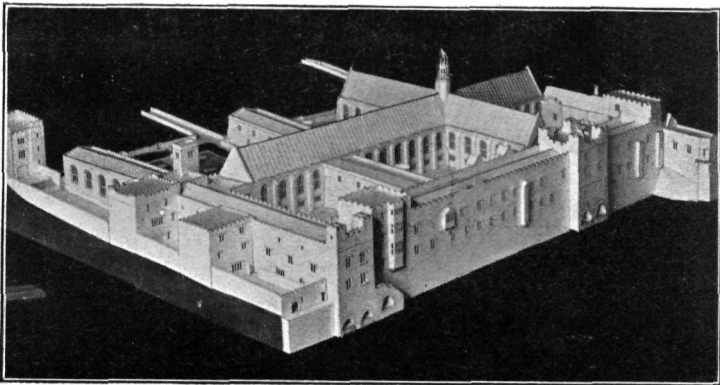


SOMERSET HOUSE, RIVER FRONT.



SAVOY PALACE.

STRAND FRONT, LOOKING WEST.



SAVOY PALACE.

RIVER FRONT, LOOKING EAST.

Columbia University. The model was carried out very successfully by Mr. Maginnis. You will see by this slide how clearly the arrangements of the stage, the roof over (or Heavens), the inner stage and musicians' loft, and the spectators' galleries are shown by the simple process of rebuilding the theatre on a miniature scale. This encouraged me to further efforts, and a second model was built for Professor Brander Matthews' museum, this time a representation of the stage of Drury Lane while under Garrick's management, the stage being set for the screen scene in the "School for Scandal."¹ The theatre had just been re-decorated by Robert Adam and sufficient material existed to give a trustworthy reproduction of practically every detail.

These two trial models satisfied me that, provided one could obtain sufficient details to make a correct plan of a given building, together with views, descriptions, or other data concerning its elevation, it was quite feasible to attain a tolerably faithful reconstruction, and I commenced to gather materials for the Strand models which I will now show you.

But first a word generally on the sources of information. These may be classified roughly in four groups: (1) cartographical, (2) pictorial, (3) architectural, and (4) documentary. The first group, comprising the maps and plans of districts, has been freely drawn upon by historical writers, but the absence of correct methods of surveying and the use of the bird's-eye view representation of buildings occasion many inconsistencies in the early plans and leave a number of essential points in doubt. However, we are fortunate in having for this part of London the excellent plans of Norden and Hollar, both conscientious and accurate draughtsmen. These maps require, nevertheless, very careful collating, and from the limitation of the scale any considerable details can scarcely be expected. The second group—pictorial

¹ See "The Apron Stage of the 18th Century as Illustrated at Drury Lane," in *The Architectural Review*, February, 1915.

records—includes paintings, drawings and engravings, and sketches by contemporary artists. London is fortunate in having been the subject of the pencil and brush of many topographical artists, but the river front has been rather too often depicted from a few favourite points of view. It is important for the student to seek the original work of the artist and to beware of copies and engravings. Hollar's work especially has suffered from such versions as appear in Wilkinson's "Londina Illustrata." The third group—that of contemporary architectural drawings—is the one which has been left comparatively unused by topographers, and yet it is the most accurate and the richest in suggestion for those who can read a plan or an elevation. The collections of John Thorpe (at the Soane Museum), of Smithson (once in the possession of Lord Byron and now in that of Col. Coke), and those of many other private archives furnish us with invaluable evidence of buildings which have long since been destroyed. The fourth group—composed of written documentary records as opposed to plans—is chiefly concerned with deeds relating to the change of ownership of properties, and a vast amount of valuable evidence from this source has been collected and published for most parts of London in recent years.

Since maps and plans touch the general part of my subject, I must refer you first to Norden's and Hollar's views. Norden in the time of Elizabeth had had his forerunners, and Wyngaerde should especially be mentioned as affording most valuable evidence of London in the early part of the sixteenth century. It is impossible now and indeed unnecessary for me to linger over the relative value of the fine series of plans of London which have been the subject of the excellent reproduction and criticisms of the London Topographical Society. Norden's map of 1593 illustrates the main problem I have before me, and Hollar's bird's-eye view of West-Central London shows a portion in considerable detail.

Now let us consider the first and the largest of the Strand houses—Somerset House. You will remember that it was built by Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, the Lord Protector in 1549. John Stow, writing concerning this site, says: "All which to wit, the parish of St. Mary at Strand, Strand Inn, Strand Bridge with the lane under it, the Bishop of Chester's Inn, the Bishop of Worcester's Inn with all the Tenements adjoining, were by commandment of Edward, Duke of Somerset, uncle paternal to Edward the Sixth and Lord Protector, pulled down and made level ground in the year 1549. In place whereof he builded that large and goodly house now called Somerset House." After Somerset's execution, the house was placed at the disposal of the Princess Elizabeth, but it was not until the accession of James I that it became the home of the Queens of England—from the time of Queen Anne of Denmark until the year that Catherine of Braganza left her Court there—while during the Commonwealth it was used by the Government, and on Cromwell's death his body was taken there and lay in state in the Great Hall. It was pulled down in 1775 and the present building was raised by Sir William Chambers in the same year. The original work of the Protector formed one of the earliest designs of purely renaissance detail in the country, and there has been considerable controversy as to its authorship. The north or Strand elevation is preserved for us in a scale drawing in the Thorpe collection in the Soane Museum, which also gives a plan of the quadrangle; and there are several views showing the same front at different periods. It shows a fully developed classical treatment, which is very much in advance of contemporary building in 1550. Through the gateway one entered a courtyard of similar design which is shown in a careful drawing from the Crace collection. The arcade in front masks the Great Hall which, in conformity with the usual plan, occupied the range of buildings opposite the entrance.

chiefly at the Restoration, the principal alteration having been the rebuilding of the Great Hall, including the much-admired river front, after the designs of Inigo Jones. I desired to get behind this and show the Protector's old Hall and the original south front, which—possibly from the incorporation of earlier buildings—was of a character more Tudor than Classic. Just at this time Mr. J. A. Gotch communicated to the R.I.B.A. his interesting examination of the drawings ascribed to an architect of the Elizabethan period named Smithson, and I was delighted to find among them the plan of which this view shows a rough tracing. You see that the chief courtyard—a plan of which is in the Thorpe collection—is given in outline only, but complete details appear of the “newe addition” which Queen Anne of Denmark built from 1607-1610. A second or smaller courtyard appears, and the long gallery or ballroom, while the proposed layout of the gardens is shown and the avenues leading to the river stairs.

Having got the plan and the elevation of the Strand front and principal courtyard, my next problem was the river front. By good fortune a fine painting of the Thames by Cornelius Bol preserved in the Dulwich Art Gallery shows Somerset House in the foreground at this period. The painter has got a little confused in the number of projecting or re-entrant angles, but on the whole he is an excellent guide and shows the walls, as we should expect them, of a warm brick colour.

Details of the new wing and of various other parts of the front were obtained from later views, from engravings of Hollar and Knyff and from a tinted drawing by Thomas Sandby, who lectured in the old building in 1773, when the Royal Academy had apartments there. Knyff's view shows the Chapel built for Charles I's Queen by Inigo Jones, with the house occupied by the priests to the south.

Fascinating as is the study of Somerset House, the next building westward—the Palace of the Savoy—presents an

equally delightful problem. Here we have to do with a fabric of great antiquity, for the original buildings are ascribed to Peter, Earl of Savoy and of Richmond, and to the year 1245. Through Henry the III's Queen Eleanor it passed to her son Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. Stow tells us that Henry, Duke of Lancaster, repaired—or rather new-built—it until there was none in the realm to be compared with it in beauty or in stateliness. But the Kentish rebels of 1381 loved not John of Gaunt and they burnt and destroyed the building very thoroughly. "Of latter time," says Stow, "it came to the King's hands and was again raised and beautifully built for an Hospital of St. John Baptist by King Henry VII about the year 1509, for the which Hospital, retaining still the name of Savoy, he purchased lands to be employed upon the relieving of an hundred poor people."

Although its function as a hospital was short-lived, the Savoy's title to fame rests chiefly on this princely foundation. The story of the great mediæval almshouses or hospitals is not as generally known as it should be, nor are the details too familiar to the student of those quiet, church-like buildings formed on the models of the monastic infirmaries, where the sick and aged lay in beds along the nave, and the church offices were sung in the chancel or hospital chapel. The appointments of the Savoy Hospital were worthy of a King's bounty, and the buildings were magnificent and not by any means in keeping with Henry VII's reputation for parsimony. From Virtue's view prepared for "*Vetusta Monumenta*" it would appear that a portion at least of the old riverside palace remained at the water's edge and needed nothing more than a certain amount of rebuilding and repair. Behind this, however, we see the great cruciform hospital entirely new-built by the King, and also a new range of buildings running down to the river on the west, the northern end of which is the only part that remains to-day—the Chapel Royal of the Savoy.

Virtue's restoration may be compared with the bird's-eye view of Hollar, which I have already shown you, the distant view of the place in Cornelius Bol's picture, and also an original sketch by Hollar. When Hollar was preparing his bird's-eye view of West Central London and also his general view, he apparently took a boat on the Thames and made a series of delicate pencil sketches of each building. A number of these are preserved in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, but until recently they were only to be found in published form, in the engraved version of Wilkinson's "Londina Illustrata." When I visited the Library at Cambridge I was at once struck with the liberties which the engraver had taken with the originals, conveying in several cases an entire misconception of detail, and I had the pencil sketches photographed for reproduction. This one of the Savoy shows therefore the river bank just as it appeared to Hollar in the reign of Charles I, if we may take it that they were prepared for his view of 1647.

As you may imagine, the necessity for a trustworthy plan was very great in the case of a building of so extensive a nature as this, but here again fortune favoured me, for among Sir William Chambers' drawings I discovered a careful survey of the whole Savoy property which gave me practically all the essential points which I required. Virtue's engraved plan also assisted in a general way. I have not time to recall all the extant sketches and drawings which go to help in the reconstruction of minor details, but the engraving showing the Chapel Royal and the inner gatehouse gives us an intimate view of part of these magnificent Tudor buildings. Something, too, can be gleaned from the actual site, and no doubt many of you have noticed that there are still remains of the street gatehouse at the back of one of the houses in the Strand.

With the next group of buildings westward I have not been so fortunate in the matter of materials for reconstruction. Stow says of the property extending westwards of the

Savoy boundary as far as the way to the Thames under Ivy Bridge in the Strand—the eastern limit of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields—that it was “sometime the Bishop of Carlisle's Inn, which now belongeth to the Earl of Bedford and is called Russell or Bedford House.” He adds that over against Ivy Bridge “Sir Robert Cecil, principal secretary to His Majesty, hath lately raised a large and stately house of brick and timber, as also levelled and paved the highway near adjoining, to the great beautifying of that street and commodity of passengers.” There were then two houses on the remaining portion of the Lancaster property, (1) the one called by Stow Russell or Bedford House, from the Earl of Bedford, but afterwards renamed Worcester House when occupied by Edward, Second Marquis of Worcester, and (2) Salisbury House, the town House of the builder of Hatfield. Of neither of these houses have I been able to discover a ground plan, although I have little doubt that they will turn up some day.

In default of plans, I have had to fall back on such views as exist and the only really helpful ones are those by Hollar. His bird's-eye view shows Worcester House as a quadrangle apparently refronted towards the river upon which looks a row of Jacobean gables. This house was occupied by the great Lord Clarendon and it was here that the marriage took place between his daughter, Ann Hyde, and the Duke of York. Salisbury House appears as a characteristic example of Elizabethan building, the main block having an open courtyard to the Strand, with four staircase turrets, and an extension westward ending in a tower which stood near Ivy Lane. Corroborating evidence from the same source is afforded by Hollar's pencil drawings which give a picture of both houses as seen from the river. Salisbury House must have been a fine building and it would be of great interest if fuller information could be obtained of its details. In the Record Office there is a curious specification of a tower built at the water's edge apparently at the end of Ivy Lane,

in which all its constructional and decorative features are minutely described. A conventional representation of the tower appears in a plan of the locality given in the 1720 Edition of Stow's "Survey of London."

West of Ivy Lane we enter the City of Westminster and the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields. Here was the ancient inn or palace of the Bishop of Durham, a site of great historical interest now covered by the buildings of the Adelphi. It will give my remarks greater clearness if I show you at once a tracing of a remarkable plan dated 1626 which was published by the late Dr. T. N. Brushfield, and since reproduced by the London Topographical Society in collotype.¹ I make no apology for showing you a tracing which does not pretend to produce the old effect of the drawing or inscription, but which makes the arrangement clearly visible. This plan was prepared to accompany a report on a disturbance which took place among the servants of the Spanish Ambassador who was then lodged in Durham House. It is a rough ground plan with the elevation of some of the walls shown on the plan, a method somewhat confusing to the eye but valuable in giving an indication of the character of the buildings. The precincts of the Palace had already been given over to the builders; the site of the stables along the Strand is seen to be occupied by a Bazaar called the New Exchange or Britain's Bourse which Cecil had built as a rival to the Royal Exchange. The great gateway was, however, still standing. Between the Exchange and the Great Court of the Palace was a way to the Thames which passed west of the Court and so to the river stairs beneath a massive tower. Two private houses, one belonging to Sir Thomas Wilson, first manager of the New Exchange, and the other occupied by Sir Robert Cotton, are also shown.

The Palace buildings, originally erected in the reign of Henry III by Bishop Beck, the builder of Eltham Palace,

¹ The plans and drawings referred to in connection with Durham House and also Northumberland House are reproduced in "Some Famous Buildings and their Story."

show a normal type of mediæval dwelling, that is to say a great hall, aisled (according to Norden), with apartments to the west end and further buildings to the east with a north wing from which the Chapel projects at right angles. You can see that the door to the Hall is not at the end, and from this circumstance, and the type of windows, it is tolerably certain that it dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries and bears out Stow's ascription to Thomas Hatfield, Bishop 1345-1381. The chapel with its semi-octagonal apse is probably later. Now, Norden and Hollar both bear out the general arrangement shown, and the former quite clearly indicates the Chapel. Hollar's drawing shows the river front and enables us to reconstruct this fine house with tolerable accuracy. You will see that the Hall stands back in Hollar's drawing from the river wall, and I suggest that from the artist's position on the river, he could see only the upper parts of the windows on the south side. Wilkinson's engraver in his "Londina Illustrata," interprets the arched heads of the windows as an arcaded corbel table, but a close examination of the drawing has convinced me he is in error. The lower part of the windows probably existed behind the river wall, but in any case it seems clear that there was a space or passage between the hall and the parapet overlooking the Thames.

You can see where Hollar indicates the gables of the south side of the New Exchange behind Durham House. There are several views of the Exchange in its later days when it was shorn of its early glory, but it was not until Mr. Gotch showed me the Smithson drawings that any original drawings of it had come to light. The drawings which I will now show you were uninscribed, and when Mr. Gotch asked me if I could identify them, it occurred to me that the plan showed just the arrangement of the Durham House Court, and on further investigation no doubt remained of its being the very drawing that I sought.

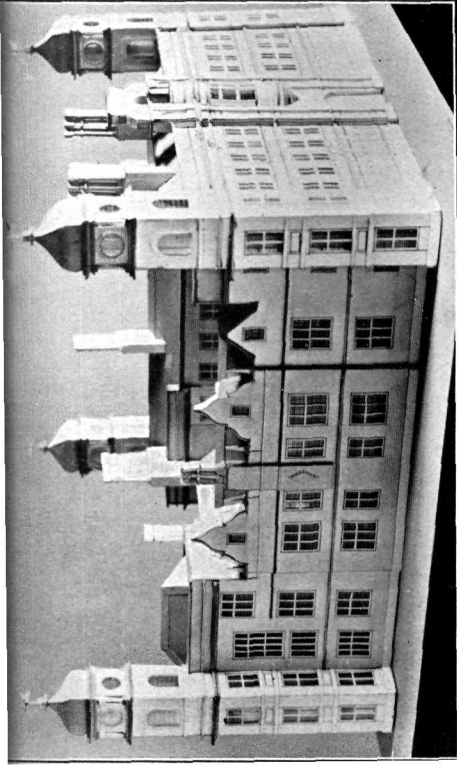
The internal arrangements of the Exchange show an inner and an outer walk which was repeated on both floors,

each walk being occupied with small booths or shops, the space allowed for the latter being $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and for the walk 10 feet. A large number of small traders, such as jewellers and milliners, took advantage of this method of showing their wares, which was already in vogue at the Royal Exchange, and James I followed Elizabeth's precedent in regard to the latter building by opening it in person, naming it at the same time "Britain's Bourse." At one time, notably at the Restoration, the place became very fashionable and the trade was extremely brisk. A basement (the steps to which are shown in the 1626 plan and are marked "the alehouse where the priest was taken") was let as a tavern, and here, too, it seems that Pepys went for his daily glass of whey when that drink was in fashion. The tavern underneath is referred to in a series of verses entitled "The Bourse of Reformation," written in 1658 in alternate praise and depreciation of the Old and New Exchanges.

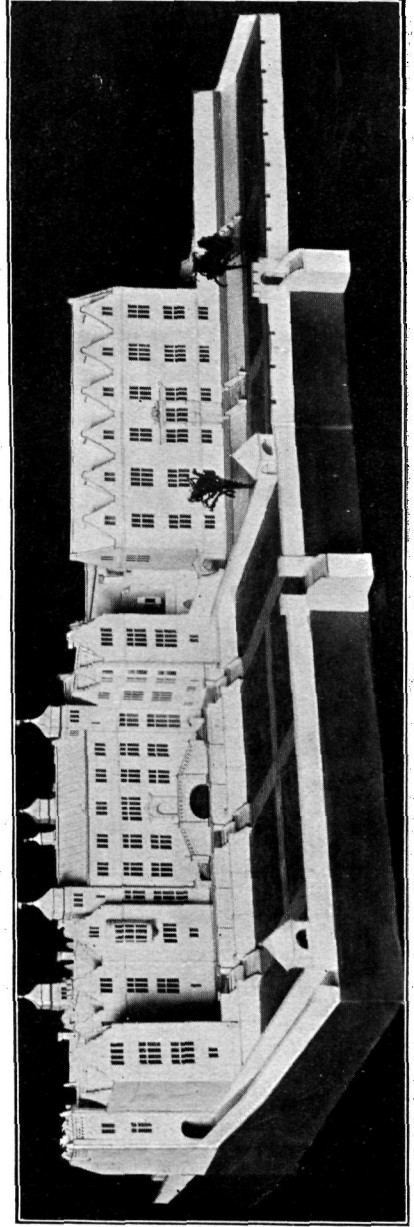
The elevation shows a very light and deft treatment of the architectural motifs in use in the time of James I. It sheds an interesting light on contemporary ideas of commercial building, and certainly the whole scheme is a most attractive one. The long arcade below, well buttressed by the solid ends and centre-piece; the rhythmic spacing of the pilasters; and the variation in the position and shape of the gables combine to give the building a charm and gaiety which must have attracted people to its walks.

It should be mentioned that the gate-house, east of the Exchange, was pulled down in 1790, but a good view of it is shown in Smith's "Antiquities of Westminster."

I must pass by York House, which George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, acquired, building on the site a temporary structure pending a more ambitious scheme which was never realised. Although York Stairs and Water Gate remain to remind us of his ambition, the area is a difficult one for investigation, and little that is tangible has come to light. I will therefore bring my remarks to a close with a brief



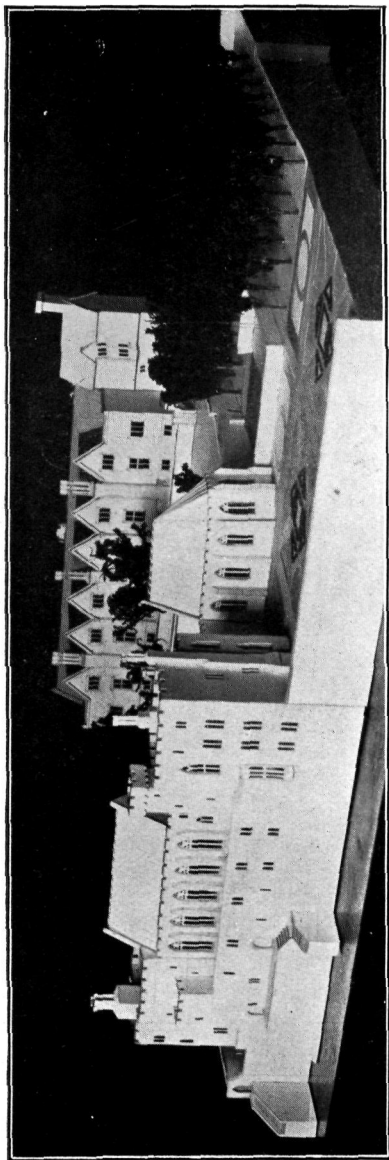
NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, c. 1650.



SALISBURY HOUSE.

RIVER FRONT.

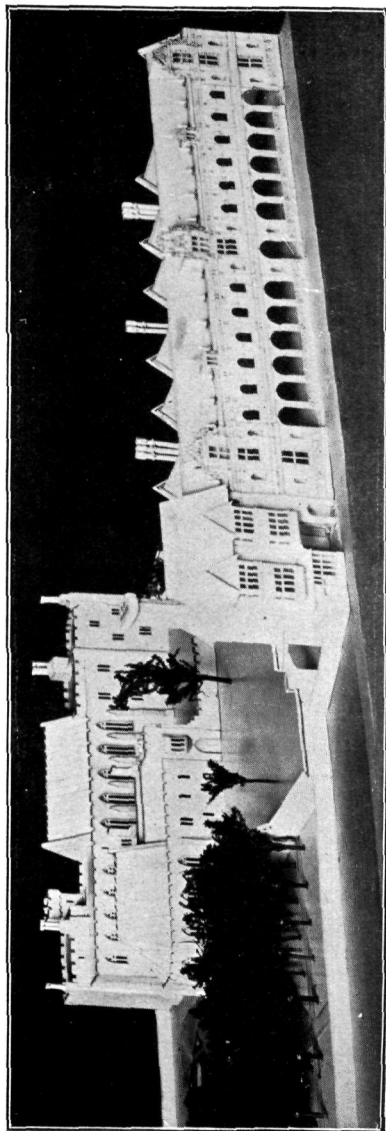
WORCESTER HOUSE.



DURHAM HOUSE.

RIVER FRONT.

NEW EXCHANGE.



DURHAM HOUSE.

STRAND FRONT.

NEW EXCHANGE.

reference to Northumberland House, the last of the group of models so far completed.

The House was built about the year 1605 by Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton, to whom we owe three beautiful Almshouses, all dedicated to the Holy Trinity, at Castle Rising, Clun, and Greenwich. Stow speaks of the site in his day as formerly "an Hospital of St. Marie Rouncivelle, by Charing Cross, where a fraternity was founded in the fifteenth of Edward IV; but now the same is suppressed and turned into tenements." The valuable *Smithson Collection* has provided me with an interesting plan of the house with figured dimensions, and shows also the long garden that sloped towards the river. Its terraces at a later date were praised by Evelyn, who tells us in his little book, "Fumifugium," an early treatise on the smoke problem, that its flowers were "wrapped in a horrid cloud of smoke, issuing from a brewery or two contiguous to that noble Palace." You see that the plan of the house is quite typical of its date, a great Hall 73 ft. by 43 ft., with two oriel windows facing south, a great staircase in the east wing, a cloistered walk against the hall in the courtyard like that at Somerset House, and the four square turrets to the external angles of the quadrangle which gave the house its special appearance from the river.

Hollar's drawing of the house in the *Pepsian Collection* is quite the clearest and the most charming of the series. You will see it is called here *Suffolk House*, by which name it had been known since its occupation by the Howards, Earls of Suffolk, and even after it had passed in 1642 to Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, who married Lady Elizabeth Howard, granddaughter of the builder of the House. In 1682, by the marriage of another Elizabeth the property went to Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, whose son was created Earl of Northumberland. Yet a third lady of the name of Elizabeth conveyed the house to Sir Hugh

Smithson, who assumed the name and arms of Percy and was made Duke of Northumberland.

The building, at the time of its demolition in 1874, had seen many alterations and a partial rebuilding after a fire in 1780. It has been often stated that the House had originally only three sides and that the tenth Earl of Northumberland added the fourth side, towards the river. Apart from the improbability that the only reasonable site for the hall should have remained unfilled, I think we may consider the story disposed of by the Smithson plan and by the fact that Hollar's view bears out in the main the early character of the south front. It is possible, of course, that Inigo Jones designed some alterations for this part of the building, but a note in Evelyn's Diary would put the work at a later date. Writing in 1658, he says, "The new front towards the gardens is tolerable were it not drowned by a too massy and clumsy pair of stairs of stone without any neat invention." This was six years after Inigo Jones's death and a much longer period after he had gone into retirement.

The front of Northumberland House, facing the Strand, is a much more familiar subject in illustrations of Old London. There are views by Canaletto and Samuel Scott, and there is even a photograph of it in its final and very much restored state. Better known perhaps is the engraving after Canaletto (? Samuel Scott), which shows the Jacobean centre-piece and oriel over the gateway so reminiscent of Bramshill. The parapet was originally formed of letters like that at Audley End, to both of which Evelyn refers, and in the Register of Burials in St. Martin's in the Fields we learn that a young man was killed by the fall of the letter S.

I have, I fear, in a somewhat thin and bald manner, sketched for you the sources which can be utilised in such a reconstruction of a past phase of London as you have seen attempted in these models. My main purpose, however, is to plead for a greater effort towards the visualisation of the past, and to show its value in any complete scheme of education. It is well known that the antiquary has a decided

leaning towards the prehistoric periods, and a penchant for the curious bye-paths, rather than the great highway of history itself. Yet archæology is in truth a handmaid of History, and her powers of observation, her industry and success in elucidating many an obscure problem, would be of immense service if made more generally available. Especially is this so in Topography, a subject which has suffered from the facile pens of many ill-informed writers, but which has ever attracted the antiquary and genealogist, and should always form part of the equipment of the biographer. I would urge, then, that not only should our public libraries and local institutions make it their business to collect both pictorial and documentary records—imitating the work, so enthusiastically carried out, of the Bishopsgate Institute—but also attempt a careful comparison and synthesis of the material thus collected so as to present an accurate and intelligible view to those not versed in the technicalities of research.

I have often felt that we attach too much importance to the limitations of both space and time. Things of the same age, though far apart in space, are bound together by much that is common. Other things separated by years, even centuries, are linked together by their common site and position. It is for the human mind to overcome these limitations and barriers, to eliminate space and time as obstacles in the realisation of historical events, and to take a firm hold of the idea of the solidarity of human experience. The more we know of the past, the more we shall understand of what is called the present—if, indeed, we can call anything present but the elusive fragment of time that hangs suspended between what is gone and what is to be. The whole of every living man's experience is as much the past as the life of Julius Cæsar, but we are wont to call the present just so much as we can retain of actual sense-impressions. The more vividly we can ourselves see and help others to see what occurred before we were born, the richer we make our heritage and the more complete we make our knowledge of the possibilities of life.