ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, CORNHILL

BY

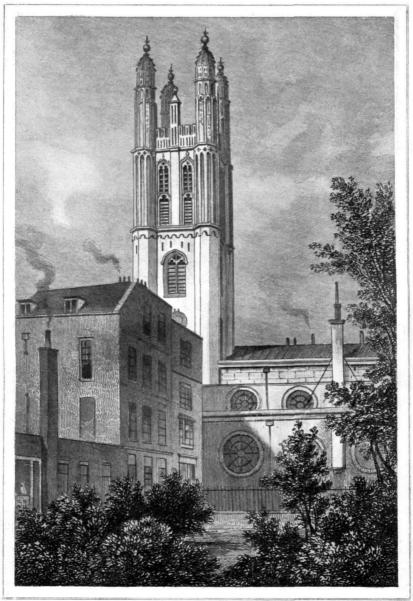
SIR EDWARD W. BRABROOK, C.B., F.S.A., President.

[An address in part delivered at the Church 19th June, 1920.]

In addressing the Society on 16th February, 1912, I said, "It seems always a pity that any Church should be demolished; and when the Church is an ancient one, or one beautiful for its architecture, or specially venerable for its associations, the destruction amounts to a scandal." St. Michael's, Cornhill, is one of the Churches inperilled by a recent report; but we are not to assume that for that reason it is condemned. The last word in City Churches rests with the vestry of the parish, and we are justified in asking them to abide firmly by their rights and duties.

The grounds upon which the demolition of City Churches is frequently suggested are (1) that the resident population of the parishes has diminished, (2) that the sites are of great value for commercial purposes, (3) that the money derived from the sale of the sites might be usefully spent in building and endowing a Church in the suburbs. As to this, the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield says forcibly: "If suburban people want Churches, they should follow the example of their forefathers, and make sacrifices in order to build them. The City merchants of old did so, and it is not for their descendants to pull down the Churches they built. These Churches tell the story of ancient civic life, and point the way to higher things." His argument applies very strongly to the case of St. Michael's, which has a continuous history of at least 865 years.

This takes us back to the year 1055. How much further back the history might be traced I cannot tell. The high ground occupied by this parish was probably the site of the first settlement here of the ancient Celtic or British inhabitants. It was undoubtedly the site of the first Roman settlement, leaving the



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Engraved by W. Watkins.

ST. MICHAEL'S, CORNHILL.

Walbrook on its Western side. In digging the foundation of No. 50, Cornhill in 1891 Roman walls and wells were unearthed, with a coin of Constantine, bearing the Christian monogram.*

In 1125 one Edward de Cornhill, a member of the Cnighten Gild, had land here. His son-in-law Gervase took the name of Cornhill in right of his wife; and their son Henry is described by Mr. Page as a justicier and sheriff of London and leader of the Conservative party. The Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, edited for the Corporation by Dr. Sharpe, contains much information as to the parishioners of St. Michael, and the attachment they manifested to their Church.

In 1271-2, Laurence Joyce, son of John Joyce, leaves to Dame Johanna, his sister, all his houses in the parish of St. Michael de Corhulle.

In 1281, Henry le Wimpler (whose name seems to indicate his occupation) leaves to Johanna, his daughter, in tail, houses in the parish of St. Michael de Cornhulle.

In 1293-4, Edmund de Hetersete left to Elena his wife his tenement upon Cornhulle for life; but she claimed three messauges in the parish of St. Michael as having been given to her in frank-marriage by William de Sancto Geronimo, her father. In the same year, Ralph le Lou left a tenement in the parish to Mabel, his wife, for life, with remainder to William his son; but William de Evere challenged the will on the ground that the testator had only a life interest and that the reversion was in him. W. de Evere.

In 1298, Hamo Box left rents for the maintenance of a chantry in the parish of St. Michael upon Cornhill, and to Margaret his daughter, who appears to have been the wife of John de Camoys, his tenement in the same parish.

In 1306, Robert de Fingrie left to Avice, his wife, his shop in the parish for life, with remainder to Simon, his son, charged

^{*} Since this was written, Roman walling has been discovered under 56 and 57, Cornhill, Mr. W. C. Edwards states that in his opinion St. Peter's and St. Michael's may be the most ancient churches in Great Britain.

See *The Times* 29th Sept., 1922.

with the maintenance of a chantry in the Church of St. Michael; but Simon challenged the will on the ground that he was heir of Robert by his former wife Juliana, and that Robert had no right to devise the tenement.

In 1307-8, Margery de Abiton left her tenement in the parish to the prioress and convent of St. Elena, charged with certain annual payments to the use of the Parish Church and to the high altar of the same.

In 1308, Mark de Christchurch, clothworker, left property to be sold, and the proceeds devoted to the maintenance of 6 chaplains, of whom two to be in the Church of St. Michael de Cornhulle, for two years, for the good of his soul and the souls of Stephen de Cornhulle and others.

In 1311-2, John de Elsyngham, cutler, left certain rents in the parish to be sold for providing a chantry for the good of his soul and the soul of Johanna his wife.

In 1312 Nicholas Picot, Alderman, left to his sons Nicholas and John in tail, all his tenements and rents in the parish.

In 1316 Simon de Fyngrie, ironmonger, who was probably the challenger in the case of Robert, left his tenement at the corner of Bercheverlane (Birchin Lane) to be sold, saving the life estates of Walter atte Holte and Avice his wife.

In 1319, Henry de Fyngrie left his shops in the parish to William Prodehomme, fishmonger.

In 1318-9, William de Bristoll, potyer, left rents in the parish (among others) charged with the maintenance of a chantry in the Church of St. Katherine, Aldgate.

In 1319, Godfrey de Ware, surgeon, left his house in the parish of St. Michael to be sold by his executors.

In 1326, Stephen atte Holte left his tenement in Bercheverlane to be sold.

In 1326-7, Henry de Schorne, fishmonger, of the parish of St. Mary de "Wolchercherhawe," left a tenement in the parish of St. Michael to his wife Juliana for life, with remainders to Guy, his son, and Matilda and Agnes, his daughters, and in default of heirs to pious uses.

In 1329, William le Wolf left to Nicholas Seman, skinner, shops in this parish charged with an annual payment of $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks for the maintenance of a chantry in the Church.

In 1331, William Prodhome included his tenement in this parish in the settlement under his will. In the same year, Ralph de Boctone gave to Agnes his wife for life his tenement in this parish, with remainder to pious uses.

In 1340, Roger Horold directed his body to be buried in St. Mary's chapel in this Church, and left to the Chapel an annual quitrent of 12 shillings for the maintenance of burning torches, keeping his obit, etc.

In 1341-2, Richard de Horton, cofferer, left his tenements and goods to his wife Mary to sell and pay his debts, and devote the remainder to pious uses.

In 1343-4, Thomas atte Puwe leaves his wife (inter alia) tenements in this parish for life.

In 1348-9, Gilbert de Branncestre leaves to Idonia his wife all his tenements in this parish for life. Thomas le Northerne leaves 6s. 8d. to the high altar of the Church and certain tenements and rents in the parish to John Leche, ironmonger, subject to certain payments; John Leche himself leaves bequests for the Church and for the maintenance of a chantry therein, and leaves his tenements and rents in the parish to Matilda, his wife, for life, with an ultimate remainder to pious and charitable uses for the souls of the testator and his family; Stephen atte Holte, tymbermongere, directs that he is to be buried in the churchyard of the parish, and leaves to Agnes and Matilda, his duaghters, tenements in Bercheverlane, with remainder to pious and charitable uses. Margaret, wife of late John Vivian, corder, leaves to Peter Vivian, a tenement in the parish, charged with the maintenance of a chantry for a term of three years.

In 1349, Adam Aspal, skinner, left tenements in the parish to Auncillia, his wife, with the usual remainders. Thomas de Cavendysh, mercer or draper, left rents in this parish to Thomas, his son; William de Tanrugge, or Tanrygge, left his tenements in Bercheverslane to be sold; William de Isyldon, son of Martin,

left houses in the parish to the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield for pious uses for the good of the souls of himself and his relatives; John Lenelyf, draper, desired to be buried in the Church of St. Michael upon Cornhill, and left an annual rent issuing from tenements in the parish for the maintenance of a chantry, and the tenements to be sold, subject to that charge; Agnes, relict of William de Bosenham, left shops in the parish to Simon, her son; Simon himself dying shortly after, left the shops to Thomas, his nephew. The numerous deaths in 1349 were due to the Black Death.

In 1351, Walter de Mourdon, stock fishmonger, left a tenement in the parish to Johanna his daughter.

In 1353, Peter de Blithe, potter, left property in remainder for the benefit of this Church.

In 1355, William de Musham, rector of Denham, Lincs., left to the Priests and Brethren of Elsing Spittel within Cripplegate certain rents in Cornhill and in Bercheverlane.

In 1359, John Martyn left his tenements in the parish to Margory his wife with the usual remainders.

In 1361, Ralph Foket, chandler, desired to be buried in St. Mary's Chapel, and left to John, his son, his tenements upon Cornhill and Fynkeslane, and also his tenement upon Cornhull called "Le Welleheus," charged with the maintenance of a chantry. Richard atte Moure, draper, desired to be buried in the Church, to which and the Ministers thereof he made bequests of money. William de Derby leaves to his mother Agnes rents of tenements in Birches Lane. Johanna, relict of Nicholas Horwode, leaves to John Aspland, of Wymyngton, rents in this parish. John de Oxenford, skinner, leaves to Adam Fraunceys (a famous citizen) his tenements in Fynkeslane upon trust for relatives and pious uses.

In 1366-7, John de Carente, rector of Hamelden (Hambledon, co. Bucks), leaves to Alexander de Carente all his tenements and rents in this parish.

In 1368, John Champneys makes bequests to this Church and its Ministers.

In 1368-9, Peter Vivyen, corder, leaves to William Spenser, fishmonger, shops in this parish upon trusts.

In 1372-3, Thomas Mokkynge, fishmonger, leaves to his wife and son tenements in Bercheres Lane.

In 1378, Andrew Schaldeford, skinner, leaves to Floricia, his wife, in fee the reversion to tenements in this parish.

In 1387, Stephen Dawbeny, skinner, of this parish, leaves to William Dawbeny, senior, also skinner, a tenement in the street of Cornhull in the parish of St. Christopher de Broadstreet.

In 1387–8, Alice, relict of Simon de Morden, stock fishmonger, made provision for the maintenance of chantry priests in this Church.

In 1388, John Cok, chandler, desired to be buried in this Church near Johanna his late wife, and made bequests to the Church, its chaplains, and the Fraternity of St. Anne therein. He directs his land and tenements in Cornhill and Fynkelane to be sold, one-third of the proceeds to go to his wife, Isabella, and the residue to be devoted to works of charity for the good of his soul. John Cook, otherwise called "Atte Harpe," brewer, leaves to his son John his leasehold interest in a tenement called "le Harpe," with shops in this parish.

In 1389, Thomas Levesham, skinner, desires to be buried in St. Mary's Chapel. He provides for Agnes his wife a life interest in his tenements in the parish, with reversion to John Langhorn, brasier.

In 1391-2, Wm. Power, called Wodehous, skinner, leaves certain rents and tenements in this parish to members of his family, and to maintain a chantry in the parish of St. Christopher, or in default in this parish.

In 1393, John Clenhond leaves to his sons tenements in this parish.

In 1396-7, Thomas Noket, draper, gives tenements in this parish, one described as near Mullinge's shop, to certain specified persons, with reversion for pious uses.

In 1397, Gilbert atte Merssh, chandler, leaves houses in this parish in aid of a chantry (qy. in this Church). Richard Tykenore leaves tenements and rents in this parish to be sold.

In 1398, Wm. Newport desires to be buried in the churchyard of this parish.

In 1400, Richard Blounville, stock fishmonger, leaves tenement in this parish to be sold. Andrew Smyth, pyebaker, desires to be buried in this Church, and makes bequests to the Church, the rector and parishioners, and the Fraternity of St. Anne, for the maintenance of a chantry; by a codicil he appoints James Remington chaplain of the chantry.

In 1401, Robert Louthe, "joynour," leaves to his son Robert his coat of mail and basinet with aventaille. He had rents in this parish.

In 1405-6, John Langhorne, brasier, desires to be buried in this Church, and leaves to Sir Thomas Whithed, the rector and the churchwardens and parishoners an annual rent of ten marks, issuing from his lands, tenements, and shops called "le Newe Aley" in this parish to maintain a chantry for his soul, that of Patronilla, his late wife, and others. He appears to have had large property in Surrey, Kent, and Sussex.

In 1410, William Comberton, skinner, had lands and tenements in this parish. Richard Daveler, smith, desires to be buried in the Church, and leaves a tenement in the parish to Katherine his wife, for life, and the reversion to be sold for the good of his soul, that of Margaret, his late wife, and others.

In 1413-4, John More, brewer, left to Amia, his wife, shops in Bircher Lane.

In 1420, John Body, upholder, desired to be buried in the churchyard, and left property in remainder to the rector and churchwardens on condition they keep his obit and relieve the poor.

In 1421, Alice, the widow of John Langhorne, desired to be buried in the Church under the marble slab where lay her late husband.

In 1424, William Stokeslee, stockfishmonger, leaves tenements in the parish.

In 1427, Roger Stokton, brewer, desires to be buried before the altar of the Fraternity of St. Michael in the body of the Church, and he leaves to Master Peter Hynewyk, the rector, and to the churchwardens, his brewery formerly called "Les Stulpes," and now "Le Swan on the Hop," opposite le Tonne in Cornhill, charged with the maintenance of a lamp to burn day and night before the high cross in the church, and with the observance of the obits of himself and his wife Margaret.

In 1437, Wm. Rus, goldsmith, Alderman of this Ward, desires to be buried in the Church, and leaves the reversion after Isabella, his wife, of property in the parish to the rector and churchwardens for the purpose of maintaining a chantry, observing his obit, providing lamps and singing-bread, and the relief of the poor. His successor as Alderman to have ten shillings annually for seeing the provisions of his will carried out.

In 1439, Robert, son of Robert Louthe, late joynour, leaves rents in the parish to Isabella, his wife, and Robert, his son.

In 1445, Ralph Stoke, grocer, leaves rents in Birchin Lane to the Church of St. Mary, Bothaw.

In 1454-5 John Lufkyn, pastry maker, leaves to Sir William Witham, rector, and the churchwardens of this parish, the reversion of lands in St. Peter in Chepe, the profits to be placed in a chest called "Russes Cheste," having four locks and keys, and applied in use of the chantry founded by William Rus.

In 1458, Roger Kelsey, draper, was to be buried in the Church or Churchyard, and he left to the rector and churchwardens a tenement in Le Chirch Aley.

In 1491, Thomas Lyffin, draper, was to be buried in the Church. He left to John Moore, the rector and churchwardens and to the Wardens of the Fraternity and Guild of St. Anne a tenement so that his name and others might be entered on the register of the Fraternity and their souls held in remembrance as benefactors. Robert Drope, Alderman of the ward and mayor, also leaves tenements to the Church charged with the relief of

the poor, the providing an Easter taper, and for a solemn mass of St. Ursula to be said on the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins.

In 1499, Roger Barlowe, tailor, left a tenement in Cornhill. In 1503, Sir John Percyvale, late mayor, also left tenements in the parish.

In 1504, Simon Hogan, draper, leaves the advowson of this Church to the Fraternity of the Drapers of London. In the same year, Alice Hongreforth is to be buried in the Church, to which and to the fraternities in it, and to poor householders in the ward, she makes bequests, and leaves tenements to secure them.

In 1504–5, Elizabeth, widow of Sir Hugh Brice, leaves quitrents in the parish. In 1507–8, Richard Elyngwordth, gentleman, leaves to his wife Katherine lands and tenements in the parish.

In 1517, Sir William Capell devised the dwelling-house of the late Jane, Viscountess Lisle, in this parish, to Master John Wardroper, the parson, and the churchwardens of this Church for pious uses for the souls of her three husbands, Edward Viscount Lisle, Robert Drope, and John Tregman, and for the repair and gilding of the Easter Sepulchre there erected by Robert Drope, and the works which the Viscountess had caused to be made upon the Rood loft in the Church.

In 1526, William Aythropp, draper, leaves messuages in the parish to the Drapers' Company.

In 1532, John Billesdon, grocer, leaves the Weyhouse in Cornhill to the Grocers' Company.

In 1541-2, William Asshe, pewterer, is to be buried in the churchyard. He leaves to Nicholas Wodehouse, pewterer, tenement in Byrchenlane, which formerly belonged to Richard Grene, mynstrell, charged with providing yearly a trental of masses for the good of his soul.

In 1565, Richard Waddington, merchant, left sixpence apiece to forty poor people of the parish annually at Christmas.

In 1570-1, Robert Donkin, merchant taylor, left to the Church the former hall of the Company of Waterbearers.

In 1587, John Lute, clothworker, is to be buried in the cloister of the Church, in the place where his great gravestone then lay. He leaves a bequest for thirty sermons to be preached in the Church within two years next after his decease. He leaves his dwelling-house called the "Lute and Maydenheade" (which Dr. Sharpe identifies as now No. 16, Cornhill) to his wife Margaret for life, with remainder to the Clothworkers' Company charged with certain charities, and with providing a learned man to preach a sermon in the Church on St. Luke's day, and with the distribution of clothing among poor parishioners.

In 1590, Sir Thomas Ramsey left to Dame Mary his wife for life certain tenements in the parish, with remainder to Thomas Taylor, his nephew.

In 1600-1, Richard Platt, brewer, left to his son property in the parish.

In 1622, Francis Middleton, the elder, "upholster," left bequests to the poor of this parish.

In 1681-2, Henry Mosse, scrivener, is to be buried near his late father, Francis Mosse, in the Church, and makes a bequest to the poor of the parish.

Such is the wealth of information relating to a single parish which we obtain by gleaning in the abundant vintage which Dr. Sharpe has provided. It may be supplemented by some particulars contained in a publication of our own Society, the Inquisitiones post mortem relating to the City of London in Tudor times. We may thus reconstruct in our minds what mediæval Cornhill was like. There a surgeon had his consulting room; a wimple-maker his shop; and among the other shops, which were many, no doubt some were specially attractive to the City ladies; there were refreshment houses, the Harp, and the Swan on the Hoope; * there were pie-bakers shops; there were official buildings, the Tun and the Weigh-house; there were dwelling-houses of rich citizens, the Viscountess Lisle, her

^{*} Some later Cornhill signs, the King's Head (1673), the Horn (1683) and the Golden Bear (1693) are contained in a list furnished by Mr. McMurray to Notes and Queries, 12 S. xi. 297.

two City husbands, and other aldermen of the Ward. There were the lanes abutting on Cornhill, Bercherers Lane, which we now call Birchin Lane, Finck's Lane, our Finch Lane, and the New Alley. There was the Church, with its churchyard, cloisters, chapels, its Rood-loft, and Fraternities. The tower is not mentioned; it dated from 1421.

The bequest by Robert Donkin to the Church of Waterbearers' Hall reminds us that our late Vice-President, Mr. J. R. Daniel Tyssen, F.S.A., discovered in the records of the Commissary of the Bishop of London the rules of the Company of Waterbearers, and printed them in the first series of our Transactions. The site where the hall stood is now 143 and 144, Bishopsgate Without. It is noteworthy, in relation to the organisation of trade in London in early times, that so humble an occupation as that of the Waterbearers had its company and its hall.

Besides the burials mentioned in the wills, it is recorded that the grandfather (1526) and the father (1559) of John Stow, were buried in the little green churchyard; and that between 1475 and 1633 the Church underwent various repairs and alterations.

On July 7th, 1665, Pepys records in his Diary that this parish, where his friend and colleague, Admiral Sir John Harney, had a house, was wonderfully healthy. Although the plague had been raging, there had not been buried of any disease in St. Michael's one man, woman or child for 18 months last past, which, he says, "is very strange." He describes the parish as "one of the middlemost parishes and a great one of the town."

The next year was that of the great fire. All the Churches about this part were destroyed, and some have never been rebuilt. St. Peter le Poer and St. Benet Fink were united with St. Michael, Cornhill. The present building was designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and the Rector, the Rev. J. H. Ellison, says, it "has a stately dignity which is peculiar to it. Its interior has not been improved by the decorations added to it in 1860." There is some modern glass in the windows. I do not ask you to admire it, but it is at least evidence that the parish has some loving interest in its Church. There is a fine organ, on which

the accomplished organist, Dr. Harold Darke, gives frequent recitals.

The porch is modern, from the design of J. L. Pearson, R.A. The tower is beautiful. It is to the honour of Sir Christopher Wren that he was so conscious of his limitations as a Gothic architect that, when he had Gothic work to do, he sought inspiration from good models. This tower is designed from that of Magdalen College, Oxford, and the result is admirable.

No one could wish that this great and central parish of our old City, facing the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange, and adjoining the Mansion House, with all its memories of City history and municipal dignity and pageantry, and containing so many counting-houses and offices of the wealthy and the enterprising, should be deprived of the one building in its boundary which proclaims that the making of money and the pomp of local administration are not the only nor the highest purposes of mankind. The Rector, in his earnest protest against the demolition of the Church, says frankly that he is heartily in favour of the reform of the City Churches, and that he believes that both the buildings and endowments could be used to much better advantage than at present, but he does not fail to show that St. Michael's is worthy of its great traditions, serves a weekday population which could ill afford to lose it, and is actively carrying on its proper work in the spirit of the reform which he advocates. On every ground, antiquity, beauty, and usefulness, we think his protest should be supported.

It appears to have been suggested that the Church should be destroyed and the tower left standing. What is a tower when the building to which it was attached has been pulled down? It is melancholy in its isolation. Imagine the site of the Church occupied by tall warehouses; the architectural beauty would itself be eclipsed.

The former parish of St. Benedict or Bennet Fink or Fyng, joined St. Michael, Cornhill, in Fynghis or Fynkes or Finch Lane as its name seems to imply. In 1305-6 John de Waybele, carpenter, left rents there to the Church for the maintenance of torches.

etc. In 1345 John de Aylesbury, mercer, left two shillings to the anchorite at the Church. In 1562 John Wilcockes, citizen and cook, leaves money to be expended in gifts to the poor of the parish, and saves to his wife Maudelyn her dwelling in his house there rent free. Thomas atte Rewe (1343-4) and John Newsham, carpenter (where Alice his wife lies 1410-1) are to be buried in the churchyard. In 1334-5, Hugh de Waltham, town clerk of London, leaves a shop in the parish to Agnes, his daughter, a nun of St. Elena. In 1337, Master William de Meleford, archdeacon of Colchester and canon of London, leaves a tenement and piece of garden in the parish for the maintenance of a chantry at St. Paul's. In 1412, John Sauvage, son of Robert, of Oulcastes, in Derby, leaves land in the parish to the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Anthony in London. In 1435-6, Thomas Knolles leaves a shop in the parish to the same hospital, of which Friar John Snell was then Warden, Preceptor, or Master. According to the Inq. p. m., Robert Fabian in 1513 had seven houses, and John Wylcockes had 16 houses in this parish. Humphrey Brook, notary public (1586) had a house in Finch Lane.

The former parish of St. Peter le Poer was originally called St. Peter de Bradstreet, and its name also indicates its situation. In 1291, John de Reygate, goldsmith, had his capital tenement in this parish, and provided for the maintenance of a lamp in the Church. The parish extended to the entrance gate of the Augustinian (or Austin) Friars, for in 1303 Richard de Revgate had a brewhouse near that gate. In 1331, Simon de Eton, ironmonger, had a brewhouse and a shop. In 1300, Nicholas le Coffrer directs his house in the parish to be sold and provides for a chaplain to celebrate in the Church. In 1349, John de Barton, coffrer, has tenements near the gate of the Augustinian Friars. Chantries were provided for by William de Winton (1311) and William Brumer (1339). In 1358-9, Sir Thomas de St. Maur or Seymour, Knight, leaves to the work of Preldon Priory, Wilts, his large hostel in the parish. In 1365, Johanna, daughter of William Everard, goldsmith, makes a bequest to the

minister of the Church; and in 1374, John de Horwood makes bequests to the rector and clerk of the parish. In 1372, Thomas Kyngeston, tourte baker, wishes to be buried in the Church near Matilda, his wife; while in 1379, Thomas de Bradstreet, cutler, is content to be buried in the churchyard, and makes bequests to the Church and its servants. In 1375, Adam Fraunceys leaves land in the parish to the Prioress and Convent of St. Elena. In 1307, the Church is mentioned by Thomas atte Wode, a parishioner, under the name of St. Peter the Poor, and he makes a bequest to the minister; and in 1579, Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight, had his dwelling-house in the parishes of St. Helen, Bishopsgate, and St. Peter the Poor, and there established the Gresham Lectures. These matters are more fully recorded in Dr. Sharpe's Calendar. From the Ing, ϕ , m, we find that Sir Richard Dorman and Sir Edwin Leigh possessed two houses in this parish, and Edward Keecher, or Ketcher, had four, and one called the Checkers.

The frequency with which names like William de Bristol, William de Derby, John de Oxenford, and John de Reygate occur leads to the inference that the centripetal force exercised by London was more powerful than the restrictions imposed by the jealousy of the Guilds on foreigners, in which they then included every one who was not a Londoner. These settlers in London coming from all parts of the country, established themselves in business here, made profits, and thus contributed to London's prosperity.