

“JUDGE” JEFFREYS’ HOUSE IN
ALDERMANBURY:
AN HISTORIC CITY MANSION.

BY

M. MELVILLE BALFOUR.

IN one of Wren’s noble churches in the City of London—one lately threatened with demolition but, most fortunately, saved at the eleventh hour—there is a modern tablet bearing this singularly apt inscription:—

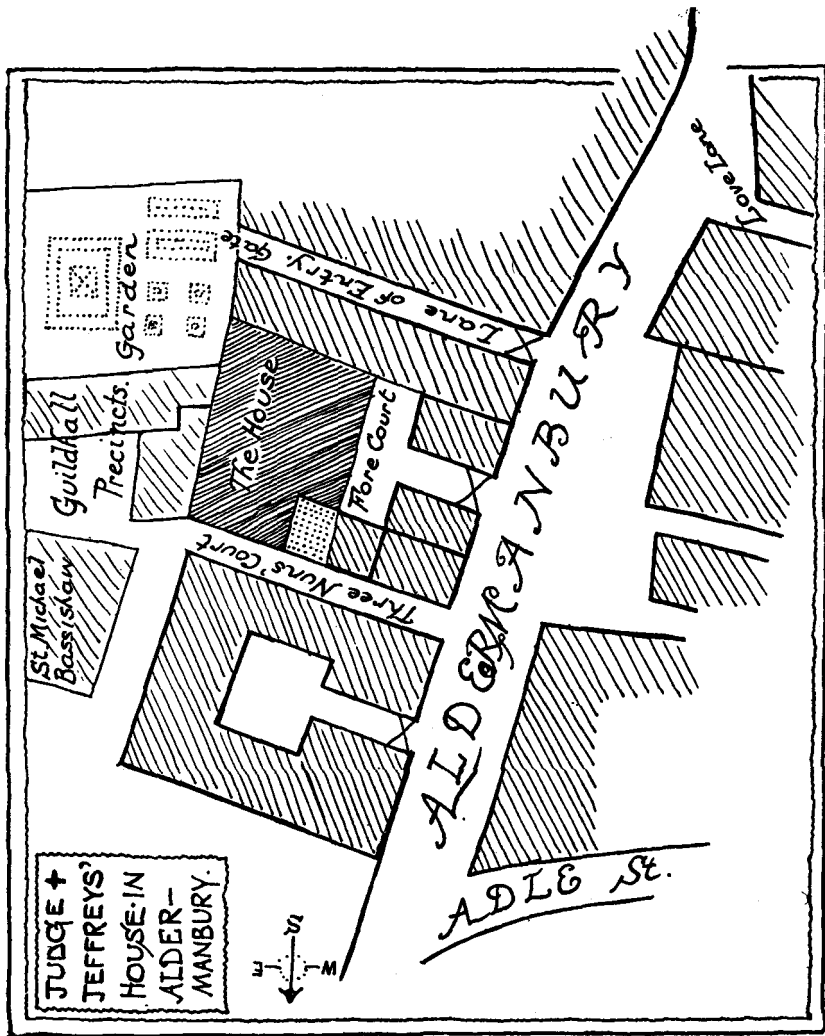
“In memory of George, Baron Jeffreys (of Wem) Recorder of London, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench and Lord Chancellor of England 1685. Formerly a resident in this parish, and whose remains are buried in this Church.

“The Lord seeth not as man seeth. 1 Sam. xvi, 7.”

And it is very fitting that Jeffreys—popularly known as “Judge” Jeffreys—should lie there, for, saving only the parish of Hedgerly in Buckinghamshire, in which was situated his country house of Bulstrode, he lived in no parish so long as in that of St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury.

He came there first, so far as we know, in 1672. Where he had resided previously is not certain. During his student years he would occupy a room in the Inner Temple—until 1667 at least, when he married; then he would have to seek lodgings elsewhere, as, in theory, at any rate, no women were allowed to live in the Inn.¹ Now until 1871 there stood in Coleman Street an old building—No. 79—which, according to tradition, was associated with “Judge” Jeffreys. It was a plaster-fronted house with overhanging upper storeys, and evidently dated from before the Great Fire; there was,

¹ Jeffreys was admitted to the Inner Temple on 19 May, 1663, and presumably lived there for four years.



JUDGE JEFFREYS' HOUSE IN ALDERMANBURY.
(Based on the post-fire surveys.)

and probably always had been, a shop on the ground floor. The general appearance of the place was unpretentious, and—as tradition seldom errs—I think it highly likely that Jeffreys and his young wife lodged there during the first years of their married life, let us say from 1667 to 1672.¹

But Jeffreys’ rise was phenomenally rapid; and his ideas grew with his practice. On 17 March, 1670–1, he was elected Common Serjeant of the City of London; and under date of 13 December, 1671, we find the following Minute in the City Records:—

“It is granted out of special favour to George Geofferies Esqr Common Serjeant that he shall hold and enjoy the back tenement in Aldermanbury contiguous to the wall enclosing Mr. Town Clerk’s Courtyard which (with two other tenements before the same next the Street) are now built by the City upon the ground lately purchased of Sergeant Goddard for and during so long tyme as he shall continue Common Serjeant and an Officer of the City paying the yearly rent of £20 the first quarterly payment whereof to be made at Midsummer next.”

The actual lease, however, is dated 26 March, 1672, and it is due to the courtesy of Mr. George Sherwood, archivist and record searcher, of No. 210, Strand, the recent possessor of the original counterpart, that I am able to quote it. In this document the position of the house in question is admirably defined:—

“All that their new built messuage mansion house or Tenement with the Appurtenances scituate and being in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, and built by the said Maior and Coialty and Citizens upon a Toft or parcell of ground formerly belonging to Guiban Goddard Sergeant at Law deceased and now abutting upon the West upon two Messuages or Tenements lately new built by the said Maior and Coialty and Citizens to the front of the streete called

¹ No. 79, Coleman Street stood in the small northern portion of the street which survived the Great Fire. Armourers’ Hall (No. 81) at the N.E. Corner and Sir Wm. Bateman’s house were neither of them burned, and in Leake’s Survey (as reproduced in Walter G. Bell’s *The Great Fire of London*, p. 24), “Standing houses” are marked at the N.W. corner of Coleman Street, and a third of the east side of the street escaped. No. 79 (of which both a water-colour sketch and a print are to be seen in the Guildhall Library) had the overhanging upper storeys and plaster front of a timber framed house, a type forbidden in the City after the Fire.

Aldermanbury North in parte upon a messuage or Tenement and yard now in the Tenure or Occupacon of Randolph Munns and in parte upon an alley leading betweene Aldermanbury aforesaid and the parish Church of St. Michael Bassishaw East in parte upon the said Alley and in parte on parte of the long matted Gallery belonging to the Guildhall of the said City and South in parte upon two severall Messuages or Tenements lately new built by William Avery Esq^r. deceased now in the severall tenures or Occupacon of John Redman and John Cutlove and in parte on a peece of ground late of the said William Avery Esq^r. deced. . . ."

But whoever was responsible for the wording must have been singularly lacking in humour, as "the said Messuage mansion house or Tenement" is leased to Jeffreys "and his Assignes from henceforth for and dureing the terms of fourescore and nineteene yeares from hence next ensueing if hee the said George Jeffreyes shall so long continue Comon Sergeant or other Officer of the said City of London!" Jeffreys, however—far from continuing an officer of the City of London for ninety-nine years, a feat worthy of Old Parr himself—did so for no more than nine, being Common Serjeant from 1671 to 1678, and Recorder from 1678 to 1680. Then, when he was forced to resign owing to political differences with the Corporation, we might expect to find him relinquishing the property which he was to hold only during his term of office, and I think it was at first supposed that he would so relinquish it, for we find that a committee was appointed to consider what sum should be allowed him in compensation for the large amount he had himself spent in improving the house in question. Whether any sum was actually paid I have not as yet been able to discover; probably he persuaded the aldermen to permit him to retain the house instead. It is certain, at any rate, that he did retain it; for there are Minutes in the Records confirming him in his occupancy of the premises, not only covering the period 1672-8, but also 1679-82, 1683-7, and 1688-92, though his own death occurred in April, 1689.

Meanwhile, however—at Christmas, 1685—he had leased a “ message or tenement scituate lying and being in or neare y^e street comonly called Aldermanbury in y^e pish of St. Mary Aldermanbury London ” together with “ all that garden and garden house lying behind y^e same ” to one “ John Normansell of London Gentleman ” for a term of twenty-one years at the rent of £82 per annum. Was this the same house? Jeffreys invested in house property, we know; Mr. J. G. White, in his *Churches of Old London*, speaks of his possessing premises in the parish of St. Olave Silver Street from 1676 to 1685-6, and I myself have a receipt for the sum of £1 18s. od., “ Recd. of Sr. Georg Jeffreyes for Tithes due to me Robinson Rector of St. Albans wood streete ”—the parish with which that of St. Olave was united after the Great Fire—and dated 18 August, 1681. Are we then to understand that Jeffreys was also possessed of two houses in Aldermanbury?

Fortunately, there can be little doubt as to the answer, for we find, significantly, that from Christmas, 1691, Normansell held direct from the City. Jeffreys’ executors, instead of obtaining a further extension of the lease, had evidently preferred to resign the property to the Corporation, whereupon Normansell was granted a new lease—not for the remaining term of the old, that is to say for fifteen years, but for twelve—the rental being £65 per annum. Jeffreys, we recall, paid only £20 a year, but sub-let at £82; the difference indicates how considerable were the improvements he had made. And one of these improvements, as I shall presently show, was the leasing of an extra piece of ground and the laying out of that garden which, it should be noticed, is mentioned in 1685 but not in 1672; moreover this piece of ground was not, I think, rented from the City, but leased or bought from the heirs or executors of William Avery, the previous owner or occupier. And as it would not, therefore, be resigned, and so could not

be re-let, with the mansion, we have the explanation of the difference of £17 between the rent that Normansell paid to Jeffreys and the rent he paid to the Corporation. Doubtless he did take over the garden also, but by a separate transaction.

By means of Ogilby's Plan of London (dated 1677), of the City lease of 1672, of the Schedule of Fixtures attached to the Normansell lease (and for permission to quote both lease and schedule I must again thank Mr. Sherwood), and of one or two household accounts once belonging to Jeffreys and now in my own possession, we are able to gain a fairly clear impression of the whereabouts, size, and character of the house in question. And it was a historic house, not, as stated by some authorities, Jeffreys' "official residence" as Recorder—for he occupied it both before he attained to and after he relinquished that office—but of far greater interest and importance; the house that served as the Tory headquarters during the stormy shrieval election of 1682, the house to which the Reverend Thomas Rosewell was taken on his arrest in 1684, the home of the dreaded Lord Chief Justice of England and the very place from which he set out on the most famous assize in history.

It stood, according to the late Sir John Baddeley's *Cripplegate*, "behind the site of the houses now known as Nos. 18 and 19, on the east side of Aldermanbury and opposite St. Mary's Church"; and turning to Ogilby's Plan we shall find, practically opposite the east end of St. Mary's, a covered way leading into a courtyard and, fronting this court, a large house. And further, this plan will enable us to trace the boundaries as given in the lease of 1672.

To the west we notice the "two Messuages or Tenements lately new built by the said Maior and Coialty and Citizens to the front of the streete called Aldermanbury."

To the north are the "message or Tenement and yard

now in the Tenure or Occupaçon of Randolph Munns”—both house and yard are very small—and the “ Alley leading between Aldermanbury aforesaid and the parish Church of St. Michael Bassishaw ”; it is here known as Three Nun Court, though further on where it forks to run upon either side of St. Michael’s and so into Bassishaw (now Basinghall) Street, it becomes Church Alley. In Three Nun Court which, with Church Alley, still exists to-day, was (and is) the Axe Tavern, a place of considerable importance in the seventeenth century, as the Liverpool stage-waggon started thence, taking ten days over the journey in summer and twelve—with luck—in winter. The present building, the signboard of which displays an axe and the puzzling motto, *In Hoc Signo Mea Spes*, does not appear to date from Jeffreys’ time, but there was an inn of the same name on this site as early as 1634.

To the east we again find “ the said Alley ” which, where it forks, ran (and still runs) north and south past the west end of St. Michael Bassishaw, before the two branches turn east once more on either side of the church. And here it may be worth pointing out that of all the original boundaries with which we are dealing, Three Nun Court on the north and Church Alley on the east alone remain unchanged; there, and only there, we know that we are passing the exact site of Jeffreys’ mansion. But to return to Ogilby: next on the east we come to a building which is evidently within the precincts of the Guildhall and must be “ the long matted Gallery,” though I have not been able to find any reference to it elsewhere. Curiously enough there was a similarly-named gallery in Whitehall Palace.

Proceeding to the south we see, abutting on Jeffreys’ house, the two small “ Messuages or Tenements lately new built by William Avery Esq^r. deceased now in the severall tenures ar Occupaçons of John Redman and John Cutlove,” and (east of the house itself but south of what is plainly an outhouse belonging to it), a garden

which must be the "peece of ground late of the said William Avery, Esq^r. deced." And here, I think, is proof that the addition of this ground was indeed, as I have already said, one of Jeffreys' many improvements; for if, for a moment, we suppose it to have been included among the "Courts Courtyards backsides Edifices buildings wayes easments Comodityes and emoluments" forming part of the property leased by him in 1672, where then are we to look for the "peece of ground late of the said William Avery?" There is another court or garden that catches our attention, but it lies to the east and not to the south and moreover, as I shall presently explain, can be adequately accounted for. There can, therefore, be no doubt as to which is Avery's ground; and there is equally no doubt that it exactly corresponds in position with the garden leased to Normansell in 1685, and "late . . . in ye tenure or occupacon of ye sayd George Lord Jeffreys."

We must not forget that Jeffreys' house was "contiguous to the wall enclosing Mr. Town Clerk's Courtyard." At that period the Town Clerk had an official residence with a garden attached to it; in 1777 the Old Council Chamber was built on part of this garden, but was removed in 1908 to make room for the present building of the Valuation and Rating Department. So we know the exact site of the garden in question, and referring to Ogilby's Plan, we shall find on that site the garden or ornamental courtyard above referred to, lying within the precincts of the Guildhall and immediately to the east of Avery's ground, and touching Jeffreys' outhouse at its north-western angle. Curiously enough the Town Clerk from 1666 to 1671-2 was one William Avery; he died in February of that year and is evidently the same person as the "William Avery Esq^r. deced" mentioned in the lease. But the garden he enjoyed during his term of office and the ground he held in his private capacity must not be confused, though they were

actually adjoining. There was another Avery—perhaps the Town Clerk’s son—who must have lived close by; for if we turn to the *Marriage Licences Granted by the Bishop of London* (Vol. II), published by the Harleian Society, we shall see that the licence granted to Jeffreys on 6 June, 1679, is “alleged by Thomas Avery, gent., of St. Mary’s” (Aldermanbury).

And now that we have dealt with the boundaries, let us turn our attention to the house itself. As I have said already, it was large; standing parallel to Aldermanbury, it filled up the whole of the east side of the courtyard, while Ogilby employs for it that method of shading which he reserves for buildings of importance. For its general appearance we have but to look at the contemporary London houses that still stand to-day. Severe, stately, and well-proportioned, built of the fine mulberry-coloured Stuart brick, it would be beautified by the small size and irregular surface of each separate brick employed and saved from monotony by the string-courses between each storey; the hipped roof with its dormer windows would rest on a cornice, or be partially concealed behind a parapet; the handsome doorway, probably approached by a flight of steps, would have its flanking columns or pilasters, its surmounting pediment.

But when we quit the general for the particular, difficulties arise. We know that the house was of three storeys in height, including the ground floor but not including garrets or cellars; but it is not so easy to decide the number and arrangement of the windows. We have only the schedule of fixtures to guide us, and as it sometimes quotes shutters singly and sometimes in pairs—even where they ought to correspond—and sometimes omits them altogether, it is not of much help. At least we may be sure that casements would be used at first; later, Jeffreys may have altered them—in the important rooms—to the newer and rarer sash-frames, but it is impossible to be certain. There is no phrase in any of his various glaziers’ bills to prove it, and the date is

somewhat early for such a change—though by 1686, "Sashwindows" were advertised in the *London Gazette* (No. 2135-8). But we do know that wherever he went he paid for an extraordinary amount of glazing work; requiring "Normondy Squars" and "English Squars" for this house in the City, "ffrench squars" as well as "Normondy" and English for his "Chambers att y^e Temple," "quoryes" for his stables, "neu glas" and "quarrells" for "bullstrod hous" and for the "letell hous at Jarats Cross"—not to speak of a great deal of "new leding," repairing of "casments," and "solding y^e ould pains." In short, his windows needed so much attention that we are forced to conclude he even opened them!

But to return to Aldermanbury: there were "Two pair of folding doors in y^e hall with two bolts to each, one lock and key, and one turning bar to y^e fore door," according to the schedule—which also makes a further and perplexing mention of "Three bolts, a lock and key, and a turning bar, and a chain to y^e fore door." We know nothing of "y^e great Staire" save that there was a "hatch" at its foot, "with a lock and key to it"; ascending in a square well, we may be sure it would be massively and solidly formed, with a broad handrail fit to bear the weight of those who had both dined and wined with no puritan discretion.

The rooms present unexpected difficulties. According to the schedule, for instance, there were a "great Parlor" and a "little Parlor" on the ground floor, a "room over the great Parlor" and a "withdrawing room adjoining" above; but I have a carpenter's bill that speaks of "y^e little Parlour," "the great Parlour," "y^e Dining room," and "y^r worps Office." Now if the Great and Little Parlours are the same in both cases, then the dining-room and "y^r worps Office" would be synonymous with the "room over the great Parlor" and the withdrawing-room, and therefore upstairs—which seems unlikely. True, the dining-room was usually upstairs in the

residence of a merchant, the space on the ground floor being required for a counting-house, but in this case there would be no such necessity and therefore no such reason. Can the names then be differently applied, so that the Great and Little Parlour of the schedule are the dining-room and “ Office ” of the bill, while the Great and Little Parlour of the bill are the “ room over the great Parlor ” and the withdrawing-room of the schedule? I am inclined to think this must be so.

There seems no doubt, however, that the Great Parlour—I will keep to the names as used in the schedule—lay to the right as we enter by the front door, and ran the whole depth of the house. Only so, as a glance at Ogilby will prove, can we account for “ y^e two folding doors into y^e garden, with glasse in them, and two wooden Shutters to them,” and for the “ two pair of Window Shutters ” also mentioned—belonging, undoubtedly, to the windows to the front. Probably these glass doors were the same as the “ paire of Balcony Doores wth Shutters ” which we find in the carpenter’s bill already referred to; certainly there are no other glass doors with shutters in the schedule. And, as Jeffreys apparently had these doors put in during 1679, I think we may assume that he had by then acquired Avery’s ground and made a garden of it. My own impression is that the Great Parlour was the dining-room, and if so, it would certainly be large, as the hospitality of the age required; there seem to have been two doors—at any rate, there were two locks, no keys, but according to the schedule several keys were missing—lost, perhaps. The walls were probably wainscotted, though curiously enough wainscot is only mentioned in three rooms and this is not one of them; frescoes, hangings, even wallpapers, were used at that time, but they were rare and costly and would certainly not be found in all the rooms but three. And moreover in the one bedroom where I believe hangings were employed, the fact is indicated. So I think we must in the main assume the wainscot, though I

cannot explain either its general omission or its occasional inclusion—Jeffreys may have removed one chimney-piece, as will presently appear, but he could hardly strip the house so completely! And I fear we must also assume that it was painted; there is a bill "for painting rooms" dated 10 November, 1673—about a year and a half after he moved into the house. Let us hope it was not also marbled or grained; Celia Fiennes, in *Through England on a Side-Saddle in the Reign of William and Mary*, mentions wainscot so treated, and there is a suspicious amount of "whit and vained and revailed and mittered worke in oyle" together with "16 yards grained in oyle" in a bill for "Paynters work don" at his chambers in the Temple.¹

At any rate, we know that the Great Parlour had "a wooden chimney peice, a picture frame, a marble hearth," while the chimney was "sett with tiles." The chimney-piece proper ought to have been of marble or stone, according to Sir Balthazar Gerbier's *Counsel and Advice to All Builders* (1664); so if Jeffreys' were indeed of wood, possibly he followed Sir Balthazar's instructions and had it marbled; marbling being, by the way, as old as Henry III's reign at least! The "picture frame" I take to be the frame of carved woodwork that usually formed the central feature of the overmantel; possibly including those flanking pendants of fruit and flowers—or fish and game—beloved of Grinling Gibbons and his school, without which no fine room of the period would be complete. These picture frames are mentioned in three rooms, and perhaps they were filled by the "severall pictures" painted by one Michael Fortin, whose receipt for five guineas dated 12 March, 1679, is in my possession. Their nature is, unhappily, not specified; they may have been studies of still life after the fashionable Dutch manner—it seems, on the whole, the likeliest subject of

¹ "Revailed and mittered worke" evidently means "revealed and mitred," that is joinery in new raw white wood (deal or pine), painted on completion. Cp. the account of Pepys' alterations at the Navy Office about the same date.

which to order “severall pictures” at once. The tiles with which the chimney was “sett” may have come from the potteries at Lambeth, but were more probably Dutch; Jeffreys bought “67 ffoote of Dutche tyles” for Bulstrode. They were doubtless either red and white or blue and white, as Dr. Philip Norman (in his *London Signs and Inscriptions*) tells us that the old Dutch tiles at No. 21, Austin Friars (now demolished), were of those colours.¹

The schedule makes no mention of ceilings, but we may venture to complete the picture of this fine seventeenth-century room by imagining for ourselves the opulent wreaths of flowers and fruit in moulded plaster, modelled on wire so that they could overlap and project and intertwine with the richest and most natural effect. And perhaps we may place about the table those fourteen armchairs “painted green and gold” mentioned as originally the property of Jeffreys in *Notes and Queries*, First Series, Vol. VI, No. 162.

Next we come to the Little Parlour which was “over against” or opposite the kitchen. Now the position of the Great Parlour points to the kitchen and the Little Parlour being together on the other side—the left—of the hall; there may have been a passage between them, running at right angles to the hall and leading to that part of the house that jutted out to overlook Three Nun Court, which would make it possible for them to be “over against” each other. The kitchen at No. 21, Austin Friars was to be found “flanking a passage on the side opposite to the counting-house,” apparently a similar arrangement. The Little Parlour possessed “three wooden Shutters”; but what that means, I do not know. There might be one window—perhaps a narrower one—to the side, looking on to Munns’ yard, but there could hardly be less than two to the front.

¹ The Dutch picture tiles would no doubt be used to line the sides of the hearth for ornament, while red tiles from Lambeth could be set herring-bone fashion to form a backing for the hearth. These could easily be replaced locally if they were burned away.

Yet in that case why are single shutters apparently sufficient, when the Great Parlour opposite required "two pair"? The walls, we are expressly told, were "wainscotted with oak," so let us hope that wood of such superior quality was not painted. No fireplace is mentioned, which at first sight seems one of the schedule's curious omissions; for there is no other room suitable for an "Office," and needless to say a fire would be indispensable. But turning again to the carpenter's bill, we find that in 1679, Jeffreys put in "100 yards 2 foot of wainscott wth the Chimney peice"; in what room is not specified, but the same bill mentions "the Carved work in y^r worps Office Chimney peice." The inference then is obvious: what he put in, he evidently took away.

It is noticeable also how much was done to the house during this year—1679; we read of innumerable "whole Deales," "slitt Deales," "large cleane Deales," and "window Shutters deales," of "nailes" and "Brads" by the thousand, of "3 Phineerd (veneered?) window Boards," of "Panells" for the doors and wainscot for "Surbace" and moulding, of "a Gibbett to carry the Hanging" and of "the writing frame for y^r Desk"—and we realise that Jeffreys was not only preparing the house for a new mistress (his second marriage took place in June, 1679), but also that he had recently climbed a step higher on his way to the Woolsack, becoming Recorder of London in the previous October.

One of the two doors of the Little Parlour may have led to the "Mens Clossett," which seems to have been a clerks' room as it had not only four cupboards and "seaven" small shelves, but "two boxes for papers" and "a double writing desk"—but no keys! Can they have been lost even here? I cannot say what windows it had, for no shutters at all are mentioned; nor any fireplace. There was also another "Clossett" which probably communicated with the kitchen, as its ten shelves suggest a store-room; it had four shutters, two

doors apparently, and again no fireplace. Both these closets I take to have been in that part of the house that abutted on Three Nun Court.

The kitchen had “an iron grate, two shelves, and a dresser with cupboards” and “two wooden racks over y^e Chimney,” but no shutters—perhaps because the windows looked out on the backyard. It is interesting to know that the grate in the “Kicking” required mending in 1678, and “2 Spittes”—which presumably occupied the aforesaid racks—needed “sharpning.” There was a pantry, with two shelves, two hanging shelves, and two dressers—“one hanging Shelfe” is mentioned in the carpenter’s bill; and a back kitchen, which may have been in the outbuilding situated, according to Ogilby, behind the house. There was no brewery or wash-house, as at No. 21, Austin Friars; and though we read in more than one bill of work done at the stables—among other things “emptyinge the horse pond and paving the same”—they must, as was often the case with London houses, have been elsewhere; they are not mentioned in either of the leases, and besides there is no room for them.

Into the back yard opened a door from the back kitchen, a door “from y^e stairs foot”—probably leading direct to the cellars—and a door “out of y^e garden”; yard and garden seem to be separated by the outhouse in the Plan, but there must have been a covered way between them with this door at one end. The “back gate” would open either on Three Nun Court or Church Alley. There were “two bottle-casks” and a pump; if this means a well, let us hope it did not supply the drinking-water required. Water was laid on to a few of the more important houses by that date—indeed, the practice was beginning by the end of the sixteenth century, according to Mr. Charles Pendrill’s *Wanderings in Medieval London*—and both “waters” and “water-courses” are expressly named in the Normansell lease of 1685; perhaps they were among Jeffreys’ improvements.

And before I leave the backyard I must mention—if I may be pardoned a Carolean detail—an object that surely ought to have been there, but was not; for the schedule is careful to inform us that there was "A pissing Cisterne in y^e fore Yard"¹

There were six cellars for the storage of wines, of the "Sea Coales," "ffaggats," "bavins," and "bbil sawd"² bought of John Clarke, fuel merchant, and of the "Barills" of ale and "Bere" provided by "John Scott & Company"—these last being kept, I suppose, in the "six stands for beer" specified in the schedule.

Proceeding upstairs to the first floor, we reach "the room over the great Parlor," which—like the Great Parlour itself—had "a Wooden chimney-peice, a picture frame," and "y^e hearth paved with marble," while the tiles with which the chimney was "sett" are here described as "painted." There appear to have been three windows, since there were "three pair of Window Shutters"; two to the front—but where was the third? I do not think this room ran the whole depth of the house, like the one below it, for there is a "withdrawing room adjoyning" to be considered; could the tenements of Cutlove and Redman be so low as to render windows to that side practicable? It seems unlikely; but if we may rely on Ogilby these buildings were certainly very small.

The "withdrawing room adjoyning" was reached from the last room through "a pair of folding doors with glasse"; I have said that the schedule mentioned no glass doors with shutters except those in the Great Parlour, and this is true—for these with which we are now dealing have no shutters, and can only give access

¹ This is a common expression to describe a tank from which a thin stream of water ran continuously. Cp. Jack Cade's order in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, part II, act iv, scene vi, "I charge and command, that, of the city's cost, the pissing Conduit [in Cheapside] run nothing but claret wine this first year of our reign."

² "bbil sawd," that is sawed billets, the smaller ones left plain, the larger in diameter cut into two or three pieces; "bavins" are short pieces of wood placed under faggots to keep them dry above the level of the floor, when stacked.

from one room to the other as the withdrawing-room has no other door. Thus the “paire of Balcony Doores wth Shutters” in the bill must still be identified with the “folding doors into y^e garden” in the Great Parlour. The withdrawing-room also possessed “a wooden Chimney-peece, a picture frame, a marble hearth, and tiles in y^e Chimney,” together with “six Shutters to y^e Windows”—presumably three pair?—while “two little Clossetts” opened off it. The term closet, as we have already seen, was often applied to a very small room; but in this case they may have been merely cupboards, as they seem to have had no windows—no shutters at least, unless, indeed, they are responsible for any of the six.

The “first room on y^e left hand one pair of Stairs”—the writer of the schedule is evidently thinking of the house as viewed from the forecourt, as to anyone mounting the stair this room must be on the right—was evidently the principal bedchamber. There were two pair of shutters, and a chimney-piece precisely similar to those I have already mentioned save that there was no “picture frame”; “and y^e same in y^e dressing room behind”—which can only have been reached through the bedroom, as it had no other door. In this bedroom there can be little doubt that the first Lady Jeffreys—the story of whose romantic marriage casts so unexpected a sidelight on the character of her husband—died on 14 February, 1677–8.

Of “the room fronting the stairs”—the chief guest-chamber presumably—we read that “y^e fore part” was wainscotted and “y^e rest cornished”: that is to say, with a cornice. But why so precise in this room and no other? Giovanni Florio, that English author of Italian origin who was tutor to Henry Prince of Wales, the son of James I, may give us a clue; he tells us that a cornice was not only “an out-jetting peece or part of a house or wall,” but also “the ledge whereon they hang tapestrie in any roome.” Probably that was the case here; there was wainscot between the windows, but the other

three walls were hung with Mortlake or Gobelins. The chimney-piece was the same as in the principal bedroom, and there were "5 window Shutters"—whatever that may mean.

On the second floor the "room over the kitchen" had "four Window Shutters"—two pair?—and, we are carefully told, was "wainscotted round with deal." It had no chimney-piece; neither had the "room behind it"—looking out on Three Nun Court?—which had the same number of shutters. The "room over against y^e last"—looking to the front, I imagine—had also "ffour" shutters, a "deale Chimney peice" of which no further details are given ("deale" and "wooden" are evidently not at all the same thing), and the rather perplexing supply of "five bolts." In the room "fronting the stairs" were "Three Window Shutters, a cupboard," and "a deal Chimney peice." The "room over the withdrawing room" had six shutters, "a deale Chimney peice," a "marble hearth and y^e Chimney sett with tiles"; while in "the room even with y^e last" were "The same things." "In the passage there" were "two hatches at y^e Stairs head."

There were six "garretts," the windows of which it is, as usual, difficult to arrange; as we are told there were in the garret "over y^e kitchen, three window shutters, two in y^e room behind it, and two in y^e room even with it, and one in y^e next room to it, fronting y^e stairs," three in "y^e next garrett," and four in "y^e garrett next y^e garden": five dormers to the front, at any rate. There were no fireplaces on this floor.

The garden of No. 21, Austin Friars was, Dr. Norman tells us, "connected by steps with a narrow terrace running along the back of the house"; and I think we have reason to believe there was a similar arrangement here, the terrace with its balustrade forming the "Balcony" on which the Great Parlour opened. The garden itself—which, besides the door "into y^e backyard," had a door "into Aldermanbury" or, to be more precise, into

an alley that led to Aldermanbury—was, according to Ogilby, elaborately planned, with two oblong lawns, one at each end, and between them four shaped beds with a circular bed in the centre. It is difficult to decide whether this is an exact representation or merely a general design; but it should be noted that Ogilby does not draw all gardens alike. To quote *The Formal Garden in England*, by Sir Reginald Blomfield, the old English “knots” would seem “to have dropped out of use in the reign of Charles II,” but they were replaced by the not dissimilar parterres introduced from France and mentioned by Evelyn; so we may imagine this old City garden laid out with fantastic devices outlined with box edging and filled in with flowers, or coloured earths, or even merely with grass. The paths, no doubt, were paved, gravelled, or covered with brick dust or white or yellow sand: turved walks, though used, seem unlikely in London; while we may be sure there would be one or two statues as “the excessive use of sculpture in gardens” was commented on at the time—perhaps a sundial, possibly a fountain.

Immediately south of this ornamental garden, but at that time separate from it, Ogilby has drawn another garden of far simpler design, consisting apparently of two plain lawns. Remembering the difference of £17 between the rent of the property as let by Jeffreys to Normansell and as let by the Corporation to Normansell—no small sum in those days, as is proved by the fact that the original rent of the house was only £20—it seems likely enough that Jeffreys (after 1677) acquired this ground also, using it perhaps as a kitchen garden.

The “garden house” may not have been built by 1677, as it is not marked in Ogilby’s Plan. It had no fixtures but “A wooden bench”; and there it may not be too fanciful to imagine Jeffreys and his friends sitting in the long hot evenings of a London summer, discussing the topics of the hour over a pipe of prime tobacco or a bottle of choice wine; while the perfume of

sweet herbs and old-fashioned flowers drifted up from the parterres and the figs ripened on the trees against the wall. Nor may it be wholly irrelevant to add that the man who cared to add a garden to his house, who spent large sums on improvements of every kind, who desired "Carved work" for his "Office" and pictures for his rooms, cannot have been quite the "sottish," "gross," and uncultivated drunkard that Macaulay would have us think.¹

But in 1685 Jeffreys, then Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was appointed Lord Chancellor; and preferring to reside in a more fashionable quarter of the town, let his house and left Aldermanbury and the City. He went first to Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he lived in Conway House (demolished in 1743), previously the residence of Lord Keeper Guilford and Lord Chancellor Nottingham; and in 1687 he moved to a newly-built and very considerable mansion in Duke Street (now Delahay Street), Westminster, where he added a cause-room and was allowed to build the only private stairway into St. James's Park.² Both the house and the cause-room (afterwards Duke Street Chapel) have been pulled down, but a fine shell-shaped door-canopy said to have belonged to the mansion is, I believe, still to be seen attached to the present building.³ And in 1688 he moved again—but this time to the Bloody Tower.

¹ Macaulay's descriptive portraits are all depicted from the Whig standpoint and sometimes need considerable modification, but Judge Parry in his *Bloody Assize*, is even more severe on Jeffreys than Macaulay was.

² This house in Duke Street was just against the Bird Cages in St. James's Park, and was rented from Moses Pitt, the bookseller.

³ In Pepys' *Diary* (ed. H. B. Wheatley) there are several references to similar alterations to those mentioned in connection with Jeffreys' house.

Vol. II, p. 185, "This day the joyners put up my new chimney piece, with a frame for a picture. P. 283, "My dining room wainscoated." P. 333, "a door upon the leads," and p. 369, "rails upon the leads." P. 338, "The plaisterer and bricklayer that did divide our lodgings"; and Vol II, p. 7, "Mr. Povy's closett in his low parlour, and his stable walls done with Dutch tiles, like my chimneys!" P. 291, "Joyner sets up a chimney

Normansell meanwhile was occupying the City house, and continued so to occupy it till 1697, when he assigned his interest therein to one Dr. Daniel Cox. But long before that time arrived, George Jeffreys had come home again to Aldermanbury to lease in perpetuity the narrow message of a grave.

SCHEDULE OF FIXTURES IN JEFFREYS’ HOUSE IN
ALDERMANBURY.

In the Cellars, Six doors, three locks & keys, one iron bolt, six stands for beer, a lock & key to y^e door at y^e top of y^e Stairs. In the garden house, a wooden bench, a lock & key & two iron bolts to y^e garden door into Aldermanbury, & a lock & key to y^e door out of y^e garden into y^e back yard.

In the back Yarde, A pump, two bottle-casks, a lock, three bolts, a chain, & a turning bar to y^e back gate, a lock, key & bolt to y^e door from y^e stairs foot into y^e Yard, a lock & key to y^e door out of y^e back kitchen into y^e same.

In the Kitchin, an iron grate, two shelves, & a dresser with cupboards, two wooden racks over y^e Chimney & a lock & key to y^e door.

The little Parlor over against y^e kitchen is wainscotted with oak, a lock to one door, & two bolts to y^e other, three wooden Shutters & an iron bar.

In the Clossett, 2 locks & keys, four shutters & ten shelves. In the Mens Clossett, four cupboards, seven small shelves, two boxes for papers, a double writing desk, and three locks.

Two pair of folding doors in y^e hall with two bolts to each, one lock & key, & one turning bar to y^e fore door.

In the great Parlor, two pair of Window Shutters, & two iron bars, two locks, a wooden Chimney peice, a picture frame, a marble hearth y^e Chimney sett with tiles, an iron rod with a worme & a plate lock to y^e two folding doors into y^e garden, with glasse in them, & two wooden Shutters to them.

piece in my wife’s closet.” Vol. IV, p. 206, “Convert our wardrobe into a music room.”

Jeffreys’ house as a whole may be compared with the view of No. 34, Great Tower Street, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.*, Vol. IV, p. 197. There is a picture of this house, which seems to fit in with the description of Jeffreys’ house, in Walter G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London*, p. 308. It is there styled an example of the fourth sort of building, or City merchant’s mansion house “of the greatest bigness,” authorised by the Rebuilding Act, 1667. There is a similar house in Great St. Thomas Apostle, facing towards Queen Street.

A hatch at y^e great Staire foot with a lock & key to it.

In the room over the great Parlor, one lock, three pair of Window Shutters, one iron bar, a Wooden chimney-peice, a picture frame, y^e hearth paved with marble, & y^e Chimney sett with painted tiles.

In the withdrawing room adjoining, A pair of folding doors with glasse, two bolts thereon with a lock, six Shutters to y^e Windows, a wooden Chimney-peice, a picture frame, a marble hearth, & tiles in y^e Chimney, with two little Closesetts.

In the first room on y^e left hand one pair of Stairs, two pair of Shutters, a Marble hearth, a wooden Chimney peice, y^e Chimney sett with tiles, & y^e same in y^e dressing room behind it, & a lock & a key to y^e fore room.

In the room fronting the stairs. A marble hearth, a wooden Chimney peice, & y^e Chimney sett with tiles, 5 window Shutters, y^e fore part wainscotted, y^e rest cornished, one lock & key & two bolts.

In the room over the kitchen, two pair of stairs, four Window Shutters, wainscotted round with deal, a bolt & a latch.

In the room behind it. One lock & key, four Window Shutters.

In the room over against y^e last room, ffour Window Shutters, a deale Chimney peice, one lock, five bolts.

In the passage there, two hatches at y^e Stairs head.

In the room there fronting the stairs. Three Window Shutters, a cupboard, a deal Chimney peice.

In the room over the withdrawing room, Six window Shutters, a deale Chimney peice, one lock, & two bolts, & a marble hearth & y^e Chimney sett with tiles.

In the room even with y^e last. The same things.

In the garretts. In that over y^e kitchen, three window shutters, two in y^e room behind it, & two in y^e room even with it, & one in y^e next room to it, fronting y^e stairs, & three window shutters & a bolt in y^e next garrett, & four window shutters & a bolt in y^e garrett next y^e garden.

In the Pantry, two shelves, 2 hanging shelves, 2 dressers, a lock & key.

Three bolts, a lock & key, & a turning bar, & a chain to y^e fore door.

A pissing Cisterne in y^e fore Yard.