

# THE CITY OF LONDON BREWERY IN UPPER THAMES STREET AND ITS SITE

(with illustrations from photographs by Edward Yates, F.S.A.)

By L. B. ELLIS, M.A.

THE City of London Brewery<sup>1</sup> was the oldest brewery in the City of London. The site occupies an area of about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres in the heart of the City, with a frontage to the river of about 223 feet; it is bounded on the north by Upper Thames Street, on the west by All Hallows Lane, and on the east by Red Bull Wharf. It is situate in the ward of Dowgate, in the parishes of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less. In the course of its development the Brewery spread over the sites of several ancient and interesting buildings which it had absorbed. The site was devastated by enemy bombing in 1940 and 1941, and the subsequent demolition of damaged property by the Corporation of the City of London in 1942 left the area in its present almost vacant condition. On 1st July, 1941, the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited removed its offices to 6, Albert Court, Kensington Gore, S.W.7, and severed, at any rate temporarily, its long connection with the City.

## I. THE BREWERY.

There was brewing on and near the site of the City of London Brewery centuries ago. In an assignment of 1431<sup>2</sup> there is a list of brewing utensils which were then in the custody of John Reynold, brewer, at the "Heywharf" in "Heywharflane."<sup>3</sup> This lane has been re-named Campion Lane, after a later brewer. The entrance to the City of London Brewery was from Campion Lane (Fig. 1). Stow relates that at the east end of the church of "Allhallowes the More in Thames Street . . . goeth down a lane called Hay wharf lane, now lately a great brewhouse, built there by one Pot; Henry Campion, esquire, a beer-brewer, used it, and Abraham his son now possesseth it."<sup>4</sup> Henry Pott, beer brewer, was in Grantham Lane<sup>5</sup> at one time, as a messuage or beer brewhouse and cellar there, late of Sir Ralph Dodmore, knight, which were demised

on 6th December, 4 Edward VI (1550), to one Nicholas Chowne, had been late in his tenure.<sup>6</sup>

*Henry Campion's Legacy.*

Henry Campion, beer brewer, whose name is commemorated in Campion Lane, was a benefactor by will of the parish of All Hallows the Great. He and his father before him were owners of extensive premises in the parish, which now belongs to the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited, and their names figure in the vestry books as churchwardens. By his will, dated 2nd December, 30th year of Queen Elizabeth (1587), Henry Campion directed his executor to purchase lands, tenements, or rents to the value of £10 yearly, the profit of which was to be applied to the relief of the good, godly, and religious poor of the parish of Great Allhallows for ever.

His benefaction would have been far greater if his instructions had been carried out literally but, instead of buying property, his son and heir and sole executor, William Campion, paid the annual sum either out of his own pocket or as a rent chargeable on the brewery. At William's death, the brewery and premises passed to Richard Campion, in whom they were vested in 1666, when the whole of the property, with the church and parish in general, were consumed in the Great Fire. Richard Campion also paid the £10 annually all the time that he possessed the property, but it was found in 1672 (from a decree dated 11th October of that year of the Commissioners for regulating charities, appointed under the statute of 43 Elizabeth (1601)), that default had for some time been made in payment of Henry Campion's gift. The Commissioners appointed a jury to enquire into the facts, when counsel was heard for Jonathan Elliott, the then owner of the premises, who had purchased them from Richard Campion some three years since. The Commissioners were fully satisfied in their judgments that the said £10 per annum had been theretofore charged and made payable out of the said brewhouse and premises by some or one of the owners thereof, in pursuance of the intent of the said will, and for securing £10 per annum, for ever, for the use of the poor of Great Allhallows, and, as the said brewhouse was then built into messuages or tenements, they proceeded to decree: "that the said messuages or tenements do and shall for ever hereafter stand and be charged with the payment of the said £10 per annum, and that he, the said Jonathan Elliott,

his heirs, and assigns of the premises, shall for ever hereafter yearly, and every year at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, out of the rents, issues and profits of the same, pay, or cause to be paid unto the churchwardens of the parish . . . the aforesaid sum of £10 per annum."<sup>7</sup>

Under a decree of Commissioners of Charitable Uses, enrolled in Chancery and confirmed by that court on 10th June, 1763, this yearly sum was charged, in satisfaction of the donation made by Henry Champion's will, on certain lands in Allhallows Lane, "then in the possession of Cleophas Hawkins and Anthony Baskerville, and which now form part of the site of the brewery of Messrs. Calverts' & Co. by whom the rent-charge is annually paid."<sup>8</sup> Later on, Henry Champion's gift became a charge on part of the City of London Brewery Company's premises and continued to be paid by them.<sup>9</sup>

About the middle of the 18th century, the Brewery passed into the ownership of the Calverts. In 1744, Sir William Calvert was the owner.<sup>10</sup> He was alderman of Portsoken ward and, in 1748-9, he was Lord Mayor of London. The firm was known later as Felix Calvert<sup>11</sup> & Co., and it remained so-named until the formation of the City of London Brewery Company in 1860. In 1932 this company was formed into an Investment Trust Company. The site was developed by the City and Continental Wharves and Transport Ltd., who converted the riverside premises and several warehouses behind into a bonded wharf and developed a trade chiefly in the importation of China mats, and in hides, skins, glass and other commodities. The buildings behind the wharf were also converted into stores and warehouses, whilst the stables and the very large warehouses were converted into garages.

In 1940 and 1941 bombs from hostile aircraft set fire to the wharf (which at the time was filled with about £300,000 worth of merchandise) and other parts of the Brewery premises. In 1942, the Corporation of London pulled down the damaged buildings and sold the iron to the Government as scrap; the bricks and debris were removed, leaving an almost vacant site.

#### *Brewery Activities and Tokens.*

Fig. 1 illustrates a busy scene in Champion Lane in 1821. It shows the entrance to the Brewery and the hour-glass vane surmounting the tower. It is from an oleograph in the Company's possession.

At one time the Brewery used to issue a series of tokens to the men for drawing their allowance of drink. They were made of zinc, brass and copper; each had the sign of the hour-glass on one face and the letters P, Q or G on the other. The zinc tokens were for a pint, quart or gallon of porter, according to the letter; the brass ones were for ale and the copper ones for stout in the same way. These tokens were withdrawn from circulation when it was found that they were being sold to outsiders.

## II. THE SITE.

The Ordnance Survey map of 1894-6 (vii, 76) marks in Gothic lettering the sites of the vanished buildings of *Coldharbour*, *Watermen's Hall*, the *Steelyard*, *All Hallows the Great*, and *All Hallows the Less*. Enemy action in 1940 and 1941 destroyed the *Hour-Glass Tavern* and the *Watch-house of Dowgate Ward*, and took further toll of *Whitehall Gate*, which had been mutilated for business reasons before the war. These buildings will now be dealt with in the above order under the headings: "Buildings indicated in Gothic lettering on Ordnance Survey map" and "War damage in 1940 and 1941."

### (1) *Buildings indicated in Gothic Lettering on Ordnance Survey Map.*

The history of *Coldharbour* may be read in detail elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> The entrance from Thames Street led through a gatehouse, which was standing in Stow's time, when the steeple and part of the choir of *All Hallows the Less* stood on it. It was pulled down in 1600 by Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, and the part on the riverside was leased to the Watermen's Company, on which to build their hall. This hall was destroyed by the Great Fire, after which the Watermen built a new hall "upon the quay at the south-west corner of Cold Harbour."<sup>13</sup> The new hall, "a handsome brick building," was absorbed by Calvert's Brewery in 1780, when the Watermen moved to St. Mary at Hill. In Wilkinson's words, "the very extensive brewery and dwelling-house of Messrs. Calvert & Co. . . . are erected on part of the site of *Coldharbour* and on that of the subsequent erection of *Waterman's Hall*."

These building operations occasioned great complaints to be made by the inhabitants adjacent, who set forth their complaint in a petition to the Honourable the Commissioners of Sewers



Fig. 1. OLEOGRAPH SHOWING ENTRANCE TO BREWERY IN CAMPION LANE.



Fig. 2. JACOB JACOBSEN'S FLOOR-SLAB, FROM ALL HALLOWS THE GREAT.

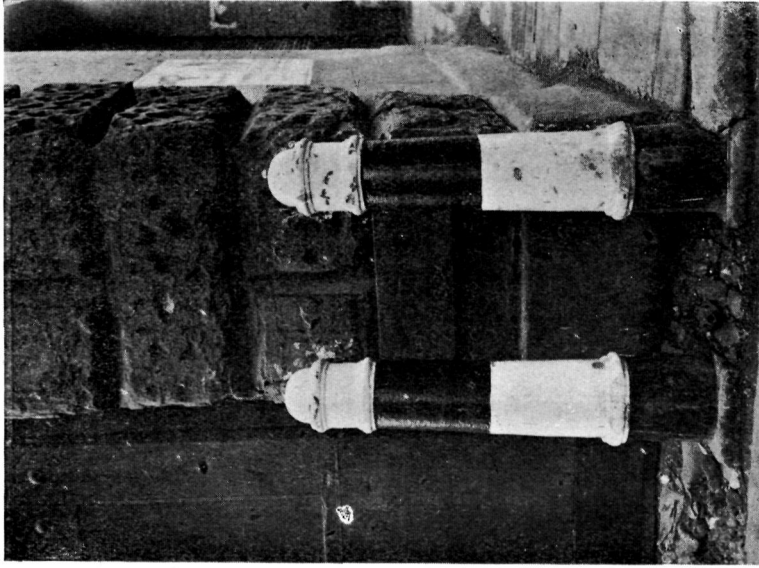


Fig. 4. THE SIGN OF THE HOUR-GLASS ATTACHED TO CANNON-POSTS.

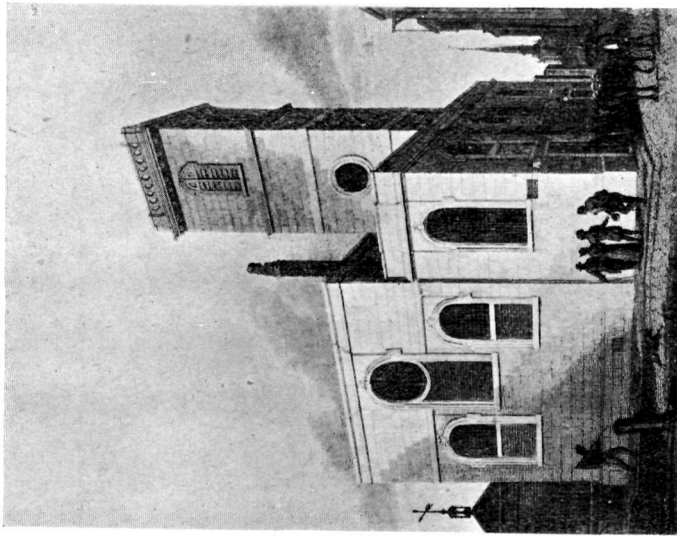


Fig. 3. ALL HALLOWS THE GREAT IN 1812, WITH TOWER AND NORTH AISLE. Hour-Glass vane on a neighbouring building.

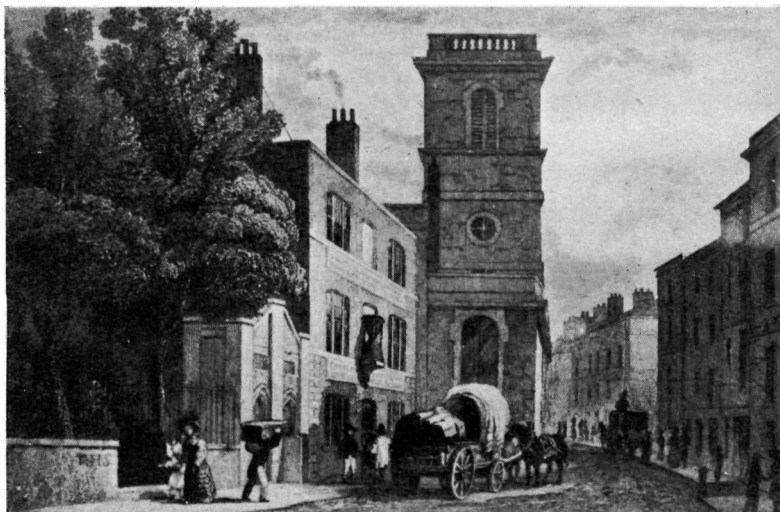


Fig. 5. THOS. H. SHEPHERD'S DRAWING OF ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, UPPER THAMES STREET (engraved by J. HINCHLIFFE), showing the Hour-Glass Tavern, with its Sign; the Watch-house; and the Churchyard of All Hallows the Less.

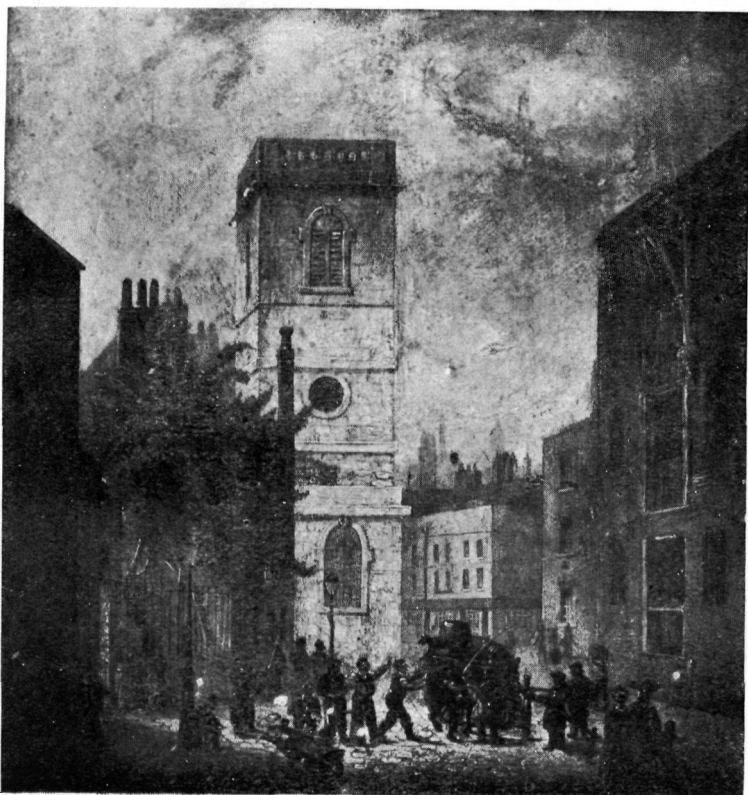


Fig. 6. OIL PAINTING SHOWING WHITEHALL GATE IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

of the City of London, showing "that a considerable part of what has heretofore been used by the public as a common highway along the banks of the River Thames in Dowgate Ward, has recently been enclosed with a wood paling by the owners of the adjoining property, Messrs. Calvert & Co. and others, leaving to the public a narrow enclosed footpath; whereas during the memory of the oldest inhabitants, and supported by the inquest presentments of a more remote period, nearly the whole space now enclosed has always been used and considered as a public highway for the purpose of perambulation and fresh air, as well as for the convenience of the neighbours in other respects, the right of the possessors of the adjacent property to land over the surface of the ground not being questioned." This petition was presented and read 20th February, 1821, when the Court of Sewers confirmed a report of their Select Committee, stating that it was desirable the encroachments should be removed; but, on the 10th of July, 1821, after much opposition by the inhabitants in and near Dowgate ward, an Act was passed both Houses to repeal so much of the Act of the twenty-second of His Majesty King Charles the Second as restrains the proprietors of wharfs between London Bridge and the Temple, from erecting any buildings or enclosure thereon.<sup>14</sup>

The City of London Brewery spread over the *Steelyard*. The estate was sold by the representatives of the Hanse towns, Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg, in 1853, to two purchasers, from whom it was bought by the Victoria London Dock Company. The buildings of the Steelyard were pulled down in the autumn of 1863, and in 1865 the site was acquired by the South Eastern Railway Company. Cannon Street Railway Station covers approximately the whole site of the Steelyard, except the strip on the north front cut off for the widening of Upper Thames Street.<sup>15</sup> A City of London plaque at the entrance to the station marks the site.

Only two contemporary objects, a monument and a slab, now remain near the site to recall the sojourn at the Steelyard of the Hanse merchants or "merchants of Almaine in England." The monument, which is now in St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, was erected in the church of All Hallows the Great to Jacob Jacobsen by his brother Theodore. The slab, under which lay his bones and ashes, according to its Latin inscription, which has been re-cut (Fig. 2), was formerly in that church



and was removed to its churchyard.<sup>16</sup> Jacob Jacobsen, son of Peter Jacobsen, of Hamburg, was born in 1619; he was appointed agent or house-master of the Steelyard by the Hanse Towns in 1647, and acted as such until his death in 1680. He was succeeded in this office by his brother Theodore, who held it until his death in 1706. Shortly before this date Theodore Jacobsen made over all the rights in the Steelyard derived from his contract to his two nephews, Jacob and Theodore.<sup>17</sup>

The churches of *All Hallows the Great* and *All Hallows the Less* were burnt in the Great Fire. The latter was not rebuilt and its parish was united with that of All Hallows the Great.

The church of *All Hallows the Great* was rebuilt from Wren's designs by William Hamon, mason, in 1683. It consisted of a hall-like nave with a north aisle. The aisle was never, it seems, open to the church, and may have been added to deaden the sound of the noisy road, which was so narrow that the wheels of passing carts touched the outer wall and fouled it with mud. The church was eighty-seven feet in length by sixty feet in width, and its tower was about the length of the nave in height (Fig. 3).

Inside, the building, as first erected, presented few attractions, its plan being irregular, its walls neither parallel nor four-square and its ceiling flat and unsupported by pillars. One side were the blocked arches of the north aisle, and on the other some tall unpainted windows, with a row of plain clerestory lights on each side; in the east wall there were three windows, and there was a marble slab for the holy table; there were two windows at the west end and an organ gallery but no organ. Then came additions, including a stone Corinthian columned reredos, pedimented, and adorned with two statues four feet high (Moses and Aaron), which are thought to have been sculptured by Cibber; also beautiful communion rails; snug square pews; elaborate candelabra in brass; an exquisite pulpit and sounding board, and the incomparable screen which divided the chancel from the nave.<sup>18</sup>

It is usually stated that the screen was the gift of the Hanse merchants and was made in Hamburg. It is, however, "morally certain that the money, both for screen and pulpit, was provided by Theodore Jacobsen,"<sup>19</sup> who retained his

interest in the church in which the "merchants of Almaine in England" had worshipped in their own pews until 1670, when they obtained their own Lutheran church.<sup>20</sup>

In 1876 the tower and north aisle of All Hallows the Great were taken down to widen Thames Street. A belfry over the entrance to the vestry in All Hallows Lane was then built; it contains some re-used late 17th-century stonework from the old tower, etc.<sup>21</sup>

The widening of Thames Street led to the decay and subsequent demolition of the church. The new road face was built across the arches of the nave on this side, and the weight and the traffic proved too much for the ground, which settled and cracked the new erection. The place became insanitary and it was necessary either to overhaul the church completely or to demolish it. The latter course was adopted.

On 5th August, 1894, the site and materials of the fabric of All Hallows the Great were put up for auction at Tokenhouse Yard. The property offered for sale had been divided into five lots, including the site and fabric, a quantity of oak panelling, the old oak pews and seats, and a lead cistern (1786), etc.

The panelling, pews and seats, together with the carved altar-rails, had, however, been bought privately by Canon Ingram, to prevent the scandal of their being offered to auction and the possibility of their afterwards figuring in the adornment of public-houses and billiard-rooms, a fate which has before now awaited City church furniture.

The site and materials were knocked down at £13,100 to the City of London Brewery Company, whose premises occupied the next block of buildings to the church. This sum was extremely small considering the size of the site (4,130 sq. ft.) and its unusual advantages with regard to light, one of the smallest, in fact, arising from any City church disposed of hitherto.<sup>22</sup>

The screen from All Hallows the Great went to St. Margaret Lothbury, the organ-case and the statues of Aaron and Moses to St. Michael Paternoster Royal, whilst other fittings went to St. Paul, Hammersmith, All Hallows, Gospel Oak, and the chapel of Adams' Brewery, Halstead, Essex.<sup>23</sup>

Two tablets at the north-east corner of All Hallows Lane mark the site of the demolished church. The lower one is a City of London plaque, giving the date of demolition as 1893;

above it is a tablet with an inscription, of which all but the first two lines may be read, though with difficulty, as follows:—

.....  
 .....  
 of which  
 The earliest date assigned is A.D. 1361.  
 Destroyed by the Fire of London in 1666.  
 Rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren.  
 Demolished in 1894.  
 The church of All Hallows, St. Pancras,  
 Being built out of the proceeds of sale  
 of the site.

By a scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, approved of by an Order in Council on 16th May, 1893, the benefices of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less were united with the benefice of St. Michael Royal and St. Martin Vintry into one benefice, under the style of "the united benefice of St. Michael Royal with St. Martin Vintry and Allhallows the Great and Less." By a clause of this scheme, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to pay a sum of £500 out of the net proceeds of the sale of the site, materials and fittings of the church of All Hallows the Great to the rector and churchwardens of the united benefice. This sum was to be held and invested by them as trustees, and the annual income arising from such investment was to be devoted towards the maintenance in good order of the churchyards of the parishes of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less.<sup>24</sup>

Under the Union of Benefices Act the remains of all persons interred in or under the church of All Hallows the Great were to be removed in the course of October, 1893, preparatory to the demolition of the church.<sup>25</sup> St. Michael Paternoster Royal received £1,000 from the amount realised by the sale, with which it put itself into a proper state for divine worship, and then held a combined re-opening and harvest festival service.<sup>26</sup> The City of London Brewery Company built its new counting-house on the site, which was first occupied in September, 1900. When the church was pulled down it was found that it had been built on a raft because of the tide, and the new counting-house had to be built on a raft also.

(2) *War Damage in 1940 and 1941.*

From its trade-mark of an hour-glass (Figs. 1, 3, 4 and 5) Calvert's Brewery was popularly known as the Hour-Glass

Brewery, and the City of London Brewery Company continued to use this sign. A small but interesting relic of the Calvert ownership survived until 1943 in a cast-iron plate with an hour-glass, which was attached to two posts at the Thames Street end of Red Bull Wharf (Fig. 4). The posts were there to prevent damage to the masonry from casks and cases discharged from the drays, but, being cannon, they were sent to salvage. Until the recent destruction, the sign of an hour-glass decorated the modern quarries of the windows of the *Hour-Glass Tavern*. This building was older than it looked, as it had been modernized; it was once the tap of Calvert's Brewery,<sup>27</sup> and it is shown in Shepherd's drawing of the church of All Hallows (Fig. 5) with an hour-glass as its sign, "a colossal specimen carved in wood."<sup>28</sup> The hour-glass below the weather-vane on the old clock tower of the Brewery (Fig. 1) is now at Adams' Brewery, Halstead, Essex; another hour-glass below a vane is shown on a building near the church in a drawing of All Hallows the Great by J. Coney, etched by J. Skelton, for the *Architectural Series of London Churches*, 1812 (Fig. 3).

The footway has recently been widened opposite the site of the Hour-Glass Tavern, and the former position of the tavern is now marked by a stone let into the pavement.

The *Leathern Doublet Sewer*, which is one of the oldest sewers in the City, runs below the site of the Hour-Glass Tavern and under buildings on the east side of Campion Lane.<sup>29</sup>

Shepherd's drawing of All Hallows Church, Upper Thames Street (Fig. 5), shows the *watch-house of Dowgate ward* between the Hour-Glass Tavern and the churchyard of All Hallows the Less. Had the building survived, passers-by might still read the following inscription on a panel in its eastern window, and see the small arched recess mentioned therein, which is concealed by a porter in the drawing:—

In the year 1557 this watch-house was erected to guard the graves from the unwelcome attention of the body-snatchers. The exterior of this building remains exactly the same as it was when first built. At the pavement level you will notice a small arched recess, where the watchman kept his bell. In addition to guarding the burial-ground of All Hallows the Less, adjoining this watch-house, it was the watchman's duty to perambulate the neighbourhood at night and call on the citizens to put out their fires and lights.

The inscription was misleading, for the watch-house was

not erected until 1807, as may be learnt from an indenture in the possession of the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited, from which the following extracts are taken:—

At a vestry held in the vestry room of the church of the united parish of All Hallows the Great and Less, Thames Street, London, on Thursday, the fifth day of February, 1807, it was resolved that the churchwardens should apply to the bishop of London for a faculty to build a watch-house of the dimensions of ten feet in width and fourteen feet in depth in the north-west corner of the churchyard of the parish of All Hallows the Less. In pursuance of the said faculty the said watch-house was erected by the end of the year for the use of the ward of Dowgate at the expense of the inhabitants of the ward, and it was arranged that a yearly rent of £5 should be reserved and made payable to the churchwardens of the parish by the said ward of Dowgate for the accommodation received by the ward in having the said watch-house.

The reason for building this new watch-house was the proposed widening of Thames Street opposite Suffolk Lane, in the parish of All Hallows the Less, and the setting back of two houses, under one of which the watch-house was then situated, "the street there being so very narrow as to render it impossible for two carts to pass each other."

It had, therefore, been proposed that these two houses, which were situate in Thames Street, between the parish church of All Hallows the Great and Less and the churchyard of All Hallows the Less should be taken down and that one of them should be set back twelve feet and the other about six feet, by which way the pathway would range in a line with the churchyard wall of All Hallows the Less and considerably widen the street. The watch-house of the ward of Dowgate (of which the parish of All Hallows the Less forms part) was situated under one of the aforesaid houses, and the size of these houses would be so contracted as not to admit of the watch-house being placed there again, when the intended improvement had taken place. The north-west corner of the churchyard appeared to be the only eligible situation for rebuilding the same, and the churchwardens were consequently given the necessary faculty or licence.

The watch-house of 1807 was in use as a watch-house for the ward of Dowgate until it was rendered no longer necessary by the passing of the City of London Police Act<sup>30</sup> in 1839. By this Act, which followed Sir Robert Peel's Metropolitan Police Act<sup>31</sup> of 1829, the police force of the City was reconstituted on modern lines, and the ancient institution of watch and ward became obsolete. The watch-house was sold to Calvert's Brewery, who incorporated it in their Hour-Glass Tavern, and

so it remained until both were destroyed by bombing. Though this watch-house was not an ancient building its passing is regrettable, as it was an interesting link in the history of the City, which had a well-developed system of watch and ward as early as the 13th century, and which has always maintained a separate and independent jurisdiction in police matters.<sup>32</sup>

According to Strype, who gives an interesting account of the watch and of the attempts to reform it, "the watch is a very good means for the security of the City by night, if it were performed, as it is appointed by law; but there be great neglects in the attendances of the watchmen. Some of them frequently leave their stands and go to alehouses, or light people home. So that many times there are not above five or six watchmen in some places (as in the watch at Bishopsgate) instead of sixteen. So that if any fire or other accident should happen in the night, little or no help can be expected from them."<sup>33</sup>

In spite of legislation, however, the watch remained inefficient, and watchmen, those "poore, silly, old decrepped men," were subjects for mirth from the time of Ben Jonson.<sup>34</sup>

Dressed in heavy capes, muffled up to the ears, provided with long staves and dim lanterns, they issued from their watch-houses twice an hour for a minute or two to call the time and the state of the weather. As clocks and barometers they may have been of some service, but for prevention of crime they were worse than useless.<sup>35</sup>

The newspapers were never tired of skits at the expense of the watch, such as the following extract from the *Morning Herald* of 30th October, 1802:—

It is said that a man who presented himself for the office of watchman to a parish at the West End of the Town very much infected by depredators, was lately turned away from the Vestry with this reprimand: I am astonished at the impudence of such a great sturdy strong fellow as you are, being so idle as to apply for a watchman's situation, when you are capable of labour.<sup>36</sup>

The *Microcosm of London* gives a satirical account of the nightly watch, explaining that the watch-house is a place where the appointed watchmen assemble to be accoutred for their nocturnal rounds, under the direction of a constable, whose duty, being taken by rotation, enjoys the title of Constable of the Night.<sup>37</sup>

The remains of *Whitehall Gate* may still be seen in Upper Thames Street, adjoining the churchyard of All Hallows the Less, in spite of bombing and earlier mutilation. This gateway was removed from Whitehall in 1813, at the expense of Messrs. Calvert & Co., and set up by them in Thames Street with the consent of the parish, the Wardmote Inquest, and the Commissioners of Sewers, upon condition of their setting back a part of their premises in Upper Thames Street, adjoining the east end of the churchyard, and keeping open the said gate (and another which they likewise had the permission of erecting at the south end of Coldharbour) for the convenience of the public in passing and repassing from sun rising to sun setting, and the churchwardens having a key of each of the said gates for the public use at all times.<sup>38</sup>

This gateway stood for nearly fifty years in Whitehall, in place of the old Tudor gateway of the palace, which was found in 1765 to be in danger of falling, and which was thereupon demolished. The new gateway and gates had been estimated to cost £156; on removal, the contents were stated to be 656 feet, estimated at 6s. per foot.<sup>39</sup>

In 1928 the arch of the gateway was removed to allow the vans loaded with China mats to pass through. The jambs were shattered by the bombs which destroyed the Hour-Glass Tavern and the watch-house in May, 1941, when their stone blocks were scattered over Thames Street, leaving the structure in its present condition.<sup>40</sup>

Whitehall Gate may be seen intact in its Thames Street setting in an oil painting<sup>41</sup> which is reproduced at Fig. 6. The name of the artist is not known, but the date cannot be earlier than 1813, when the gate was brought to Thames Street, or later than 1876, when the tower of All Hallows the Great was taken down. The presence of a beadle,<sup>42</sup> not a policeman, perhaps indicates a date earlier than 1839, when the City of London Police Act was passed, though his activity outside the churchyard of All Hallows the Less suggests that he was employed by the vestry. In any case, his scarlet coat was doubtless more attractive to an artist than a policeman's more sombre uniform.<sup>43</sup> Gas lighting in the street<sup>44</sup> does not make greater precision in dating easier, for it is difficult to ascertain when this illuminant was used throughout the City, though a start is known to have been made in 1807,<sup>45</sup> and London was generally lighted in 1816.<sup>46</sup> The spread of gas lighting

must, however, have been gradual, for as late as 1855 the Metropolis Management Act<sup>47</sup> of that year required every vestry and district board to cause the several streets within their parish or district to be lighted well and efficiently with gas or otherwise. Several large towns were lighted with gas by 1825,<sup>48</sup> though the local authorities in parishes were empowered by the Lighting and Watching Act of 1833<sup>49</sup> to cause their streets to be lighted with gas, oil or otherwise.

In a letter to a newspaper a year or two before his death, in 1845, Sydney Smith drew attention to the changes which had taken place in his lifetime in these words:—

A young man, alive at this period, hardly knows to what improvements of human life he has been introduced; and I would bring before his notice the following . . . changes which have taken place in England since I first began to breathe in it the breath of life—a period amounting now to nearly seventy-three years.

Gas was unknown: I groped about the streets of London in the all but utter darkness of a twinkling oil-lamp, under the protection of watchmen in their grand climacteric, and exposed to every species of depredation and insult.<sup>50</sup>

The changes brought by the war permit no such complacency and, though lovers of London of every generation “have a house not built with hands, A sanctuary in the heart whom none can touch, And fragile memories more durable than stone,”<sup>51</sup> those that come after will have to rely even more than ourselves on pictorial and written records. They have been robbed of so much that commercial development had spared. The details and illustrations assembled in this article may give new life to some vanished buildings which will be indicated in Gothic lettering in future editions of Ordnance Survey maps. In any case, there are Pennant’s words to remind us that “the sight of a great London brewhouse exhibits a magnificence unspeakable,”<sup>52</sup> and Malcolm’s that “Calvert’s great brewhouse is another instance of opulence, industry and gain, but indescribable.”<sup>53</sup>

#### NOTES.

1. The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Alfred Moat, Director and Secretary of the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited, for much help and information in preparing this paper, and for giving Mr. Yates facilities for photographing several objects.
2. *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London*, A.D. 1413–37, p. 252.
3. There is a reference to Haywharf near the Ropery (from which the adjoining church of All Hallows the Great had its other name of “Allhallows in the Hay”) in 17 Edward III (1344). (*Lib. Cust.* I, p. cxii, and II, p. 450.)
4. Stow, Everyman ed., pp. 210, 211.



5. Grantham Lane was "so called of John Grantham, sometime mayor, and owner thereof, whose house was very large and strong, built of stone. . . . Ralph Dodmer, first a brewer, than a mercer, mayor 1529, dwelt there, and kept his mayoralty in that house; it is now a brewhouse, as it was afore." (Stow, *Everyman* ed., p. 208.)  
Grantham Lane is now called Brewers Lane; it lies west of the site of the City of London Brewery.
6. *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in P.R.O.*, Vol. V, A.12629.
7. J. J. Hubbard, *A Brief Historical Account of the Parish of Allhallows the Great* . . . 1843, pp. 61-7.
8. *Endowed Charities (City of London)*, vi (1904), p. 28.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 761.
10. See Robert Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, Vol. II, 1825, and Maitland, *History*, ed. 1772, p. 639, for an account of the fire on the premises in June, 1744.
11. Pennant gives "a list of the chief porter brewers of London, and the barrels of strong beer they have brewed, from Midsummer 1786, to Midsummer 1787." In this list Felix Calvert is second with 131,043 barrels. "And we make no doubt but it will give our readers much pleasure to find such a capital article of trade solely confined to England; and the more so, as a large quantity of the porter makes a considerable part of our exports." (Pennant, *London*, 1790, pp. 278-9.)
12. See C. L. Kingsford, "Historical Notes on Mediaeval London Houses," in *London Topographical Record*, X, pp. 94-100, and the references there given; also Charles Pendrill, "Coldharbour in Upper Thames Street," in *National Review*, August, 1936, pp. 212-23.
13. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*
14. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*
15. Philip Norman, "Notes on the Later History of the Steelyard in London," in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXI, Part 2, 1909, pp. 410, 411.
16. R. C. H. M., *The City*, p. 100a.
17. Philip Norman, *op. cit.*, pp. 396, 399, 400.
18. *City Press*, 6th August, 1894.
19. Philip Norman, *op. cit.*, pp. 413, 414.
20. In 1670 Theodore Jacobsen, with his brother Jacob and four others, all described as merchants of London and Germans born, obtained the King's letters patent for the building of a Lutheran church on the site of the destroyed church of Holy Trinity the Less in Trinity Lane. This church was later replaced by the German Lutheran church in Ritson Road, Dalston, which contains some of the old carved woodwork from its predecessor.  
*Ibid.*, p. 412.
21. R. C. H. M., *The City*, p. 100a.
22. The above account of the sale is from an article in the *City Press* for 6th August, 1894, entitled "Selling a City Church—A Knock-down Price."
23. Some of the fittings from All Hallows the Great were bought by Mr. Adams, of the Brewery, Halstead, Essex.
24. *Endowed Charities*, vi, p. 35, which adds that the rector and churchwardens expended about £45 in the erection of gates at the entrance to the old churchyard of All Hallows the Less, facing Upper Thames Street. The old churchyard of All Hallows the Great is entered by a passage leading from this street.
25. *Builder*, 9th September, 1893.
26. *City Press*.
27. Edward Callow, *Old London Taverns*, 1899, p. 131.
28. Larwood and Hotten, *History of Signboards*, 2nd ed., 1866, p. 397.
29. The crown of the sewer formed the floor of the cellar of the Hour-Glass Tavern and of certain other buildings in the Brewery.
30. 2 and 3 Vict., cap. xciv.
31. 10 Geo. IV, cap. xlv.
32. Halsbury's *Laws of England*, 2nd ed., 1937, Vol. XXV, p. 303.
33. Stow, ed. Strype, 1720, v, p. 394.
34. *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 7th October, 1944, "Police Exhibition at the Bodleian."
35. Capt. W. L. Melville Lee, *A History of Police in England*, 1901, pp. 183-4.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-5.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.
38. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, where, however, the date of the removal of Whitehall Gate is given as 1810.
39. Survey of London: *The Parish of St. Margaret*, Part 2, 1930, pp. 44-6.
40. The wall, which was protected by the cannon-posts at the corner of Red Bull Wharf and Upper Thames Street (see Fig. 4 and p. 173), appears to be an imitation in stucco of this stonework.
41. In the possession of the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust Limited.
42. The beadle was an officer of much importance in his capacity of agent for the overseers. He was appointed by the parishioners in vestry. He was employed as messenger of the parish, but acted more as a constable by keeping order in the church and churchyard during service. (*Encyc. Brit.*, 14th ed.)
43. The uniform of Peel's new force was a suit of blue cloth; the coat was of the "swallow-tail" fashion, with a row of bright white buttons. The collar, worn over a high leather stock, was of the stiff stand-up pattern. The stock was fastened with a brass buckle, and the unfortunate policeman's head was held tightly as in a vice, making it impossible to look round without turning his whole body. His trousers were of the peg-top fashion and his boots a pair of half-Wellingtons clumsily made. (Alwyn Solmes, *The English Policeman*, p. 130.)
44. The streets of London were the first in the world to receive gas lighting. It was introduced by F. A. Winzer, a German, who was known in this country as Winsor. In 1803 and 1804 he publicly exhibited his plan of illumination by coal gas at the Lyceum theatre and, early in 1807, he lighted up a part of one side of Pall Mall. (William Matthews, *An Historical Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present State of Gas Lighting*, 1827, pp. 29, 32.) He promoted the formation of the first gas company, now known as the Gas Light and Coke Company, which obtained its charter by Act of Parliament in 1812, subject to the provisions and restrictions contained in the earlier Act of 1810 (50 Geo. III, cap. clxiii). In 1815 Winsor "extended to France the advantages which had attended his efforts in England" (*Gent. Mag.*, 1830, ii, p. 89). The City of London Gas Company was formed a few years later by the Act of 57 Geo. III, cap. xxiii, but was amalgamated with the Gas Light and Coke Company under the City of London Gas Act of 1868.
45. This date is furnished by the Minutes of the Commissioners of Sewers, from which the following extract is taken:—  
 "At a Public Meeting of the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London and Liberties thereof in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall of the said City on Tuesday the 16th June, 1807, Mathew Wood, Esq., informed the Court that the Proprietors of Golden Lane Brewhouse had lately lighted the same with Gas and that they had offered to try the experiment of Lighting the Public Lamps in Part of Golden Lane and Beech Street, which was accepted." It was ordered "that the materials necessary to try the said experiment be provided under the direction of the Commissioners of the Ward of Cripplegate Without and the Surveyor." (Information from Mr. F. J. Forty, City Engineer.)
46. F. S. Cripps, *Earliest Works on Gas Lighting prior to 1840*, p. 17.
47. An Act for the Better Local Management of the Metropolis, 1855 (18 and 19 Vict., cap. cxx).
48. See *Notes and Queries*, 6th February, 1858, p. 111.
49. 3 and 4 Will. IV, cap. xc.
50. *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 24th February, 1945.
51. From some verses entitled "Anywhere in Tuscany," signed V. P., in *Ibid.*, 16th December, 1944.
52. Pennant, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
53. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, 1802, Vol. I, p. 50.