

ROMAN LONDON.

BY EUGENE LAWRENCE.

FEW who visit London, the early seat of English and American intelligence and freedom, remember the dead city that lies below it. Roman London lies fifteen or twenty feet beneath the modern city. Wherever excavations are made within the ancient walls, proofs of its civilization and intelligence are constantly found.¹ The rarest mosaics and even frescoes, the floors and walls of ancient houses long lost to sight, cups and vases, great amphoræ, rich Samian ware, bracelets, armlets, pins, needles, remains of dresses, and now and then bones and skulls, point out the site of the ancient city and the luxury or industry of its inhabitants. Within the walls it is evident that much of the Italian refinement was transported to the banks of the Thames. Houses rich with ornament, churches and basilicas, baths adorned with frescoes and rich with mosaics, streets well paved, a forum south of Cornhill, with its public buildings, its shops, and its busy multitudes, and a river covered with the commerce of the world, are revealed to us by the history and the relics of the past.

The fine wall that surrounded the city may still be traced, and Ludgate, Cripplegate, or Bishopsgate recall its memory. Four great Roman roads met in the forum, and thence divided to open a way to the farthest limits of the island, for the march of the legions and the requirements of trade. All the great Roman *strata*, or streets, like the modern railways of Britain, centred in the ancient capital. One ran to Lindum and the Caledonian colonies over the wall of Hadrian; one crossed to Chester; one penetrated Cornwall; one ran on the west coast to Carlisle. Along these fine highways the trade of London was carried. The roads that ran from the gates on the north side are marked by the usual signs of a great city population. Like the Appian and the Latin ways, they are lined with tombs. Cinerary urns and memorials of the dead begin at once to reveal themselves without the walls. With them

are found occasionally the remains of that taste for villas and fine rural homes that marked the environs of Rome. The British villas were little inferior to the Roman. Their tessellated floors, frescoed walls, hypocausts, baths, their varied apartments, their gardens of fruit and flowers, were spread over the three Roman provinces from Dover and Regni to York and Carlisle.

To form a true conception of the Roman city we must sweep away all the accumulated results of modern art and industry. We must create a *tabula rasa*, and remove, as the mere figments of fancy, the Cathedral, the Abbey, the Tower, the swarming throngs of Cheapside, and the endless squares of brick buildings that shelter the millions of the London of today; dissolve the splendid vision, and think only of the past. Confined within the narrow limits of these walls, its greatest length the river front, its greatest breadth between Cripplegate and the Thames, we see the Roman city. It is enclosed by a wall of stone-work and cement from twenty to thirty feet high. Towers or castella appear at intervals. It was built upon the plan of all other Roman cities, and resembled Pompeii or Lindum. Its four chief streets, at least forty feet wide, met in its forum; they were perfectly straight, and led directly to the gates. At their side were narrower *limites*, or lanes, all equally straight and free from sinuosities. The Roman engineers laid out their *strata* with unchanging regularity. Every street was paved with smooth stone, like those of Pompeii. Beneath the streets ran the sewers and the water-pipes—we may assume—so invariably found in every Roman city.

It is impossible to determine exactly the site of the London forum; it is only probable that there must have been one. We may however, infer, from evidence too detailed and minute to enter upon here, that the forum stood upon the oldest part of Roman London, viz., south of Cornhill and east of the Mansion House. It is by no means certain that there was a forum. But an inscribed tile seems to show that the seat of government of the province was at London. Those, however, who consider the later importance of Roman

¹ Mr. Roach Smith's life-long researches, Mr. Wright's "Celt, Roman, Saxon," his "Uriconium," and the endless list of archaeologists must be my authorities for the following sketch. But I have also personally studied some of the London remains.

London can hardly believe that it had no public buildings. At first an insignificant town, although a port of some trade, for more than two centuries it controlled the exports and imports of the entire island. Its wharves were filled with animation, its harbor with ships of burden. All the authorities point to London as a centre of commercial activity.

So complete was the security in which South Britain remained for centuries, under the protection of Hadrian's wall and the fortified cities of the west, that London was left without any other defence than a strong castle on the banks of the river until the age of Constantine. Unlike nearly all the other Roman cities, it had no walls, was unprotected even by a ditch, and lay open on all sides to attack. At last, however, at some unknown period, but between the years 350 and 369, by some unknown hand, the Roman wall was built. Its extent may easily be traced; fragments of it still remain; and recently, at an excavation made by the railway company, a party of antiquarians were enabled to study and explore more than one hundred feet in length of these ancient defences. Saxon and Dane, Norman and Englishman, have in the long course of fifteen centuries altered, overthrown, or rebuilt them; but their course and circuit were never changed. The Roman wall fixed the limit of the city, and its venerable fragments still recall the days when the last Roman legions marched down the Dover street, when Alfred restored the wall, or when Pym and Hampden found within its shelter the citadel of modern freedom.

To call up the ancient city, therefore, we must wholly sweep away the modern. On its present site, but fifteen or more feet below, we enter the classic London through a gateway surmounted by towers, over a pavement trodden by many feet, but kept in careful repair. Again, at Silchester we see the disposition of the Roman gate. The wall is recessed so as to command the entrance for forty feet on either side. On the broad street from the bridge to the northern gate, near the present Bishopsgate, was the highway that for three centuries had accelerated the trade of Britain.

The houses of the better class can be reconstructed from the Roman villas whose foundations have been laid bare in various parts of the country. A very great num-

ber have been found and partially examined by excavations. Some of them are of a size and splendor which denote great wealth, as well as a feeling of profound security. They have been found, for the most part, in the southern counties. Many are in Kent—a county which, so long as the Count of the Saxon shore protected its coasts, was the safest part of Britain. But many of these villas have been found in Lincolnshire, and there are probably hundreds awaiting discovery. It is not fair, in considering the trader's house of London, to take the magnificent ruins of such a villa as that which has been laid bare at Woodchester, in Gloucestershire. Here we find sitting-rooms fifty feet square ranged about courts or gardens a hundred and a hundred and fifty feet square; here are splendid tessellated pavements, fresco paintings, fragments of statues and groups, Samian ware, and every indication of art and luxury. We need not suppose that London merchants lived in palaces.

The excavations of Silchester, however, give us precisely the kind of information we desire. We there find, for instance, two houses laid open—one the house of a wealthy citizen or a superior official, the other that of a humble *bourgeois*. The general arrangement is similar in the two houses. Let us take the larger. It is built with a southern aspect. A square garden is surrounded by a cloister, which afforded shade in the summer and a sheltered walk in winter. Behind the cloister on three sides are large chambers. Those on the west side are winter rooms. They were warmed by a hypocaust, from which pipes conveyed hot air along the walls of bedrooms and sitting-rooms. Outside the house ran another covered cloister. Behind the house was an open court-yard or garden, with chambers for the slaves, and in front stretched a large garden. The walls of the house are of brick and stone; the pavements are tessellated with great taste. Tools of various kinds have been found, some of them, as a carpenter's plane, exactly like those still in use; coins of Roman emperors have been found, and a fragment or two of statues. We can thus understand that the Pompeian villa must not be taken as the model of the Romano-British. Lysius indeed endeavored, without any success, to apply the rules of Vitruvius to the villa of Woodchester. We can also understand that, attention being paid to the exigencies of

the climate, Roman ideas of domestic architecture and decoration extensively prevailed over the province; also that the island during two hundred years of tranquillity became the residence of many very wealthy people. How did they become rich? In the same way as at present—by trade. And in the same way as over other parts of the Roman Empire, by the labor of slaves and the traffic in slaves. They formed part of the wealth of the country, and were exported just as the iron and the tin and the hides. Lamentably obscure as is the history of the time, it seems plain that the Roman system broke down because when the legions were defeated or withdrawn there was no reserve, no rural strength—nothing but farms cultivated and managed by slaves for wealthy proprietors. What happened on the rich plains of Lombardy happened in Britain. Slaves will work for their masters without a murmur. But no slaves were ever yet discovered who would fight and die for their masters.

Such, then, was the house of the wealthy London merchant. His house stood in that part of London north of Cheapside and Cornhill, outside the busy and crowded river-side, where he could stretch out the garden which he used so much. As for the houses of the lower sort, one supposes that they were built in many stories, as those of Rome. But, indeed, nothing is known of the working classes of London—whether the people were freemen or slaves; how they lived and how they worked; what arts they carried on, and what industries they followed. Stevedores, dockers, lightermen, watermen, ferry-men, sailors, coopers, packers, all those who lived by the trade and the lading and unloading of merchant ships, crowded together at the port of London—a rough people, coarse of speech and of manners, as they are to this day.

Into the lofty, brilliant, well-heated apartments of the finer houses there was thrown a confused mass of furniture not unworthy of the richest palaces of modern days. Cushions and lounges of crimson silk and Babylonian tapestry surrounded the banqueting tables and walls; mirrors of metal or glass shone on all sides. Glass windows let in the inconstant sunlight; and candles, lamps, and candelabra in the winter evenings, scattered over the rooms on tripods, tables, niches, and, perhaps, hung aloft on the ceiling, threw down suf-

ficient light. The infinite number and varied forms of their lamps show the care the Romans gave to lighting their rooms and their taste for nocturnal amusement. Carpets, rugs, and matting were thrown upon the mosaic floor. Statues of real merit stood around in artistic negligence. Tables of citron wood, or marble tripods, book shelves and stands, glass vases of all forms and modes, rich with green, red, or purple dyes, shone on the Roman sideboard. Goblets, pitchers, and vases of the delicate red Samian ware added to the glow of color; they were so fragile that only fragments of the finer kind have been preserved. In the midst of his luxurious home sat the London curial, or alderman of the Roman time, on his curule chair, surrounded by wife and children, clothed in the richest fabrics of the day, and all glittering with rings, jewels, armlets, bracelets, some of which have been left behind to tell their tale. On the bones of a woman's arm in Mr. Roach Smith's collection are seen three bracelets of gold, with gems and rare chasings.

To complete the picture of the home of the Roman period, we must add a great number of articles of convenience or comfort that would seem to us almost exclusively modern. Chairs, lounges, sofas, bedsteads, chests, closets, drawers, curtains, glass vessels, mirrors, and vases, bunches of keys, and a great variety of kitchen utensils, gold and silver ornaments, baskets and urns for money, great amphoræ filled with wine, and the well-stored kitchens of the wealthy, made up the requirements of Roman life. These the barbarous Saxons plundered or destroyed, chiefly from a fear that magic lay in all objects of art. A garden in the front of the villa, filled with roses from Pæstum and lilies and violets, was never forgotten by a people so fond of flowers; baths, hot and cold, were attached to every large house. Fourteen centuries and the ravages of Saxon and Dane have covered Roman London with a cloud of mystery that no one has been able to remove. No careful research into its streets and forum has been made or seems possible. British and American archæologists are active on the coasts of Asia Minor and the Egyptian Delta, but find little attraction in the dead city upon whose foundations civilization was established, American and English. What we owe to Roman London must be deter-

mined by future study and excavation. But no government aids in its exploration, and no private benefactor insures it. Serious obstacles interpose. Its site is occupied by the warehouses and public buildings of the modern city of enormous value, and it would be impossible to remove them. Only when a railway or embankment forces open some of the secrets of the world below, do we come upon the remains of fine houses and the countless conveniences of the past. In fact, the study of their own antiquities has been hitherto neglected by our English cousins. But there are many cities yet to be explored that lie covered only by a thin layer of earth; the Society of Antiquaries has taken in hand the most important. We may look at last for a rare disclosure of buried treasures, a new flood of light on the manners of the English Romans.

Conservative even in dress, the Romans impressed upon the provincial cities the fashions of Rome and Naples. The *toga* was the mark of civilization. Every citizen must wear it. Unfit and inconvenient as it must seem in the cold climate of Britain, it was apparently adopted by the natives and their Italian masters, and formed for two hundred years the common dress of the people. This oblong or square piece of cloth thrown over the shoulders and held by a brooch or button was the symbol of the *togati*, or the ruling race. The tunic worn next the skin was the real garment. This was a long coat with arms made of wool or linen, and reaching to the knees with men and to the ankles with women. It was warm; it was close to the figure; it was sometimes, in cold weather, double. It remained, with modifications, for many centuries the sole dress of the people, being sometimes of leather. Over the tunic the men threw the *toga* or the *pallium*; the women, the *stola*. The feet were covered with sandals and shoes, many of which have been found in the ruined cities. The British *braccæ*, or "breeches," were perhaps laid aside, but the soft, warm, double tunic was quite as efficacious against the cold as the *braccæ*. They resembled the kilt of the Scots. The richest stuffs, silks and woollens, were used by the wealthier classes in their dress at home and abroad. The purple borders of the officials marked the distinctions of rank. An absurd passion for titles and office had always been

a trait of the Roman character—chiefly among the uncultivated classes—and the British cities, almost independent and self-governing, imitated the fashions of Rome. The Roman municipal government was evidently the model of that of the cities of England and America. The emperors left to the provincial towns and colonies the right of electing their municipal officers. Every year an election was held. The modern mayor or president was represented by the *duumviri*, or two officials who formed the head of the city government. But they could only be taken from the list of the *curiales*, or senators, who formed the ruling aristocracy of the town. It is probable that these *curiales* were of Roman descent, the first settlers of the distant *colonia*. Mr. Coote has shown that the chief Italian families—the Fabii, Claudii, Valerii, and many others—are all represented in the British settlements and inscriptions, and they may have formed the germ of a colonial aristocracy. Human equality had long been forgotten among the once progressive Romans. Slavery, imperialism, and caste were held to be the institutions of God, not man. The *curiales* were sometimes a hundred in number, and formed the Board of Aldermen of Roman London. The office was hereditary. The sons—perhaps the eldest—were *curiales* like the fathers. But one trace of popular sovereignty was preserved. An officer was elected each year whose duty it was to defend the privileges of the people. He was the *tritone* of London. It is impossible to define his powers or rights. We only know that such a faint shadow of the famous popular officials of Rome existed in the British colonies.

In many things the Roman aldermen seem to have governed well, and far more wisely than their barbarous Saxon or Norman successors. The health of Roman London was cared for by the most stringent laws. No interments were allowed within the city walls, and the pestilential graveyards that until quite recently filled most European and even American cities with noxious odors were never known in Roman England. The streets, as at Uriconium or Lindum, were well paved and kept in good repair. They were carefully swept and purified. Beneath them ran sewers connecting with each house, and a full stream from some aqueduct or river was poured into the

city, filling its fountains, baths, and reservoirs, and providing cleanliness and abundant water for the people. It is probable that fountains played in every square of the British cities, and that the baths of London were open freely to all. One still remains in the Strand. But the immense buildings used for public bathing have been excavated and explored in other English cities, and show the great labor and cost bestowed by the *curiales* on their various conveniences. No public charitable establishments in any modern city can approach them in their costly luxury. They were the palaces of the people. The baths of London, although still hidden beneath the pavements and foundations of modern warehouses and churches, we may naturally infer were not inferior to those found at Uriconium or York in size and splendor.

The painted walls, mosaic and tessellated floors, pictures, statues, games and athletic exercises, porticos, marble columns, gilded ceilings, immense apartments, the *sudarium*, the *frigidarium*, and the endless luxuries of the Roman bath were opened at the public expense, at a very small price, to all the free people of London.¹ But besides these, a great number of costly entertainments were provided from the public funds. Wherever he went, the Roman carried with him his passion for games and spectacles. Innocent as these had been under the earlier kings and the more austere republicans, they grew at last into a series of shocking exhibitions, and corrupted and destroyed the progressive humanity of Rome. They began and completed the moral decay of the nation. As the imitator of Italian fashion, the British city could not have been far behind its Gallic and Roman contemporaries. London must have possessed its circus, amphitheatre, theatre, and open park or square for the athletic games of its Roman youth. No remains of these buildings have been found at London. But they exist in all the other British cities. They were probably built and maintained at the public expense. A generous emperor, it is true, like Hadrian and the Antonines, might build aqueducts, bridges, theatres, and amphitheatres for his obedient subjects, but it is scarcely possible that all the amphitheatres, baths,

circuses, or theatres of the English cities can have been the gifts of the emperors. They were probably paid for from the city revenues. It is certainly most remarkable that no trace of an amphitheatre should have been found near London. It has been suggested that, considering that the real importance of London only began in the third or fourth century, when the country was rapidly becoming Christian, it never had any amphitheatre at all. The aldermen—*curiales*—like the Roman ediles, were expected to provide free amusements for all the citizens.¹

Of the character of these entertainments we have frequent representations on the British cups and vases. They were too often frightful copies of the worst fashions of Rome. The bull-fight, with its *bestiarius* or *matador*, is seen painted on the common pottery; it is still preserved in the national amusements of Spain. Cock-fights were also popular everywhere, and game-cocks with dangerous spurs have left their bones among the ruins. Athletic sports and chariot races were no doubt as well attended in Britain as at Rome or Constantinople. But the amphitheatres, with their hideous contests of men with wild beasts or with each other, seem to have followed the Roman colonist wherever he wandered. They are found along the wall of Hadrian, in the cities of the west, at Gloucester and Chester, and no doubt the amphitheatre of London will at some time be exhumed, or some traces found of its ill-omened site. The amusements of a nation indicate its character and its fate; the nation that sinks into cruel sensuality in its most popular recreations is certain to fall to decay. Progressive development toward humanity and refinement can alone give a lasting strength to political institutions, and Roman Britain perished by its own hand.

The barbarous thirst for inhuman spectacles is seen everywhere in the Roman remains. On the cups and vases that adorned the family table the favorite ornament seems to have been taken from the sports of the arena. The *bestiarius*, or *matador*, is seen engaged in a fearful struggle with the savage bull; the gladiator pursues his deadly aim. These de-

¹ The great bath recently excavated at Bath—*Aquæ Solis*—is 110 feet long and 68 feet wide. Above it is a fine vaulted ceiling.

¹ Pliny's letters to Trajan, 42, 46, 48, show that the aqueducts, theatres, and baths were built at the cost of the citizens. They show, too, that peculation was common.

signs, which must have educated the mind of childhood, and been familiar to the masses of the people, could only have served to prepare them for revolution and merciless disorder. It is not the ballads so much as the amusements of a people that a wise legislator would care to direct. The amphitheatres of Colchester, Silchester, Caerleon, Richborough, and many other cities were of stone, like those of Rome, and were of considerable extent. A theatre of large size has been found recently at St. Albans. But as yet we know too little of the Roman cities to determine how many boasted their places of public amusement. We can only infer that no large town was without its amphitheatre. The tale told on the Roman pottery seems conclusive. The Romano-British were accustomed from childhood to delight in scenes of cruelty and human woe.

A Roman street in London had little resemblance to the tall buildings and brilliant array of Cheapside or Broadway. But it must have possessed its own peculiar excellence. Watling Street—its Roman name is unknown—the highway of traffic, ran from London Bridge to Newgate, and led thence through a rich country, thickly overspread with cities and villas, by various branches, to Gloucester, Chester, and the farthest limit of Cornwall and Wales. Here were the seats of the great mining industries—iron, lead, and tin—the famous baths of *Aquæ Solis*, and some of the most fertile lands of England.¹ The traffic and travel on Watling Street must therefore have been immense. Within the walls it was probably forty feet wide, well paved and free from all impurities. Cleanliness was a leading trait in every Roman city. The houses on each side had few windows, but were painted in stripes of red and blue, or sometimes adorned with frescoes. The walls were usually three feet thick, and the entire building was of solid stone, cement, or brick. Below, the shops were filled with rich wares: the clothiers, with Tarentine woollens and the coarser kinds of native growth and manufacture; the jewellers, with British beads of glass or jet, gold brooches and armlets, and the rarest gems from Italy and the East; the bakers, with fine bread and confections; the gaudy tavern, with its invitation to eat and drink, offered the

famous Rutupian oysters; a book-store would show on its shelves some fine copies of Livy and Cicero, a late edition of Martial, perhaps an array of Greek classics that would fill with hopeless envy and delight a collector of our own day.

Along Watling Street moved the varied throngs of Roman London. Clad in toga and tunic, sandals and trousers, the British merchant came from his mines and his factories around Deva and Isca¹ to sell his wares in the London market; the wild Brigantes, still half savage, in rude vest of skins, descended from the north with furs and game; some yellow-haired Caledonian, huge in form, with fierce blue eyes, towered over the throng; a horde of slaves followed, and a great press of people. But suddenly the crowd parts, and a cohort of Roman soldiers, new levies from Batavia, or even Spain, moves swiftly on to its post on the distant frontier. Sometimes an official, with lictors and attendants, makes his way among the crowd; sometimes even the divine emperors of Rome, the masters of half mankind, passed up Watling Street with their legions to drive the Picts and the Irish over the wall of Hadrian. Here Constantius, the gentle, was often seen, and his wife Helena; here his son Constantine assumed, or displayed, the sceptre of the world to reform its creed; and here Septimius Severus long before, with his wicked sons, Geta and Caracalla, was borne on his litter to pass to the northern gate on his way to York, Scotland, victory, and death.

Roman England was a favorite province with the Roman emperors. Britannicus was one of their proudest titles. Cæsar and Claudius—a long interval—began its conquest. Vespasian won early laurels on its wild battle-fields; the best generals of Rome fought on the banks of the Humber and the Thames. In the next century Hadrian shivered amidst the fogs of Britain, and probably built the great wall, the grandest of all the Roman fortifications in Italy and Europe. We may perhaps trace his protecting hand in many great roads and bridges, and London may have owed much to him. He no doubt often trod its well-paved streets. Antoninus Pius

¹ The Roman drains and reservoir have recently been restored and made use of at Bath. *Archæolog. Journal*, 1886, vol. 42, p. 72.

¹ The mines of Somerset, Herefordshire, and all the west show "immense heaps of scoriæ and cinders, miles of mines and smelting places." *Archæolog. Journal*, vol. 34, p. 364; vol. 36, pp. 327-8.

was another benefactor of Britain. York and its imperial palace were more closely connected with the victorious, death-stricken Septimius Severus; but he too may have aided in the aggrandizement of the commercial capital. Caracalla, the wicked, has left his name in the Scottish legends and a fearful renown in history. Of the later emperors, the family of Constantius Chlorus seem almost British in their tastes and habits, and a doubtful legend makes Helena a British maiden of high degree before she became the wife of an emperor. The finest and the most numerous of the Roman coins found in Britain are marked with the names and emblems of the family of Constantine. Helena, Constantine, Constans, Crispus, Constantius II., Fausta, wife of Constantine, Dalmatius, her nephew, and many others, are recorded in these useful memorials.¹

It is plain, therefore, that London for two centuries was a frequent residence of the chiefs of the empire. It must have profited by their care. They would naturally adorn it with fine buildings and perfect its wonderful system of roads. To suppose that it wanted the splendid temples, baths, and basilicas that are found at Uriconium and Calleva is an excess of scepticism. The forum of London lies hidden under the brick warehouses of the modern city. Its situation, as pointed out above, was on the south side of the modern Cornhill. But wherever its site, we may properly conclude that it was in size and splendor not unworthy of the commercial capital. Crowning its highest point, as at Pompeii or Uriconium, a fine temple, converted into a Christian church if not originally built for one, with a façade of fluted columns and Corinthian capitals, rose above the busy city. On the other side of the forum a great basilica, or city hall, several hundred feet in length, with two aisles of pillars—the model of all later cathedrals—resounded with the pleadings of the *causidici*, or lawyers. At the other end of the forum opened the Roman baths of London. In their broad halls and palaces gathered the scholar, the poet, the noble, the curial, and an immense throng of the people to join in the favorite pleasures of a Ro-

man city. Not far away stood the shops of the goldsmith and the jeweller, and long lines of pillared porticos to shelter the people from rain and snow as they passed in and out of their magnificent forum. It is strange how these Romans surpassed us in architecture and the cleanliness and comfort of their cities.

Our savage ancestors brought from their forests only a few skins for covering, some coarse woollen, and none of the usages of a civilized family and home. When they destroyed the English cities they met with a thousand articles of which they knew no use, and comforts that were to them only worthless luxuries. The beds of down or hair, the carpets, curtains, chairs, baths, lounges, cushions, and all the furniture of the Roman apartment, were at first neglected or destroyed. In some of the ruined cities pieces of money are found scattered over the floors of houses, or over fields and gardens, as if thrown away by the first plunderers. Our Saxon ancestors valued only slaves and workmen, land and forest. But they began to learn in the usual manner, by the introduction of trade, the various wants and conveniences of civilization. The Saxons soon learned to imitate the arts of civilization; and nearly everything we have of comfort at home, convenience and ease, was familiar to our ancestors—knives for the table, metal spoons and clasp-knives, combs, needles, pins,¹ the rich brooches and golden armlets of the women, rings, signets, stamps, the beds, lounges, chairs, that we use to-day, and were used wherever trade introduced some of the Roman civilization.

It would, indeed, be almost possible to refurnish a modern house from the common conveniences of a Roman villa, so closely have we imitated them, and the Saxons have transmitted to us by a regular succession the arts of common life. The Saxon or Norman lady of modern England or America owes more than she usually remembers to the luxurious women of the ancient cities. Her mirror, her hair-pins, curls and fillets, her false hair, cosmetics and hair dyes, tunics and cloaks, ear-rings and necklaces, shoes and sandals, possibly her gloves, and even her

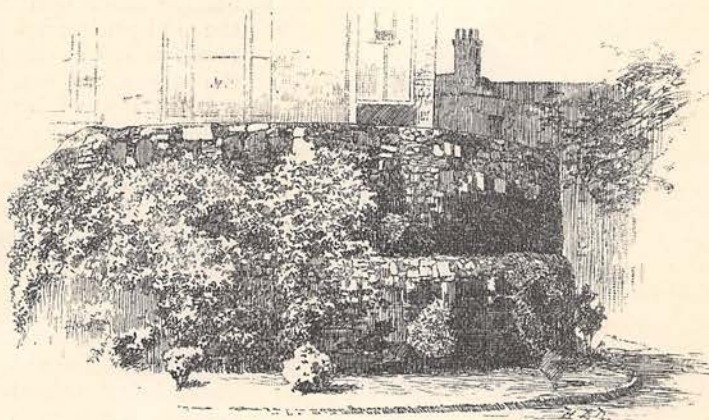
¹ Wright's *Celt, the Roman, etc.*, p. 371. The coins of Carausius come next to those of Constantine. At Caerleon, of 260 coins, 28 belong to Constantine the Great, 21 to Carausius.

¹ The spoon, the two combs of bone and one of wood, the foot-rule of bronze, the pair of compasses, knives, beads, etc., in the collections, carry us back at once into the Roman household. See Well-beloved, *Antiquities of York*.

parasol (*umbra- culum*) and her fan (*flabellum*) were first used in England by her Roman predecessors. But some things the Saxons never learned, even after their conversion joined them to the brotherhood of civilized people. Their houses of wood, rudely built, replaced the stone or brick villas of the Romans. The furnaces, or hypocausts, that warmed the villa were laid aside and the fire built in the midst of the house, the smoke passing out from above. All was once more rude and savage. The baths were abandoned and cleanliness almost forgotten. The city sewers were choked, the aqueducts broken, furniture and dress grew rude and careless; even the Roman roads and bridges that spanned the country were neglected.

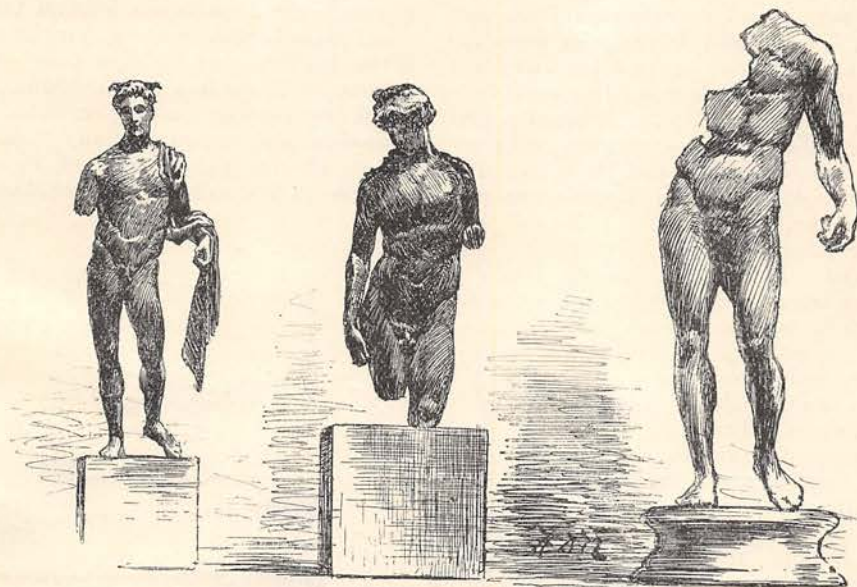
The ideas of Rome, introduced once

more by the early scholars, saved them from irreparable decay. The libraries of York and London had once been extensive and valuable, we naturally infer. Greek teachers had visited Britain even in Plutarch's time. In two centuries of ease and abundance it must have reached a high degree of intelligence. The homes of the Roman Britons were adorned with pictures from the graceful mythology of the South; the statues and paintings of



A BIT OF ROMAN WALL.

Photographed by W. H. Grove, Art Photograph Studio, 114 Brompton Road, S. W. London.



STATUES OF MERCURY, APOLLO, AND JUPITER OR NEPTUNE: FOUND IN THE THAMES, 1837.
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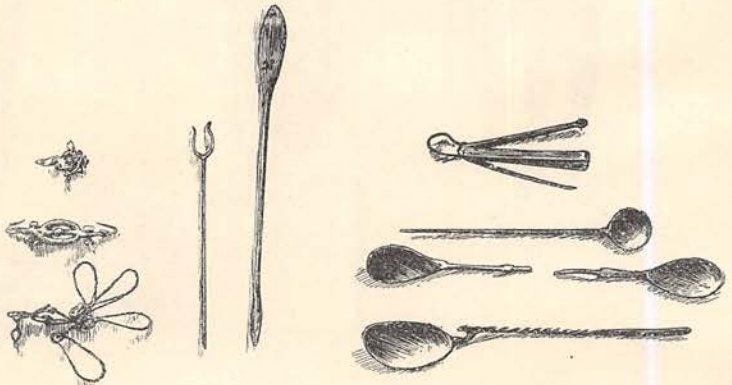


BRONZE BUST OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN:
FOUND IN THE THAMES.
British Museum.

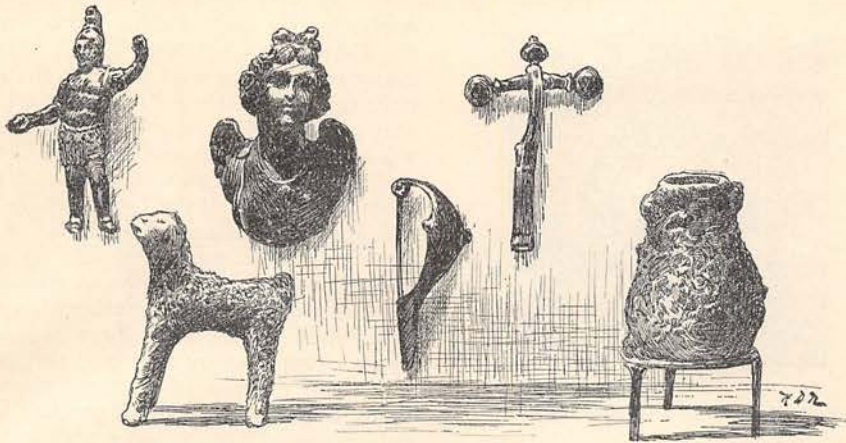
the earlier masters were copied in mosaic or fresco in the British cities. Books must necessarily have followed. Virgil and Livy were read and studied, we may well believe, at Uriconium and Hadrian's wall, London and Dover. In these the distant provincial became familiar with the ideas of popular rule, of national freedom, of the teachings of humanity, and the notion of human progress, with politeness, temperance, and thought. The example of the Roman Republic was ever before them, and the debates of the Roman forum, embracing almost all political theory, must still have influenced the ruling minds of Britain. The libraries of York and London perished in the strife of two centuries in which the English slowly conquered the land; they disappeared in the

blazing cities and homes. Nothing of the old learning was left, save that which found a refuge in the monastery and the school. When learning revived it was not the old Roman scholarship, but the ecclesiastical learning. The Saxon kings, led by an Alfred, encouraged refinement and cultivated knowledge. The Norman kings imitated them. At last classical literature revived, and a sense of a higher life dawned upon Europe and America.

In the story of Roman London the sixty millions of our people, with all the future generations of the entire hemisphere, have an undying interest. The city perished, leaving few records behind. But when the English were converted, once more the ideas, the arts, and the learning of Rome revived. Roman books and Roman thought cultivated the English mind. We have been educated in the Anglo-Roman schools, and studied the arts invented for us by the Romans. A few things have been added by more distant races. China has given us its finer pottery and earthen-ware, Japan its bronzes; we have surpassed the silks and muslins of the East. But our dinner table still shows the knives, spoons, cups, plates, glass, and plated ware of the Romans; our floors, their tiles and mosaics; our walls, an inferior imitation of their frescoes; our dress is the Roman tunic joined to the British trousers; our churches, the basilica; our baths, a poor copy of those of Uriconium and Lindum. It would be useless to trace the resemblance of modern and ancient life any farther. But in all the higher traits of mental progress we owe still more to our Roman



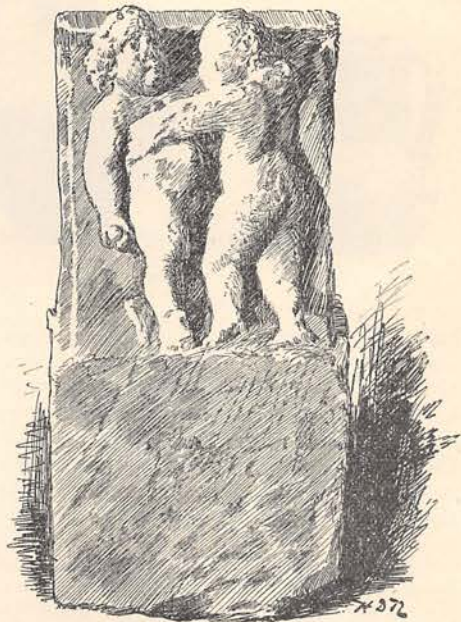
BRONZE ARTICLES FOR DOMESTIC USE.



BRONZE FIBULÆ AND OTHER ORNAMENTS: FOUND IN LONDON.

teachers. It was Virgil who aroused the poetic ardor of Dante, and Ovid gave rise to Ariosto; and Saxon monks and English kings in a still earlier age were cultivated and softened by Latin manuscripts and books. As the seat of an extensive commerce and internal trade, Roman London was as eminent in antiquity as it is to-day. Its monuments, the memorials of its greatness, prove its prominence. One of these, if it is Roman work, which is uncertain, is the embankment of the river Thames.¹ This immense work is quite unequalled by any of the labors of the modern English engineers. For thirty-seven miles along the course of the stream lofty mounds confine the river within fixed bounds, and offer a secure path to the navigator. On each side the country spreads out far below the embankment, and more than once the waters have broken through, overspread the lowlands, and left desolation around them. The English had neglected to repair and strengthen the banks of the river, and were indebted to the skill of a Dutch engineer for the restoration of the Roman work. "The Thames from Richmond," says Mr. Smiles, "is an artificial river." How many years of ceaseless toil, of acute engineering skill, and vast expense were employed on this unequalled work no history relates, no

record even suggests. Some authorities attribute the embankment to the Belgic traders, before the Roman invasion; others, even to the monks of the Middle Ages. But there is good reason to suppose that the true authors of the chief improvements on the Thames were the Romans. Similar works on almost an equal scale exist in other parts of England, and we have the complaint of the subject Britons that they were worn out and consumed



STATUETTES: FOUND IN THAMES STREET, 1889.
Gullihall.

¹ Mr. Spurrell, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. 42, p. 270, denies the greatness and the importance of the embankment. He is evidently a careful and thorough observer; he has studied his theme for many years. But he stands alone. Smiles and Loftie, Wren, Dugdale, Black, Guest, and Green, are all arrayed against him.



ROMAN PAVEMENT: LEADENHALL STREET.

in clearing the woods and embanking the fens. Not that the hapless natives were ever treated by their Roman taskmasters as harshly as were the savages of Hayti and Cuba by the Spanish discoverers. But they have outlived their conqueror.

Before these embankments were made, the country below London was an immense fen, or marsh, over which the tide flowed incessantly.¹ The town could have been



ROMAN AMPHORÆ.

only a collection of rude houses seated on the rising ground above the river. It was already a seat of considerable trade even before the Roman conquest. But the genius and skill of the Roman engineers, if the Romans built the embankment, gave it those unequalled facilities for traffic that have secured its commercial suprem-

¹ Spurrell, Arch. Journal, v. 42, p. 30, ridicules Guest's and Green's picture of the Thames estuary. His argument must be decided by the antiquaries. It seems difficult to see how the high tide of the Thames could ever have reached only the lowlands at its mouth; it now flows beyond Richmond.

acy in every age. By the embankment the Thames was confined within bounds; many acres of land were added to the agricultural domain, while along the fine highway of the river a ceaseless procession of vessels of every size and form moved up and down. They came, as Strabo tells us, from the mouths of the Loire and the Garonne, the Seine and the Rhine. Some were war ships, moved usually by oars, and distinguished by their sharp beaks of iron, and their crews armed with spears and shield; some were huge merchant vessels, propelled by oars and sail, laden with rich cargoes of Eastern manufactures, with the wines of Italy and the artistic wares of Greece; some, sailing down the river from the docks of London, would carry the tin, lead, furs, and the corn and cattle of the west to the ports of Gaul and Spain. Julian found in Britain the necessary supplies for his perishing soldiers in Germany, and the immense stores he drew from it when famine prevailed on the Continent show the general cultivation and prosperity of the island.¹ His six hundred corn ships were hastily built

in the forest of Ardennes, and possibly landed only on the southern shore; if we allow them a burden of one hundred tons each, they would equal the capacity of at least six *Umbrias* or *Etrurias*, and the very names of our modern argosies recall the Italian teachers of our ancestors.

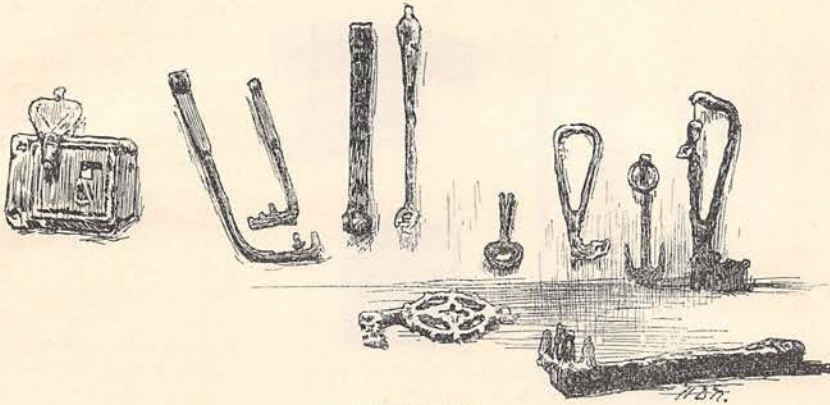
The singular importance of London is shown in the circumstance that here converged all the roads of the island. From the Hadrianic wall, Carlisle, or Segedunum, from Wales, Cornwall, and the west, from Dover, Rutupia, and Regnum, the wonderful highways pointed directly to the commercial centre. Whoever visited England must almost of necessity have passed through London. The merchant and the traveller would meet in its forum.

¹ Julian suggests the greatness of his labor—*ἔργον οὐ μικρόν*—and indicates the wealth of Britain. Ep. Atheniensem, Hersklein, p. 360.

But especially was it, under the later empire, the chief mart for the import and export trade. Corn and cattle had always been the chief products of Britain; slaves, iron, gold, silver, lead, dogs of a famous breed, and probably furs and wild beasts, were also exported. And all these would naturally find their way from the north and west by the various roads to the con-

some new trait of Roman industry and taste; new villas are constantly found, new cities explored, the countless roads traced to the commercial capital.

The traders of Roman London have their apparent, perhaps real, representatives in its modern guilds. The *collegium*, or guild of traders and working-men, may be traced through the whole history of the British



ROMAN KEYS.
Guildhall.

venient port on the banks of the Thames. For the common traveller the usual way to London was by the port *Rutupia*, near Dover, and the direct road through Canterbury: the Romans always avoided, if possible, a sea-voyage. But for goods and traffic the chief highway must have been the river Thames. It was to make use of its harbor that all the Roman roads seem to have been built. No city was ever more admirably supplied with internal communications on every side. The Roman roads that spread like a net-work around London were never equalled in modern times in any city, until the invention and multiplication of railways forever surpassed them.

The wealthy merchants of London built the fine villas of Kent, and adorned the country with their stately homes. Trade has been the foundation of every great city, except perhaps Rome and Paris. It made the southeast coast of England one of the fairest and richest of the ancient lands. Every day, even with the casual and irregular researches of private explorers, brings out

cities by inscriptions, documents, and charters.¹ They were formed for charitable, commercial, and religious purposes; to maintain the sick, to bury the dead, and probably to preserve the excellence of workmanship in all branches of trade. The "Mercers'" and the "Goldsmiths'" companies of modern London are the direct descendants of the associations that existed in the Italian cities—the trades-unions of an early age. London was the centre of the chief manufacturing

¹ They resembled the *sodalitii*, or social clubs, of Rome, mentioned in Cicero's *Plancius*. See Wander, *Orat. pro Plan.*, Leps. 1830. And Mr. Coote has left a careful study of this interesting subject.

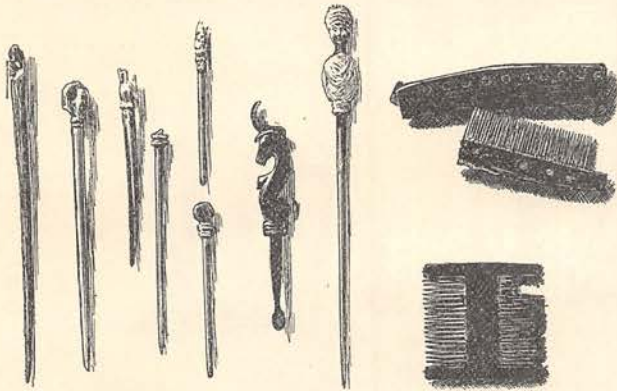


LAMPS AND LAMP STAND.

interests of the time. One of the most important of these was the manufacture of earthen-ware. The Romans used vessels of clay where the modern European has long substituted metal or wood.¹ In Roman London wine was kept in clay jars of ample size. A "pot of gold" owes its

vessels from Upchurch and Castor and the rare importations from the South. Another source of the wealth of the city was the mines of tin, lead, and copper. Possibly as miners and merchants in metal the London traders controlled the European markets. The wealthy *publi-*

cani hired the mines, and made immense profits from the dealers of Italy and Gaul. The forests of Dean and Sussex are full of the traces of their labors; and the mines of western England have been followed for endless miles along forgotten tracks. The splendid villas and city palaces of London were built from the profits of this productive labor. The demand for tin for bronzes, iron for weapons, of lead for brass, pipes, roofs, and various articles of domestic use, could scarcely ever fail. Once, we are told, lead was produced so abundantly in



TOILET ARTICLES—HAIR-PINS; HAIR-PIN (SARINA, WIFE OF HADRIAN); BONE COMB AND CASE (CLOAKHAM); BONE COMB (LOWER THAMES STREET).

origin to the Roman practice of keeping their money in earthen chests or vases. Grain, oil, and fruit were preserved in great earthen jars. Lamps and candelabra of clay were on every table. Tiles covered the roofs and floors. The countless cups, vases, plates, and cooking utensils of the Roman family life are seen in every excavation, and cover the sites of the ruined cities.

Immense factories of earthen-ware arose in the neighborhood of London, quite unparalleled in modern times. At Upchurch, on the river below the city, long lines of works are seen that have been traced for twenty miles; at Castor, north of London, was another great manufactory of pottery as extensive as that below. The Castor ware was dark blue or black, the shapes graceful, the ornaments of lines and circles in excellent taste. Some red ware was made in Britain, some white; but it was of inferior execution. The delicate Samian ware was imported from the Italian factories, an article of luxury and of great expense. All these factories no doubt sent their products to London for sale. Its warehouses must have been filled with the blue and black

Britain that an imperial order was issued restricting for a time its production. Like the trusts and companies of our own day, it was an imperial monopoly that controlled the price.

One would be glad to know what was the condition of the men, women, and children who worked in the factories and the mines. It is said that the miners were chiefly convicts and slaves. The Christians in periods of persecution were usually sent to the mines. The record of their fearful sufferings appears in the annals. They slept on the bare rock, were starved, beaten, poisoned with the fumes of lead and copper, and when sick, left to die untended and alone. Probably the British mines were worked by Caledonian slaves; Christians were not yet abundant, and in later times lived unharmed. In the north, along the wall, the soldiers probably mined and smelted the ore, or dug the coal they used for their furnaces and stoves. Of the working-classes of London we have no account. They were chiefly slaves; the free population was probably never very large; the Roman families formed its ruling caste, and preyed upon the people. The government of Rome plundered the British aristocracy and the mercantile classes,

¹ The immense earthen jars in the British Museum collection show how well the Romans worked in clay.

and a general discontent showed itself in the jealous rivalry of the cities. Slavery destroyed the vigor of the ruling classes, and at last a few Irish or Caledonian savages ravaged the whole region from the wall to the suburbs of London.

It is impossible to form any exact estimate of the population of the city. It was contained within the narrow limit of the walls.

That the city was very populous is beyond any doubt. Even in the avenging raid of Boadicea seventy thousand persons are said to have perished when London and Colchester had just been conquered and colonized. Centuries of peace must have made all the south-east coast almost one flourishing city, of which London was only the central port. Its environs resembled those of Rome itself, where fine villas covered every eminence and every pleasant valley, and where land was so valuable that even Cicero could scarcely find a site for his daughter's temple and tomb. Much too of the population would consist of travelling merchants and sailors.

At night the sleeping city was protected by the vigilance of the state. Watchmen, well trained and disciplined, patrolled the streets.¹ They were firemen as well, and carried with them axes to break into houses where they saw a fire, and ladders to mount to the roofs, water buckets and engines to put out the flames. At first the firemen seem to have formed volunteer associations, as was once the custom in our own cities,² but they became disorderly and dangerous. The emperors

¹ Arch. Jour. Rev. J. Hirst, article on the "Roman Fire Brigade in Britain," vol. 40, p. 328, finds a cohort of *vigiles* in Yorkshire.

² Plin., Ep. 42, 43. Trajan notices the danger of volunteer associations.

introduced the hired *vigiles* of later times. They no doubt carried lanterns. Sometimes they broke into houses where the noise of late revellers alarmed them, as in the story told by Petronius. They seem to have been provided with engines¹ for extinguishing flames. Wet cloths too were used, and others steeped in vinegar. The tramp of the heavy sandals of the watchmen must have resounded over the pavements, and thieves and midnight robbers fled before them. We may reconstruct in fancy the slumbering capital. The white temples gleamed in the pale misty moonlight, the lonely forum presented a colonnade of stately pillars, the *vigiles* alone paced the deserted streets. Sleep held in its all-composing arms the spirits of our ancestors and their teachers. The peace of God bound them for a few hours at least in an equality of bliss. The master in his frescoed apartment, the slave chained in his cell, the jailer and his prisoners, the judge and the criminal, sank to a brotherhood of rest. The gladiator slumbered by his victim, the *bestiarius* with the wild beast he was condemned to slaughter, the soldier with his captive. And now, far down underneath the modern capital, they lie buried together, city and people, sleeping, we trust, in perpetual peace.

¹ The *sipho*, Ep. 42, was evidently a machine for throwing water. So Seneca, N. H., 2, 16.



SEPULCHRAL CISTS, ETC.: FOUND IN WARWICK SQUARE, NEWGATE STREET, 1881.
British Museum.



ROMAN MARBLE SARCOPHAGUS.
Gulldhall.