A HISTORY of LONDON in 100 PLACES

DAVID LONG

ONE WORLD
## CONTENTS

**Introduction**  xiii

### Chapter 1: Roman Londinium  1

1. London Wall  *City of London, EC3*  2
2. First-century Wharf  *City of London, EC3*  5
3. Roman Barge  *City of London, EC4*  7
4. Temple of Mithras  *City of London, EC4*  9
5. Amphitheatre  *City of London, EC2*  11
6. Mosaic Pavement  *City of London, EC3*  13
7. London’s Last Roman Citizen  14
   *Trafalgar Square, WC2*

### Chapter 2: Saxon Lundenwic  17

8. Saxon Arch  *City of London, EC3*  18
9. Fish Trap  *Lambeth, SW8*  20
10. Grim’s Dyke  *Harrow Weald, HA3*  22
12. Crucifixion Scene  *Stepney, E1*  25
13. ‘Grave of a Princess’  *Covent Garden, WC2*  26
14. Queenhithe  *City of London, EC3*  28

### Chapter 3: Norman London  31

15. The White Tower  *Tower of London, EC3*  32
16. Thomas à Becket’s Birthplace  *City of London, EC2*  36
17. St Mary Magdalene  *East Ham, E15*  39
A HISTORY OF LONDON IN 100 PLACES

18. The Clerk’s Well  Clerkenwell, EC1  41
19. St Bartholomew the Great  Smithfield, EC1  42
20. Temple Church  City of London, EC4  44

CHAPTER 4: MEDIEVAL LONDON  47
21. The Killing Fields  Old Spitalfields Market, E1  48
22. Effigy of a Knight  London Bridge, SE1  50
23. Eltham Palace  Royal Borough of Greenwich, SE9  53
24. Black Prince Pub  Kennington, SE11  56
25. Plague Pit  Tower Hamlets, E1  57
26. An Old Brown Shoe  City of London, EC3  60
27. Whitefriars’ Priory  Fleet Street, EC4  62
28. Winchester Palace  Southwark, SE1  65

CHAPTER 5: TUDOR LONDON  67
29. Henry VII Chapel  Westminster Abbey, SW1  68
30. Fulham Palace  Bishop’s Avenue, SW6  71
31. The Chapel Royal of St Peter ad Vincula  
   Tower of London, EC3  72
32. Hampton Court Palace  Richmond upon Thames, KT8  74
33. St James’s Palace  St James’s, SW1  77
34. St Helen’s  City of London, EC3  79
35. The Spike  London Bridge, SE1  82
36. The Charterhouse  Smithfield, EC1  83
37. Golden Hinde  Southwark, SE1  86
38. Staple Inn  High Holborn, WC1  87

CHAPTER 6: STUART LONDON  91
39. Prince Henry’s Room  Fleet Street, EC4  92
40. The Queen’s House  Greenwich Park, SE10  93
41. York Watergate  Embankment, WC2  96
42. The Piazza  Covent Garden, WC2  98
43. The Execution of Charles I  Whitehall, SW1  100
44. St James’s Square  Westminster, SW1  102
45. Pudding Lane  City of London, EC3  103
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>The George Inn</td>
<td>Borough High Street, SE1</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Frost Fair</td>
<td>River Thames</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>The Tomb of Queen Anne</td>
<td>Westminster Abbey, SW1</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Geffrye Museum</td>
<td>Hackney, E2</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Chiswick House</td>
<td>Chiswick, W4</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Shepherd Market</td>
<td>Mayfair, W1</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>The London Jamme Masjid</td>
<td>Spitalfields, E1</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Spencer House</td>
<td>St James’s Place, SW1</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Bedford Square</td>
<td>Bloomsbury, WC1</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Parish Watchhouse</td>
<td>Giltspur Street, EC1</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Somerset House</td>
<td>Strand, WC2</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Cockpit Steps</td>
<td>Birdcage Walk, SW1</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>The First Gas Works</td>
<td>Great Peter Street, SW1</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Brixton Windmill</td>
<td>Windmill Gardens, SW2</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Royal Opera Arcade</td>
<td>Charles II Street, SW1</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Kensal Green Cemetery</td>
<td>Harrow Road, W10</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Thames Tunnel</td>
<td>Wapping–Rotherhithe, SE16</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Palace of Westminster</td>
<td>Westminster Bridge Road, SW1</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Albertopolis</td>
<td>Exhibition Road, SW7</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Crystal Palace Steps</td>
<td>Sydenham Hill, SE19</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Royal Arsenal</td>
<td>Woolwich, SE18</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>The First Drinking Fountain</td>
<td>Holborn Viaduct, EC1</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>Paddington Station</td>
<td>Praed Street, W2</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Trinity Buoy Lighthouse</td>
<td>Trinity Buoy Wharf, E14</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>Leadenhall Market</td>
<td>Gracechurch Street, EC2</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>Jack the Ripper’s First Murder</td>
<td>Durward Street, E1</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>Public Lavatory</td>
<td>Foley Street, W1</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>The Black Friar</td>
<td>Queen Victoria Street, EC4</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td>Hampstead Garden Suburb</td>
<td>NW11</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 7: Georgian London

Chapter 8: Victorian London

Chapter 9: Edwardian and Pre-War London
75. Russell Square Station  *Bernard Street, WC1*  
76. Frithville Gardens  *W12*  
77. Selfridges  *Oxford Street, W1*  
78. Sicilian Avenue  *Bloomsbury Way, WC1*  
79. Royal Automobile Club  *Pall Mall, SW1*  
80. The New ‘Air-Age’ Arrives in London  
   *Tower Bridge, EC3*  
81. Admiralty Arch  *Trafalgar Square, SW1*  
82. Arsenal Stadium  *Highbury, N5*  

**Chapter 10: London Between the Wars**  
83. Becontree Estate  *Barking and Dagenham, RM8*  
84. King George V Dock  *North Woolwich, E16*  
85. K2 Red Telephone Box  *Piccadilly, W1*  
86. 55 Broadway  *Westminster, SW1*  
87. ‘No News Today’  *Strand, WC2*  
88. Penguin Enclosure, London Zoo  *Regent’s Park, NW1*  
89. Battersea Power Station  *SW8*  
90. Coram’s Fields  *Guilford Street, WC1*  
91. Post Office Research Station  *Flowers Close, NW2*  

**Chapter 11: Modern Times**  
92. The Barbican  *City of London, EC2*  
93. BT Tower  *Cleveland Street, W1*  
94. London E4  *Sewardstone, Essex*  
95. London Docklands Development Corporation  
   *Isle of Dogs, E14*  
96. ‘MI6 Building’  *Vauxhall Cross, SW8*  
97. Neasden Temple  *Brentfield Road, NW10*  
98. BedZED  *Hackbridge, SM6*  
99. Boris Bike Docking Station  *throughout London*  
100. The Counting House  *Cornhill, EC3*  

**Index**  
217
great world city shaped by invasion, occupation and immigration, by upheavals as diverse as the Great Fire, the Blitz and the Big Bang, London may no longer be the largest metropolis – it lost the lead to New York a hundred years ago – but after two thousand years its history and its cultural heritage are unmatched.

Walk the streets today and it is hard to ignore what went before. The city may reinvent itself on an almost perpetual basis, the skyline always pricked by cranes and skeletons of steel, but everywhere there are clues to London’s past.

Besides Roman walls, Saxon fish traps and Norman churches, there are medieval markets that are still trading today, surviving fragments of great monastic foundations, timber-framed houses that against all odds managed to withstand the flames of 1666, and elegant streets and squares from the earliest exercises in practical town planning. Best of all, the vast majority of them can be visited, often at no charge, and on such visits readers will find this book to be a useful companion.
It is true that very little is known of the time before the Romans arrived, that their first settlement was more or less destroyed by Boudicca and her Iceni warriors, and that many later iterations of London lie buried deep beneath huge new developments in and around the Square Mile.* But across the capital fresh discoveries are still being made all the time and, while much of the past remains elusive, Londoners and visitors to their city are genuinely spoilt for choice when setting out to explore its long riotous history.

Some of the most evocative relics of past centuries are still to be found complete in all their splendour, classed as world-famous buildings; others are just foundations or the outline of a place – or even, in the case of the great frost fairs, no more than contemporary accounts of what went on upon the frozen Thames. But from these remains emerges a picture of London that is as vibrant, as unique and as incredible as anything we see around the city today. Fast moving, always changing, and never standing still: it is a place we can relate to – and that we can literally reach out and touch.

* The term Square Mile has long been used to describe the old walled capital – what we now know as the City of London – although following boundary changes in the 1990s, which incorporated a small area to the north, its true extent is now an irritatingly precise 1.16 square miles.
Chapter 1

ROMAN LONDINIUM

There is frustratingly little to know of London before the coming of the Roman legions. Beyond a few random pottery shards and an Iron Age burial within what are now the precincts of the Tower of London, there is no conclusive evidence for any real settlement ahead of Julius Caesar’s arrival in 54 BC. The likelihood is that people were already scratching out a living of sorts somewhere along the wide, marshy valley of the Thames – traces of a Bronze Age footpath have been found in Plumstead – but no one can say with certainty where they might have lived, or how.

For the Romans, however, the river provided an obvious line of defence. In AD 43 soldiers of the second invasion force (in the reign of Claudius) ran a bridge from one side to the other, and it is around this that Londinium
can be said to have developed. Both bridge* and settlement were famously destroyed by Boudicca and an avenging Iceni army in AD 60. A thick layer of ash attests to this, more than ten feet below today’s street level – and writing only a few years later the Roman historian Tacitus confirms that at the time of its destruction the settlement had been thriving, a place ‘filled with traders and a celebrated centre of commerce’.

1. London Wall

_Tower Hill, City of London, EC3_

Militarily the early trading post had been of little importance, but following the carnage of Boudicca’s ferocious onslaught – Tacitus tells of literally thousands being ‘massacred, hanged, burned and crucified’ – a fortress was built in the north-western part of the city that we call Cripplegate. Later, in the third century, a defensive wall was thrown up around the remainder.

* This may have been a floating pontoon-type initially, although a more conventional fixed bridge followed in due course. Remarkably, this second structure was to provide the supports for several Saxon and medieval replacements, the original Roman piers continuing to underpin each new crossing until Sir John Rennie’s ‘New London Bridge’ of 1831.
Roman Londinium

The finished wall – in parts eight feet thick and as much as fifteen feet high – enclosed an area of 330 acres, making London by far the largest city in Britain and the fifth largest in the part of the Roman Empire that lay to the north of the Alps. It was built largely of Kentish ragstone on foundations of flint and compacted clay, a hard grey limestone – a rarity in south-east England – that was to prove ideal for building strong and durable structures of this sort.

As well as some twenty-one bastions the wall incorporated six gateways – Aldgate, Aldersgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Ludgate and Newgate – that led out to the great Roman roads linking the city to the rest of England. In civil engineering terms, the whole structure was a major undertaking even by Roman standards, requiring an estimated thirteen thousand barge loads of stone to
be brought up the River Medway and along the Thames from quarries located close to modern Maidstone.

Repaired, restored and where necessary improved, it was to enclose the city for more than one thousand five hundred years and the gates were only finally taken down in the mid-eighteenth century when they began to impede the traffic. Much of the stonework disappeared in the decades that followed their removal, but the surviving portions were nevertheless substantial enough that, following the Blitz, they were still among the tallest structures within that part of historic central London that today we know as the Square Mile.

Today various bits of the wall lie hidden in basements and cellars (for example, in the Old Bailey) but the most impressive fragments are those around the Barbican, on Noble Street and Cooper’s Row, and on Tower Hill. The upper courses are mostly medieval (at one point crenellations were added, although these have gone), but with their distinctive lines of red brick or tile bonding the Roman work is easy to identify. Still rising to a height of more than twelve feet, it represents perhaps the most evocative reminder of London’s earliest times.
A fascinating riverside church that deserves more regard than it gets, St Magnus the Martyr is primarily known for one thing – and that is the portion of medieval London Bridge that is housed in its porch. Charles Dickens called the church one of the ‘giant warders of the ancient bridge’ as it stood at the northern end, its southern counterpart being the church of St Saviour and St Mary Overie, which in 1905 was reborn as Southwark Cathedral (see chapter 4).

Far smaller than the surviving portion of the old bridge, however, but arguably even more precious, is a chunk of wood that was brought to the church after being dug up by workmen who found it nearby in the 1930s. Mounted on a low stand in the porch, the chunk of wood is clearly labelled – FROM ROMAN WHARF. AD 75: FOUND FISH STREET HILL 1931 – but is nevertheless often missed by visitors coming to view Sir Christopher Wren’s interior.

The existence of such wharfs had long been known about and in the 1970s the Museum of London conducted
a detailed search along this stretch of the river. Among the discoveries were a second-century river wall, a third-century quayside described as being of ‘ambitious’ design, and numerous small finds of the sort that prove vital when it comes to extending our knowledge of domestic and commercial life in Roman London.

Beneath the pavement on the southern side of the street were found traces of a timber embankment wall, evidence of an early land reclamation scheme that would have helped push Roman London out beyond the line of the old wharf mentioned on the St Magnus plaque. Once again, from an engineering standpoint the work is highly impressive, with several tiers of large oak beams supported by piles and bracing, and there is evidence of many tons of earth and rubble being used as infill.

For all the strength and sophistication, however, the same evidence points to the new wharf being very short-lived. In fact, with nothing to suggest it was still in use after AD 260, its working life may have been as little as twenty years. The reasons for this are not fully understood, but the river level may have dropped causing channels to silt up, and certainly Saxon pirates are known to have been disrupting shipping routes to the continent by this time. Political and economic changes within the Roman Empire were also beginning to affect London’s trading partners in northern Europe, and within a decade of the wharf’s completion such an extensive construction may
have been considered surplus to requirements. Certainly nothing else on this scale was to be constructed here for at least the next eight hundred years.

3. Roman Barge

*Blackfriars, City of London, EC4*

During the construction in 1962 of a vehicle underpass close to the meeting point of the Fleet River and the Thames, the remains were uncovered of a fifty-two-foot sailing barge, flat-bottomed and with a full load of the aforementioned Kentish limestone. Coins and pottery found with the wreck pointed to a mid-second-century date, something confirmed by later dendrochronological testing to establish the precise age of the wood used to construct the vessel. This suggests that the cargo formed part of the huge consignment ordered by city administrators for the construction of their new defensive wall.

In the waterlogged remains researchers quickly identified the bottom and parts of the collapsed port side of a traditional Romano-Celtic ship, a carvel-built vessel of oak with two broad keel-planks in place of a conventional keel. Between stempost and sternpost, the planks were fastened by large iron nails to oak frames with substantial
floor timbers in the bottom and much lighter side frames above. The mast step, a rectangular socket about one-third of the length along from the bow, was located in a hefty transverse floor timber.

The find was hugely significant, but the surviving portion was too fragile and fragmentary to give a lay person a real impression of the builder’s expertise and, indeed, the true scale of the vessels plying the Thames at this time. For this reason, and doubtless to gain a better understanding of Roman shipbuilding methods, the Museum of London subsequently authorized its ancient woodwork specialist Damian Goodburn to create a full-size replica.

This exciting project was based on measurements taken during the original excavation, and from plans drawn up from these. Using the latter, Goodburn was able to calculate the number and size of planks required, many of which were sourced from Kent where a large number of oaks had been felled in the Great Storm of 1987. Others came from trees that had grown into the appropriate shape, naturally curved timbers of this sort being generally far stronger than curved planks cut from a straight bough.

By using traditional tools – such as a two-man saw, adzes and hand axes – the finished replica stayed remarkably close to the original vessel, even including similar distinctive diagonal markings on the planks to those seen on other pieces of Roman-era timber found in and around the City. The work was carried out in the open,
in full view of the public in the museum’s small garden, before the barge was put on temporary display in 1991 together with a conserved section of Roman quayside.

4. Temple of Mithras

Queen Victoria Street, City of London, EC4

Originally located on the bank of the Walbrook (one of London’s many ‘lost rivers’, several of which are now little more than sewers), the Mithraeum was discovered in the summer of 1954, a pagan temple the remains of which clearly indicated the outline of the walls, a triple apse and paired rows of supporting pillars.

Initially it was hoped that the structure would turn out to be an early Christian site, but with the ruins were found representations of a number of Roman gods, including Mercury, Venus and Minerva. The discovery of a marble bust of Mithras a few weeks later provided the final proof that the site was pagan, as did an early fourth-century inscription: PRO SALVTE D N CCCC ET NOB CAES DEO MITHRAE ET SOLI INVICTO AB ORIENTE AD OCCIDENTEM (‘For the Salvation of our Lords the four Emperors and the noble Caesar; and to the god Mithras, the Invincible Sun from the east to the west’).
The cult of Mithras—an austere religious movement that placed special emphasis on strength, courage and direct action—is known to have been particularly favoured by soldiers. Its iconography included bloodthirsty representations of Mithras slaying a wild bull, a popular image used to symbolize man’s journey from cradle to grave. A carved relief showing just such an epic struggle had been pulled from the Walbrook several decades earlier,* and was dedicated to Ulpius Silvanus, a veteran of a 2nd Legion of Augustus. It is thus to be assumed that he must have taken part in ceremonies performed in this very temple, the interior kept dark and mysterious to remind new initiates that it was in a cave that Mithras slew the sacred bull from whose blood all life flowed.

Interest in the find was enormous at the time. When the site was opened to the public more than one hundred thousand visitors queued to see it within the first five days, and there were calls in Parliament for it to be preserved in situ. The endless development and redevelopment that

* This location has continued to throw up treasures, with more than ten thousand artefacts having been unearthed here at the time of writing, and excited media chatter about the discovery of a new ‘Pompeii of the North’.
characterizes city life meant that this was not possible, however, and the decision was taken to dismantle the temple carefully so that its stones could be reassembled a couple of hundred yards from its original position.

In the event, the remains went into storage for nearly eight years, but thereafter and for the next fifty years the temple was visible to anyone walking along Queen Victoria Street. At the time of writing, the area is being redeveloped once again, and consideration is being given to returning the Mithraeum to its original site on the banks of the vanished river.

5. Amphitheatre

*Guildhall Art Gallery, City of London, EC2*

The Temple of Mithras remains the only Roman building in London in which one can see the entire plan laid out on the ground, but in 1987 a far more extensive structure was uncovered in the area bounded by Aldermanbury, Gresham Street and Basinghall Street.

The discovery was of a Roman amphitheatre, a large oval more than three hundred feet at its widest extent and centred on what is now Guildhall Yard. Originally it would have been of timber, and has been dated from the
period of reconstruction following Boudicca’s assault. But in the early second century it was rebuilt more substantially in stone, making it the largest in Britannia with a capacity of six thousand to seven thousand spectators (or around a quarter of London’s population). In this form it remained in use until the departure of the Romans in the early fifth century.

Interestingly, the presence of such an important building continued to exercise a marked influence on the development of this area long after that date. For example, the likelihood is that the original Saxon Guildhall – a place for ‘folkmoots’, the general assembly of the townspeople – was deliberately located on the same site, and today the above-named streets still respect the original oval boundary rather than cutting across it.

Such a massive site could not, even so, have been left undeveloped for long once the Romans had left; nor following the discovery of the amphitheatre was its removal and relocation a viable option as it had been for the much smaller Mithraeum. Instead, imaginative steps have been taken to preserve something meaningful, and today the outline of the actual arena is clearly marked out in the paving of Guildhall Yard, and in the basement of the Guildhall Art Gallery partial remains of the main entrance are available to view. Visitors here can also see two small vestibules, possibly where combatants would have gathered before each performance, and part of a
Roman Londinium

drainage system in which were found animal and human remains – presumably from those who took part in the famously grisly performances.

6. Mosaic Pavement

All Hallows by the Tower, City of London, EC3

Coloured mosaics and tessellated floors and pavements are among the most exciting relics from this era, and the discovery of this large section of mosaic – with its limestone-bordered red, yellow, black and white tesserae – in the City of London in 1976 is still considered to be one of the decade’s biggest finds. Sealed for centuries beneath a layer of thick grey silt – on a site in Milk Street, between Cheapside and Gresham Street – the mosaic was carefully lifted and eventually put on display at the Museum of London.

Other, equally striking examples can be seen in the small museum at the Bank of England and at the British Museum, but beneath the church of All Hallows by the Tower it is thrillingly still possible to see a section of Roman pavement in its original position.

With a foundation date of 675 the church is conceivably London’s oldest, as we shall see in the next chapter. The site was clearly occupied long before this date, however,
and in 1926, during work in the crypt, a wonderful fragment of second-century red mosaic was uncovered beneath the foundations of the east wall. Perfectly preserved in the ancient undercroft, it is thought to have formed part of the floor of a domestic dwelling that stood here centuries before the church’s endowment by a seventh-century Bishop of London. The same crypt is also home to a modern scale-model of Londinium, providing visitors with a bird’s-eye view of the city seen from a vantage point across the Thames and somewhere in the area where the Shard now stands.

7. London’s Last Roman Citizen

St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, WC2

As recently as 2006 the BBC reported the historically significant discovery of a skeleton during building works at this landmark London church. The body was found in a Roman limestone coffin, secreted between some Victorian vaults and the boundary of the property, and was missing its head.

Not for the first time with burials, the find was initially wrongly dated and, like a similar discovery when the church was being built in the eighteenth century, the
Roman Londinium

body was assumed to be a more recent interment reusing an old sarcophagus. In order to verify this a small portion of bone was sent for carbon dating, but to the delight of researchers, historians and the church authorities the results showed with considerable certainty that the person had died between AD 390 and AD 420.

The date is critical, AD 410 being the year that the Romans finally withdrew to the continent. Having recognized they could no longer defend their hard-pressed empire at its greatest extent, the legions were prepared to sacrifice or at least abandon outposts such as Britannia. The same date also means that ‘London’s last Roman’ was a near-contemporary of St Martin himself – a Roman soldier born in Pannonia, a large region west of the Danube incorporating parts of Austria, Hungary and the territory of the former Yugoslavia – and suggests that the site has been of religious importance for far longer than had hitherto been supposed.

Intriguingly the same excavations also revealed the fragmentary remains of a simple, grey Saxon pot, one of the earliest of its type ever found. Lying just a few feet away from the coffin, and thought to be more than fifteen hundred years old, the discovery provided an important missing link between Roman Londinium and Anglo-Saxon Lundenwic – a much smaller settlement that is now known to have been centred not on the old walled city but beneath the modern West End.