

For Short Time an Endless Monument:

The Shifting History of a Familiar London Landmark

— LISA JARDINE

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This lecture sets out to intrigue you with the idea that something as apparently solid, stable and lasting as Wren and Hooke's Monument to the Great Fire might in fact have a multiple and changing history. If you stand with your back to Greenwich Observatory, even today, you can spot the pillar and gilded urn of the Monument to the Great Fire. In 1677 – the year the Monument was completed, and the Observatory became fully operational – the view was clearer (though the London smog was more dense).¹ I start with the spatial relationship between the Observatory at Greenwich and the Pillar on Fish Hill, because my own interest in the Monument to the Great Fire began with the realisation, while working on my biography of Wren, that this familiar London landmark was not what it seemed – that its iconic status as memorial to the devastation of September 1666 masked other roles, some symbolic, some functional. I had believed for some years (since I wrote *Ingenious Pursuits*) that the Monument had been designed with large-scale astronomical observation in mind.

It was not until last year, though, that I realised how visible the gilded urn at the top of the Monument was from the Observatory – ideal for taking a bearing with a long telescope or quadrant. Yet again the Monument metamorphosed, from the familiar form I had come to know and love into yet another practically useful element in the Royal Society's grand scientific plan.

But I am already getting ahead of myself. Let me begin my excavation proper of the many-layered history of the Monument with a story which elegantly sums up the capacity of historical objects to be at once highly visible, known and understood, and yet in terms of their historical function and even meaning, hidden in clear sight.

Invited to contribute to a Channel Four documentary on the Great Fire of London, I spent three early hours of an unseasonably cold April morning at the Monument in 2001. It was pouring with rain. While I was waiting forlornly in the shelter of the entrance-hall at the bottom of the 200 foot column for the camera crew to finish setting up for filming at the top, the elderly attendant – to cheer me up, I think – asked me if I had ever seen the basement. Removing the chair from his ticket booth, he rolled back the carpet, lifted a hinged trap-door in the floor, and there, like something from a brothers Grimm fairy story was a flight of stone steps, curving down to a sizeable room beneath. Nothing I had read about the Monument, no plans I had inspected showing its construction, and none of the many experts in a whole range of fields relating to my project, had ever mentioned an underground chamber.²

For a glorious half-hour I was able to explore what I immediately recognised to be the laboratory Hooke had designed as the purpose-built location for a whole series of scientific experiments requiring a long vertical telescope tube – available to be used, most significantly, as a zenith telescope (which does not require lenses), to attempt to track the minute shift in position of a selected fixed star over a six month period, in order to prove the rotation of the earth.³

No extant architectural drawings of the Monument show this underground space, so my architect husband kindly agreed to provide one. We returned, on a slightly more clement early November morning, to take detailed measurements of the basement for a drawn



The Monument to the great fire.



On Friday 10 February 2006, Professor Lisa Jardine CBE MA PhD (Cantab) gave the keynote speech at a joint Historical Association and English Association reception held at Foyles Bookshop. It was the first event to launch the Centenary celebrations of both Associations'.

cross-section of the building which would include the underground room. While my husband was taking the measurements, I persuaded the attendant to surrender her intriguing bundle of over-sized keys ('I have no idea what any of them does,' she said).

I climbed the 345 steps of the beautifully-crafted cantilevered stone staircase to the observation platform to find that two of my story-book-sized keys fitted two further heavy doors on a stone stairway leading on upwards from the platform. Finally I was confronted with an iron ship's-ladder rising vertically inside the drum. I lifted – with great difficulty – the heavy iron trap-door above my head (two semicircular doors, in fact, like a ship's hatch) and emerged into the light, to find myself at the very top of the flaming urn which crowns the column. I was dizzyingly high above the City, and vertically above the 3 foot diameter circular aperture in the domed roof of the basement laboratory.

Now I knew with absolute certainty that the Monument had been designed as a unique, hugely ambitious, vastly oversized scientific instrument. From the basement laboratory area an absolutely clear view could be had of the sky,

via another aperture at platform level, then via a third at the base of the upper drum, and finally via a two-foot aperture at the top of the gilt flames issuing from the ornamental urn, hundreds of feet above. The upper observation platform also offers a suitable place where one could conveniently swing a long pendulum, or lower a barometer or thermometer on a rope (as Hooke records having done from the derelict tower of Old St. Paul's in the 1660s). From the strategically located man-sized niches set into the wall alongside the beautiful, regular stone spiral stair, with its black marble treads, one can take measurements using a delicate instrument measuring, say, atmospheric pressure variation with height, carried down, step by step (as Hooke records doing with a barometer, on this very stair, in 1678).

It seems incredible that such an achievement should have been so totally lost from view. How could we have overlooked the extraordinary precision in construction (every step exactly six and a half inches high, each aperture a perfect multiple of feet), the careful, tailor-made functionality of the building for scientific use? Records tell us that the Monument was held up a number

of times because suitable stone of precise dimensions could not be obtained. Hooke's diary plainly records his using it for scientific experiments for many years after its completion.

The construction of the Monument

The Monument was under construction from 1673 to 1677, with Hooke taking charge of the project once it went on site, through to completion. On 19 October 1673 he recorded in his diary, 'perfected module of Piller'; on 1 June 1674, 'At the pillar at Fish Street Hill. It was above ground 210 steps'; on 7 August, 'At the Pillar in height 250 steps'; on 21 September 1675, 'At fish-street-hill on ye top of ye column'. On 11 April, 1676, he was with Wren 'at the top of ye Piller'. From the precision of the elements in the column as built (the accuracy of the height of each individual stair-riser, the breadth of the circular apertures) it appears that particular care was taken with the construction of this single, vertical shaft, extending the period to completion significantly. On 14 October 1676, Hooke noted, 'scaffolds at fish-street-pillar almost all struck', but a year later he went again 'to pillar about scaffold' and on 26 October 1677 he 'directed corners'.⁴



Looking up from the basement laboratory.



Looking down from the flaming urn.

On 8 February 1673, Hooke recorded in his diary discussions he had had with Wren that day about modifying the preparatory drawings for St. Paul's:

With Mr. Haux at Pauls churchyard, at Dr. Wrens, told me the Designe of burying vaults under Paules and the Addition of Library Body and portico at the west.⁵

The discussion of the 'vaults' or crypt of St. Paul's envisages functional

spaces below ground to support the practical needs (as well as the fabric) of the Cathedral. Two years earlier, in 1671, Hooke, designing a new building for the Royal College of Physicians, had similarly proposed that 'the Cellar under the Hall and great Stayer Case bee fitted for a laboratory with a large chimney.'⁶

A domed underground space, ample enough to offer facilities for an experimentalist working directly beneath the shaft, provides the foundation for the 'Fish Street

Pillar', suggesting that Wren and Hooke devised this neglected, yet structurally and functionally vital, part of the building together.⁷ The underground room culminates in a round aperture at the top of its domed roof, so that the experimenter has a clear view from the basement to the top of the shaft, and, indeed, through the ornamental urn (which conveniently hinges open to the sky). Sunk twenty feet deep, covering an area exactly the dimensions of the plinth at the base of the column, and designed with openings to allow access for air (and experimental features like a vertical plumb line dropped from above), this laboratory is large enough to allow several experimenters to work at the bottom of the vertical shaft. It is also large enough for an observer to spend long periods of time comfortably and conveniently taking measurements there.

Although it did not produce the desired results as a zenith telescope (neither in the deep well at Greenwich, nor beneath the column did it prove possible to measure the tiny incremental shifts in position of the fixed stars required to provide the hoped-for proof of the earth's rotation round the sun), the Monument did prove a suitable location for more modest kinds of experiments. Hooke used it regularly for empirical work which required long vertical drops, and readily accessible, staggered experimental locations vertically above one another (for instance, for experiments with pendulums and barometers).

On 16 May 1678, Hooke recorded in his diary: 'At Fish Street pillar [Monument] tried mercury barometer experiment. It descended at the top about 1/3 of an inch.'⁸ May 23 he 'directed experiment at Column. Lent Mr. Hunt a cylinder to do it.'⁹ The proceedings of the Royal Society for May 30 record that



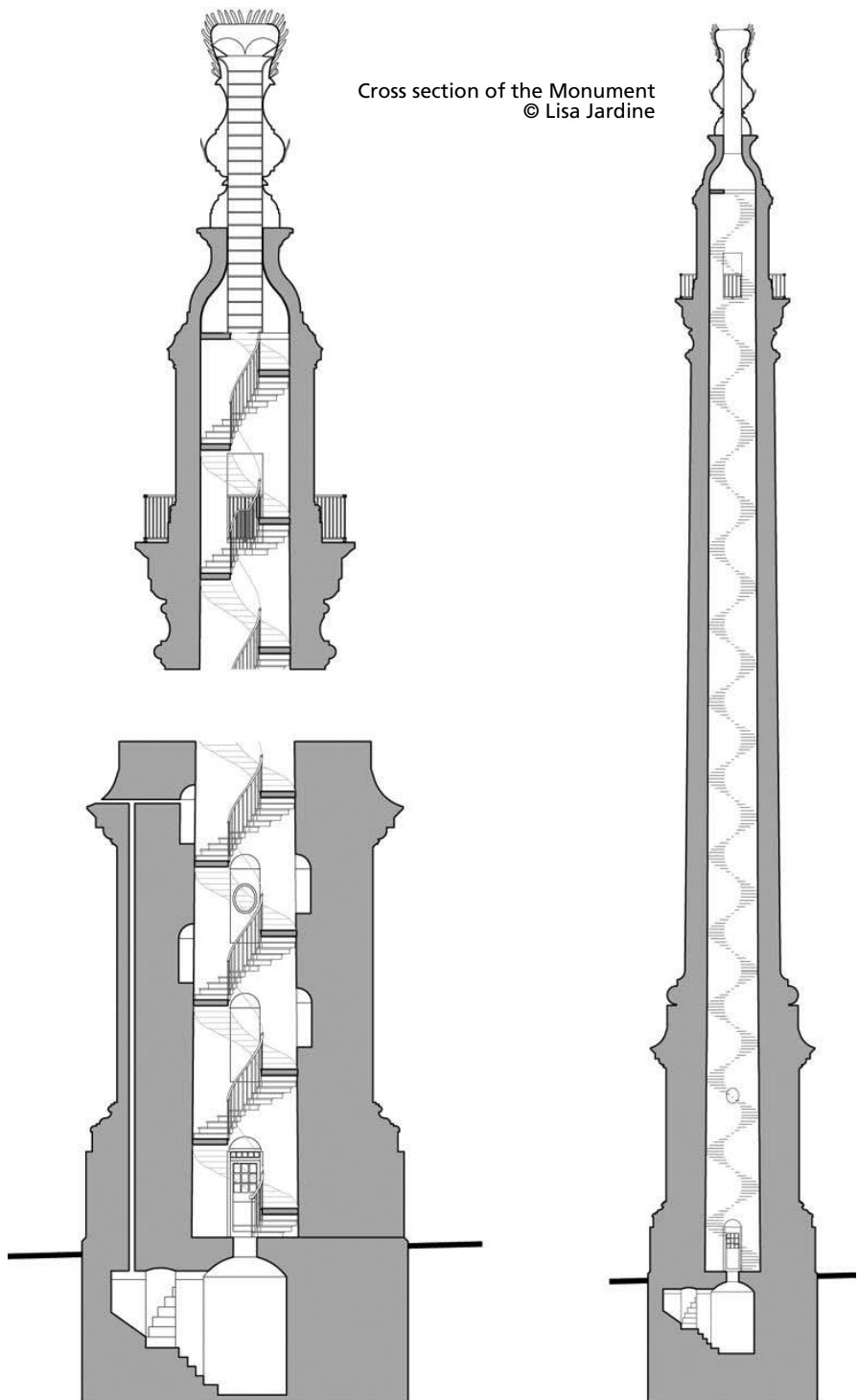
For Short Time an Endless Monument

Hooke measured the pressure at various stages as he came down the Monument's steps, but that he was not entirely happy with the accuracy of his equipment:

He had observed the quicksilver to ascend by degrees, as near as he could perceive, proportional to the spaces descended in going down from the top of the column to the bottom: but because the said stations of the mercury were different from one another but very little, and so it was not easy to determine the certain proportions of the one to the other; therefore he proposed against the next meeting an experiment be tried at the same place with an instrument which would determine that distance an hundred times more exactly: which instrument also he there produced, in order to explain the manner thereof, it being made upon the same principle with the wheel barometer, but more curiously wrought.¹⁰

In an autograph paper preserved among the manuscripts of the Royal Society Hooke develops his wheel barometer, explicitly in the context of these experiments conducted inside the shaft of the Monument. The paper also makes it clear that these experiments continue those begun by Wren and Boyle, thus indicating that Wren remained involved at least in spirit in the post-construction scientific uses of this Wren office architectural project.¹¹

In December 1678 Hooke measured the height of the Monument – presumably the distance from the upper platform (beneath the crowning burst of gilded flames) to the floor of the basement and found it to be approximately 202 feet.¹² This was the distance over which measurements could be taken for his resumed Torricellian and pendulum experiments – the



series he had begun 12 years earlier at the top and bottom of Old St. Paul's tower, shortly before the Great Fire destroyed his experimental location.¹³

The 'botched' ornament

Let us pause for a moment on the gilded ornament at the top of

the Monument, with its carefully concealed aperture. I have referred to it as a 'flaming urn', as do contemporary and later commentators. In fact, of course, it is a flaming ball on top of an urn.

Drawings of several types of column survive in a variety of hands,



including those of Woodroffe and Hooke. The one which most closely resembles the pillar as built is in Hooke's hand, and signed by Wren in his capacity as Royal Surveyor: 'With His M[ajesties] Approbation.'

Proposals for what should go on the top of the completed column are contained in a letter from Wren to Charles II, submitted for scrutiny in July 1675:

In pursuance of an Order of the Committee, for City Landes I doe heerwith offer the Severall designes which some monthes since I shewed His M[ajestie] for his approbation, who was then pleased to thinke *a large Ball of metall gilt* would be most agreeable, in regard it would give an Ornament to the Town at a very great distance; not that His M[ajestie] disliked a Statue; and if any proposall of this sort be more acceptable to the City I shall most readily represent th same to His M[ajestie].

I cannot but com[m]end a Large Statue as carrying much dignitie

with it, & that w[hi]ch would be more vailable in the Eyes of Forreiners & strangers. It hath been proposed to cast such a one in Brasse of 12 foot high for 1000lb [sic] I hope (if it be allowed) wee may find those who will cast a figure for that many of 15 foot high, w[hi]ch will suit the greatnesse of the pillar & is (as I take it) the largest at this day extant; and this would undoubtedly bee the noblest finishing that can be found anserrable to soe goodly a worke in all mens Judgements.

A Ball of Copper, 9 foot Diameter cast in severall peeces with the Flames & gilt, may well be don with the Iron worke & fixing for 350lb. and this would be most acceptable of any thing inferior to a Statue, by reason of the good appearance at distance, and because one may goe up into it; & upon occasion use it for fireworkes.

A phoenix was at first thought of; & is the ornament in the wooden modell of the pilar, wch. I caused

to be made before it was begun, but upon second thoughtes I rejected it because it will be costly, not easily understood at that Highth and worse understood at a distance; & lastly dangerous by reason of the sayle the spread winges will carry in the winde.¹⁴

It is intriguing, in the light of this letter, that the final solution should have been a hybrid between an urn and a flaming ball. This suits Hooke's scientific ambitions for the Monument, but decidedly did not please Wren. In *Parentalia*, his son Christopher records his father's annoyance at the 'botched' ornament which was eventually created to crown the top of the Pillar. In the corner of the engraving showing the achieved Pillar alongside Trajan's Column for comparison is a note which reads:

a brazen urn, poorly turned on a lathe, set atop the column despite the architect's efforts [Urna Aerea, Male tornata, Columnae imposita Contra Architecti Intentionem].¹⁵

The ball and urn came shortly after Wren's discussions with the King, and appear to have been under Hooke's control from the outset. On 3 August 1675, Hooke 'walked with Sir Chr. Wren in Privy Garden and Discoursed of the Ball for the Column'. On 11 September 1675 Hooke notes in his diary: 'To Sir Chr. Wren's. Received Draught of Urne'. On 22 September Hooke showed the City Lands Committee 'the figure of an Urne most proper to be placed upon the top of the new Columne on Fishstreet hill'. Among Hooke's papers is a drawing in his hand of a flaming urn with a shaft running up inside it, which I like to think refers to these early discussions.

There is also a more elaborate drawing by Wren, whose detail



For Short Time an Endless Monument

corresponds to the urn part of the final urn-ball. The executed detail of the lower half of the gilded urn-ball closely corresponds to this drawing of Wren's. The flaming ball also corresponds to a design submitted to the rebuilding committee. As with everything else concerning the Monument, execution of the urn-ball was delegated to Hooke:

Sept. 21 [1675]. At Fish Street Hill on top of the Column. Agreed with Cole Brazier for Urne after the Rate of 18d per lb for plaine and 2s. 6d. for chaced work. He to set it up and fix it.

Sept. 24. Brazier drew out Urne.
Sept. 28. Agreed with Bird for Urne at 19d. per lb. for plain work.

Oct. 11. I paid Bullock for Module for Urne 8s. 6d., and Lignum Vitae.

Nov. 20. To Birds, the Urne bungled.

Dec. 16. At Birds, saw half the Urne made.

Jan 25. 1675/6. Mr. Marshall here, with him to Birds, Bath Lane, he had finished Urne.

Jan. 27. Urne to Fish Street Hill. Weight 1452+.

July 14. Order to raise the Urne tomorrow.¹⁶

Whether the 'bungled' urn was a piece of mis-casting, or a hybridised execution of competing designs (ball and urn) submitted by Wren and Hooke we will probably never know. We recall Wren's discussion of the flaming ball, which was the perfect design to allow for an aperture and access to workspace at its summit:

A Ball of Copper, 9 foot Diameter cast in severall peeces with the Flames & gilt, may well be don with the Iron worke & fixing for 350lb. and this would be most acceptable of any thing inferior to a Statue, by reason of the good appearance at distance,

and because one may goe up into it; & upon occasion use it for fireworke.

In other words, the hybridising of the flaming ball and the Urn suited Hooke's interests, but decidedly displeased the classically scrupulous Wren, who never reconciled himself to it.

The location of the Monument

In a remarkably similar way, the location of the Monument flickers between Wren's neo-classical interests, and Hooke's pragmatic, City- and science-orientated ones. The Great Fire, coming hot on the heels (as it were) on the establishing of the Royal Society in London, as a focus for new initiatives in applied knowledge and technology, provided a golden opportunity to embed experimental science in the rebuilt City. By the early eighteenth century that moment was past. When Wren's ex-clerk and architectural pupil Nicholas Hawksmoor praised the Monument in print in 1728, it was as an architectural masterpiece, which vied in its neo-classical beauty and proportion with Trajan's Column in Rome, in spite of the fact that Wren himself had cautioned that the proportions of the huge doric column were not correctly as specified by classical architectural theory.

Instead, generations of architectural historians carefully scrutinised the Monument's classical antecedents and pedigree, inserting the Monument into a well-developed story of influences and prototypes, symbolic functions and Roman 'quotation'.

With the embers of the Great Fire still smouldering, Wren was the first to present Charles II with a proposal for rebuilding the City. It was along resolutely classical lines, and was rapidly rejected by the Corporation of London, in favour

of allowing individuals title to their old properties, and rebuilding to the existing street patterns. London was returned to its old plan, apart from some strategic street-widening.

There may not have been City support for a Louis-XIV-style rebuild of London, but there was general agreement on the appropriateness of a classical-style memorial to the providential rescue of the Capital from the Fire. An act of Parliament of 1667, related to the rebuilding after the Great Fire, already contained the instruction that

the better to preserve the memory of this dreadful visitation; Be it further enacted that a Columne or Pillar of Brase or Stone be erected on or as neare unto the place where the said Fire so unhappily began as Conveniently as may be, in perpetuall Remembrance thereof, with such Inscription thereon, as hereafter by the Mayor and Court of Aldermen in that behalfe be directed.

This early decision to erect a memorial Pillar was confirmed in the 1670 City Churches Rebuilding Act. There money was allocated for a memorial 'the better to preserve the memory of this dreadful visitation'. On February 14, 1671 the London Court of Common Council approved the 'Draught or Modell ... of the Pillar'. Work excavating the foundations (to create that laboratory) was completed in November 1671, and construction must have commenced shortly thereafter.¹⁷

The site for the Pillar, at the top of Fish Street Hill, was entirely suitable for such a Monument, in terms of classically-influenced views and vistas.¹⁸ The Pillar would offer a focal point, elevated above the viewer's eye-line, as visitors crossed into the City over old London

Bridge.¹⁹ It was, furthermore, erected on the former site of the church and churchyard of St. Margaret New Fish Street, the first church destroyed by the fire.²⁰

The idea that the Pillar actually provided a marker for the precise spot at which the fire began seems to have come much later. In an entry dated 8 October 1677, Hooke noted in his diary that ‘The Baker’s ground [is] distant the length of the Pillar’.²¹ In other words, the rough correlation between the scientifically height-specific Column and the distance to Pudding Lane had suddenly been introduced as a significant measurement. This is precisely the moment at which Dr Gale of St Paul’s School was composing his inscriptions. And sure enough, one of the final inscriptions includes the sentence:

Hinc in orientem pedum CCII
intervallo quae est huisce
columnae altitudo erupit de
media nocte incendium.

Remember, the height of the Monument had been settled on originally because it corresponded to the height from cross-beams to ground in the Tower of Old St Paul’s, where Hooke and other Fellows of the Royal Society had been conducting long-term experiments on barometric pressure and temperature when the Great Fire broke out. Now that height has become critical to the symbolic power of the Monument to record the disaster of inattention which caused the fire in the Baker’s shop in Pudding Lane.

The Inscriptions

In a diary entry dated 17 November 1676, Hooke writes that he and Wren had discussed the inscriptions for the Monument – nearly fourteen months after the City Lands Committee had enjoined “Mr Surveyor generall

and Mr Hooke ... to appoint such persons as they think most Fitting to make An Inscripton for the said Collume”. On 17 October 1677, some twenty-seven months after the original mandate, Hooke was “at [the] Lord Mayor’s about the Fleet and Dr. Gale’s inscription”; following the orders of the Lord Mayor, he then met “with Dr. Gale, Sir Chr. Wren and Controuler [Joseph Lane] about [the] inscription”; their colloquy did not finish “till 10 at night”. Hooke goes on to state that the committee, on 18 October, “Attended all day on that affaire”, and for some time in the presence of the Court of Aldermen; on 20 October, he “Discoursed with Sir Chr. Wren at Mans about [the] Inscripton”. Two days later, the Court of Aldermen approved the inscriptions, and two days after that, so did the Lord Mayor. On 17 June, 1678, when he called on Gale, Hooke “saw the Monument inscription finisht”; on November 6, he “Viewd Inscripton on the Pillar”, and on 30 November, he was “At the Pillar with Sir Chr. Wren and Dr. Gale”.²²

I want to end with one further, curious episode relating to the inscriptions on the Monument – a brief moment of Anglo-Dutch collaboration on the commemorative project. A moment which is the more unexpected for the fact that, over the period during which it took place, England was once again at war with the Protestant Netherlands, not to mention the fact that more than one commentator at the time of the Great Fire believed it to have been set by the Dutch.

In December 1670, Sir Constantijn Huygens, 72-year-old Secretary and advisor to the young William of Orange (who was in London attempting to retrieve monies owed to him by his uncle Charles II), wrote to Sir Christopher Wren (in English):

The King hath been pleased to keepe a copie of this poor project, and would doe me this morning the honour to commend it with the character of “a very good paper”. If it doe but chance to pass for half so good in your liking, Sir, I will hold my paines happily bestowed. I pray you to peruse it, that we may have occasion to conferre about [it], while I am here. It may be, one time or other some reflexion will be made upon the reasons of a simple autor, who is ...²³

On 18 February 1678 there is a further reference to this ‘poor project’ in Huygens’s correspondence, this time in a letter in French to Monsieur Oudart:

It matters little whether my inscriptions have been used for the Column or not. I remain extremely well satisfied that so distinguished a person as Monsieur the Surveyor [Wren] found them to be to his taste, to the point that he produced them to the City officials, and thereby demonstrated to them my good will towards their great and most noble City. I beg you to assure that most excellent personage of my boundless esteem for his great talent and my most ardent affection in his service.²⁴

So the ‘poor project’ which both Wren and the King found so much to their taste was proposed inscriptions for the plinth of the Monument.

Neither Huygens’s commemorative inscription, nor Wren’s own remarkably similar one was in the end used. On 4 October 1677 the Court of Aldermen of the City of London minuted their final decision as to the inscriptions:

This Court doth desire Dr Gale Master of the Schoole of St



For Short Time an Endless Monument

Paul to consider and devise a fitting inscription to be set on the new Pillar at Fishstreet Hill, and to consult therein with Sr Christopher Wren Knt his Matie's Surveyor Generall and Mr Hooke And then to present the same unto this court.²⁵

'Within three weeks of the first meeting of the inscription committee, the Court of Aldermen, having heard from the lord mayor that Charles II had "very well approved" the inscriptions drafts, decreed that the inscriptions be carved "forthwith". On 25 October, the Court rewarded Gale with "a handsome peice [sic] of plate."²⁶

Today I'm afraid many visitors to London miss the Monument altogether, hemmed in as it is by tall buildings. For them the Monument is nothing more than the name of an underground station.

For those of us for whom the Monument still holds historical significance, I hope I have shown tonight that its representative powers – its ability to evoke a key moment in British history – are kaleidoscopic and multi-faceted. It serves as a reminder, I suggest, of the constant potential of all historical data, how ever well-studied, to yield new possibilities when seen in a fresh historical light.

References

1. On 22 June 1675, Wren was appointed as architect, to design and build the Royal Observatory in close consultation with John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, as to its technical specifications (the building being named, accordingly, 'Flamsteed House'). Wren in his turn, immediately appointed Hooke to act as his deputy and site manager, 'to direct [the] Observatory in Greenwich Park for Sir J More'. The building was near enough to completion to be used for viewing an eclipse at the beginning of June 1676 – it had been hoped that the King might attend, but he failed to appear.
2. The producer of the TV programme was James Runcie. The attendant at the Monument that morning was Martin Witziers. My thanks to them both for their wisdom and encouragement.
3. The method fails because the fixed stars are too far away for the minute displacement to be detectable by telescopic methods, but

- this was not understood till a century and a half later.
4. Hooke also had trouble with the inscription: on June 17th, 1678, he 'saw Monument inscription now finished', but as late as April 10th, 1679, he writes, 'At Fish Street Pillar. Knight cut wrong R. for P. Hooke, *Diary*, p. 27.
 5. A. Stoesser, *Robert Hooke and Holland: Dutch Influence on Hooke's Architecture* (Doctoral dissertation, Utrecht University, 1997), p. 45.
 7. Although he did not know about the domed basement, Professor Hyman indicated to me that he did not find it surprising that it should exist, since the pillar as built requires substantial, spanning foundations for stability. Personal communication, July 2001.
 8. Hooke, *Diary*, 358.
 9. Hooke, *Diary*, 359.
 10. Birch, *History of the Royal Society* 3, 409-10.
 11. See W. E. K. Middleton, 'A footnote to the history of the barometer: An unpublished note by Robert Hooke, FRS', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 20 (1965), 145-51.
 12. Hooke, *Diary*, 388. Since the circular opening at the very top of the flaming urn also hinges open, allowing an operator to stand in the open air above the shaft, it would also theoretically be possible to conduct experiments from that height also.
 13. See L. Jardine, 'Monuments and microscopes: scientific thinking on a grand scale in the early Royal Society', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 55 (2001), 289-308.
 14. Chr: Wren July 28th 1675 [verso:] Report of Dr. Wren/ concerning the Monument/ 28 July 75. BL Add. MSS 18,898.
 15. For a full discussion see J. E. Moore, 'The Monument, or, Christopher Wren's Roman accent', *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998), 498-533. See in particular, footnote 180. See also *Parentalia*, p. 322.
 16. *Wren Society* 18, p. 190. The ornamental

- work on the urn was done by Bowers. See Moore, 'The Monument', footnote 180.
17. Moore, 'The Monument', p. 2 (online version).
 18. It may indeed have decided the Corporation to commemorate the Fire near the site of its outbreak, rather than, as many, like John Evelyn would have preferred, marking one of the points at which the wind dropped and the Fire was brought under control.
 19. London Bridge was moved 100 feet westwards from its old location in the early nineteenth century, and the Monument is now hemmed in by tall buildings, erasing the intended 'prospect'.
 20. Moore, 'The Monument'.
 21. *Wren Society* 18, p. 190.
 22. Moore, 'The Monument', p. 22 of online version.
 23. J. A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1608-1687*, letter 6778.
 24. 'Il importe peu que mes inscriptions ayent esté employées à la colonne ou non. Je demeure fort satisfait de ce qu'une personne si entendue que Mr. le surveyor [Wren] y ayt trouvé quelque gout, jusques à en faire part au magistrat, et leur ayt fait paroistre de ma bonne volonté à l'endroit de leur grande et tres-noble Cité. Je vous supplie de bien assurer cest excellent personnage de ma veritable estime de son grand merite et de ma tres-ardente affection à son service.' Worp, letter 7077.
 25. CLRO, RCA 82, fol. 268v.
 26. Moore, 'The Monument'. Gale was formerly Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge.

Lisa Jardine is Director of the AHRC Centre for Editing Lives and Letters, and Centenary Professor of Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary, University of London.



Lisa Jardine with the Medlicott Medal, 8 April 2006